

**UNIVERSIDAD DE CÓRDOBA**  
**FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA EDUCACIÓN**  
**DEPARTAMENTO DE PSICOLOGÍA**

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UNIVERSIDAD DE CÓRDOBA

**DYNAMICS OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR: SUBTLE BIAS  
TOWARD RACIAL AND GENDER GROUPS**

**DOCTORAL DISSERTATION**

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**TÍTULO DE LA TESIS: DYNAMICS OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR: SUBTLE BIAS TOWARD RACIAL AND GENDER GROUPS**

**DOCTORANDO/A: SILVIA ABAD MERINO**

**INFORME RAZONADO DEL/DE LOS DIRECTOR/ES DE LA TESIS**

La presente tesis doctoral integra, tanto conceptual como empíricamente, los hallazgos de la investigación transcultural mostrando el papel de ideas paternalistas que legitiman, mantienen y refuerzan la jerarquía de grupo y la desventaja de los miembros de los grupos tradicionalmente sub-representados. En concreto, la investigación demuestra que las relaciones intergrupales pueden utilizarse como un instrumento estratégico para mantener la ventaja social racial y las relaciones de género.

La fundamentación teórica realizada repasa de forma exhaustiva, a través de una amplia consulta, el estado de la cuestión sobre las relaciones intergrupales y las formas de sesgo transcultural, aunando referencias epistemológicas con resultados derivados de la investigación y de la práctica en el contexto nacional e internacional.

La metodología utilizada en la investigación se ha fundamentado con diferentes evidencias teóricas y empíricas que demuestran su adecuación a los estudios realizados en el área de la psicología social. A lo largo del estudio empírico, la información ha sido aportada por un amplio colectivo de grupos de diferente origen étnico de los Estados Unidos al objeto de responder a las hipótesis planteadas. Asimismo, se han utilizado estrategias de recogida de información que han combinado la recolección de datos tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos, aportando de este modo al trabajo un carácter eminentemente práctico. Todo ello ha conllevado el empleo de estrategias analíticas mixtas que han resuelto satisfactoriamente los objetivos inicialmente formulados.

Por último, queremos señalar que los resultados obtenidos han servido de base para apuntar la naturaleza del sesgo contemporáneo y su relación con las formas del comportamiento prosocial que operan a nivel racial y de género en las relaciones intergrupales.

Por todo ello, se autoriza la presentación de la tesis doctoral.

Córdoba, 22 de mayo de 2014

Firma de los directores y la directora

		
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Fdo.: John F. Dovidio

Fdo: Carmen Tabernero Urbieta

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*Dedicated to the memory of my beloved parents, Miguel Abad Avilés and Isabel Merino  
Salamanca, who will always be my most marvelous models of prosocial behavior.*



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## SUMMARY

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Subtle forms of bias pose significant challenges to achieving equitable intergroup relations and thus have recently received considerable attention in the field of social psychology. Although explicit hostility toward minority groups seems to have faded in modern societies, cross-cultural data show that the status, resources, and the power of women and ethnic/racial minorities, compared to those of male racial/ethnic majority group members remain unequal. The present dissertation integrates, both conceptually and empirically, the findings of cross-cultural research showing the role of paternalistic and legitimizing ideas and behavior for establishing, maintaining, and reinforcing group hierarchy and the disadvantage of members of traditionally underrepresented groups. Specifically, research on helping and intergroup relations demonstrates that intergroup helping relations can be used as a strategic instrument to maintain social advantage in racial and gender relations. Theoretical insights and empirical evidence provided by research on the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002) reveals that giving dependency-oriented help to low status groups is a mechanism that allows high status groups to create and maintain social dominance. The studies presented in this doctoral dissertation are based on this framework.

The first chapter in this dissertation reviewed the literature on racial-ethnic and gender disparities in resources internationally and considered the role of subtle bias in perpetuating inequality. This chapter integrated theory and research on hostile and benevolent sexism, paternalism, system-justifying ideologies, and helping and status relations. Subtle, as compared to blatant, forms of bias are more likely to operate to enhance social control over racial/ethnic minorities and women in a climate in which there is widespread support for egalitarian values



and sanctions against overt discrimination toward these groups. Chapter 1 further considered how individual differences in support for group-based hierarchy (Social Dominance Orientation; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and the stability of status relations between groups can moderate these effects.

Chapter 2, which presented the first original experimental study in the dissertation, investigated the relationship between prejudice against Latinos in the United States and subtle bias, specifically the degree to which people offer autonomy-oriented relative to dependency-oriented assistance to a Latina in need. Despite the traditional importance of Latinos in the US, the growing Latino population, and evidence of group-based disparities, psychological studies of discrimination against Latinos are surprisingly rare. Participants read scenarios that described concrete social problems faced by particular Latinas, African Americans, or Whites and then indicated their support for forms of helping. Participants higher in prejudice against Latinos, assessed with an adaptation of the Modern Racism Scale, were less likely to offer autonomy-oriented help, and significantly more so after reading scenarios about a Latina than about an African American or a White woman. These findings extend previous work by identifying, experimentally, subtle bias against Latinas in helping and directly implicate the role of prejudice against Latinos in this process.

Chapter 3 described a second empirical study that examined the ways in which different forms of helping behavior can strategically affect responses to women and men who display socially valued or devalued characteristics. Participants read scenarios about concrete problems faced by a woman or man in need, who displayed positive (i.e., prosocial) or negative (i.e., antisocial) characteristics, and indicated the extent to which they would be willing to support small tax increases if that money were used to help address the target's issues.

I hypothesized that because dependency-oriented helping reflects motivations of social control (Nadler, 2002), it may be particularly likely to be offered to others who are perceived to pose a threat (Halabi et al., 2008) or violate social norms that can undermine the stability of the status quo (Halabi et al., 2012). Consequently, we hypothesized that participants would endorse more dependency-oriented relative to autonomy-oriented helping for male targets displaying antisocial (vs. prosocial) qualities. However, when the target was a woman, I expected a different pattern. Because the same antisocial characteristics pose a lesser threat when attributed to a female (vs. male) target (Becker, Kenrick, Neuberg, Blackwell, & Smith, 2007; Biernat, Ma, & Nario-Redmond, 2008), I hypothesized that that female targets displaying positive, prosocial characteristics would be “rewarded” with *dependency*-oriented assistance—representing a pattern of strategic prosocial behavior that serves to maintain the gender status quo. Thus, we propose that the meaning of dependency-oriented help differs based on the recipient’s gender: For male recipients, dependency-oriented help represents a form of punishment, whereas for female recipients, it represents a paternalistic “reward.”

As predicted, participants gave less autonomy-oriented (i.e., empowering) help to a man displaying antisocial (vs. prosocial) characteristics and more dependency-oriented (i.e., disempowering) help to a woman exhibiting prosocial (vs. antisocial) qualities. The role of seemingly positive forms of social behavior as a mechanism for social control and the relation of helping to processes of group-hierarchy and system-justifying processes are considered.

These theoretical and experimental insights are expected to help illuminate the nature of contemporary bias and its relation to prosocial forms of behavior that operate in racial and gender relations, also suggesting productive directions for future research.





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**CHAPTER I. THE SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF HOW SUBTLE FORMS OF  
BIAS RELATED TO PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR OPERATE IN RACIAL  
AND GENDER RELATIONS**

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# **CHAPTER I. THE SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF HOW SUBTLE FORMS OF BIAS RELATED TO PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR OPERATE IN RACIAL AND GENDER RELATIONS**

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## **1. 1. INTRODUCTION**

This dissertation investigates how subtle biases operate to enhance social control over racial/ethnic minorities and women in a climate in which there is widespread support for egalitarian values. Prejudice has consistently declined internationally. Representative surveys in the United States and Europe have revealed that attitudes toward racial/ethnic minorities and women are becoming increasingly favorable across the time (Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). Most Americans now deny personal bias and broadly profess that they do subscribe to egalitarian principles (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Concurrently, the Eurabrometer Surveys in 2000 and 2012 (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2001; European Commission, 2012) have revealed that attitudes toward minority groups have also become systematically more positive in Europe. Overall, in 2012, more Europeans than ever before affirmed that they would feel comfortable if a person from most of the minority groups (including women and people of a different ethnic group) were to lead their country.

In addition to showing an increase in positive intergroup attitudes over time, the Eurobarometer Surveys also reveal that there has been an increase in the support for policies designed to increase the well-being and expand the rights of minorities in the European Union. There is also extensive support for training on diversity issues in the workforce (79%), for monitoring recruitment procedures (76%), and for monitoring the composition of the labor force

(69%). It was also widely perceived (53%) that the Roma population (including, for example, Travellers, Gypsies, Manouches, Ashkali, Sinti) is a group at risk of discrimination but whose integration would benefit the society. Thus, internationally, individuals from advantaged groups highly value egalitarianism and broadly recognize that mutual intergroup acceptance and understanding are fundamental keys to promote societal harmony.

At the same time, gaps and disparities between groups continue to exist, and demographics reflect that social outcomes remain unequal. U.S. Department of Labor (2009) data reveal that a woman will likely earn approximately 73.7% to 77% of what a man will earn over their lifetimes. Only 14.3% of the top executive managerial positions in the U.S. are held by women (Catalyst, 2012). Moreover, the median wages of both Hispanic men and women are lower than the median wages of African Americans and Whites (Council of Economic Advisers for the President's Initiative on Race, 2009). Considering racial and ethnic minorities, the Council of Economic Advisers for the President's Initiative on Race (2009) offered statistical results that placed the median weekly wage for African Americans and Hispanics around 65 percent and 61 percent, respectively, in relation to the weekly wage for Whites. Racial/ethnic minority women face racism along with sexism, which amplifies barriers for advancement within the workforce (Hesse-Biber & Carter, 2005).

In the European Communities, Eurostat (2011) revealed a persistent gender wage gap, in which men have wages 16% greater than women on average, reaching up to its maximum of 35% for part-time workers in Spain. Moreover, the gender pay gap and occupational segregation (in lower-paying and lower-status occupations, part-time jobs) have far-reaching effects like lower pensions in Europe (European Commission, 2011) and the US, as well as fewer benefits and less access to insurance in the US (Hesse-Biber & Carter 2005, p. 206). In the European Union,

despite the increase of positive attitudes toward ethnic/racial minority groups, Europeans admit the existence of negative attitudes toward the Roma and believe that their country fellows would feel uncomfortable (34%) or ‘fairly’ uncomfortable (28%) if their children had Roma schoolmates (European Commission, 2012). The British example shows an “ethnic penalty” for Black and Asian Britons, consisting in restrictions in housing opportunities, (Heath & Cheung, 2007), limited job opportunities, and poorer health outcomes than White Britons (Blackaby, Leslie, Murphy, & O’Leary, 2002; Modood et al., 1997).

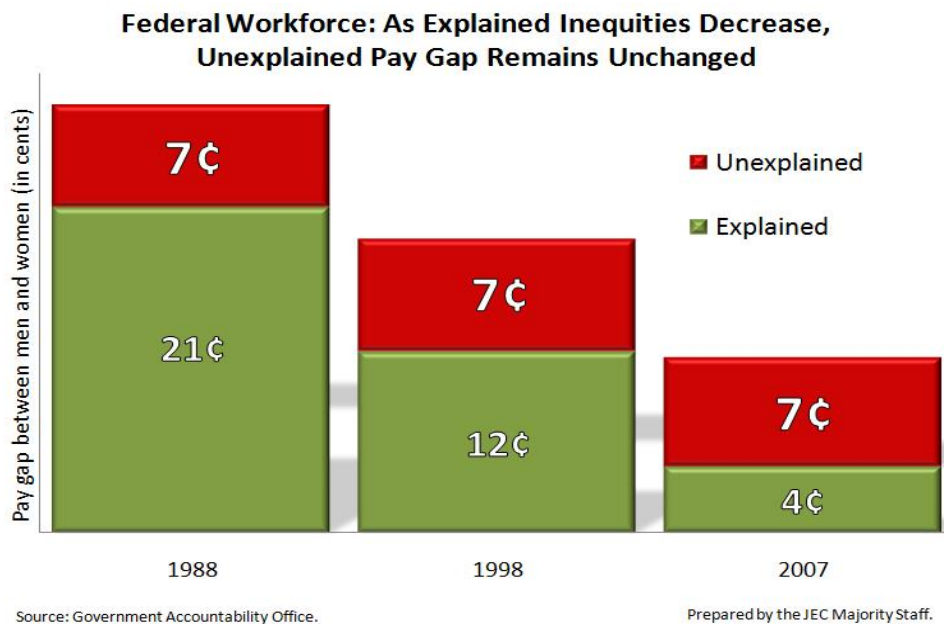
Racial, ethnic, and gender biases, which now may be expressed more subtly than in the past (Pearson et al., 2009), may contribute directly to these social disparities and the restriction of access to socio-economic opportunities for women and ethnic/racial minorities. For example, in the US, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) studied race in the labor market by sending fictitious resumes to help-wanted advertisements in metropolitan newspapers. They found that, given the same qualifications, applicants with White-sounding names were approximately 50% more likely to be contacted for an interview than those with a Black-sounding name. In Ireland, McGinnity and Nelson (2009) similarly found that candidates with Irish names were over twice as likely to be invited to interview for advertised jobs as minority group candidates with identifiably non-Irish names (e.g. Asian, African, and German names), even though both submitted equivalent resumes.

Sexism also has direct and persistent influences on the economic well-being of women. In a recent audit study, women applying for a position in the sciences were viewed as less competent and less worthy of being hired than men with exactly the same qualifications (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012). More generally, analyses by the United States Congress Joint Economic Committee (2007) revealed that while the gender gap in

pay attributable to different levels of education and experience, and other job-related qualifications has consistently declined over time, the “unexplained pay gap,” which likely reflects social bias, remains unchanged (see Figure 1). Accordingly, the economist Alan Manning (2006) argues that, because of discrimination, women’s salaries will remain lower than men’s salaries for the next 150 years.

**Figure 1: Federal Workforce – Gender Pay Gap Unchanged**

Dec 01 2007



The present dissertation examines the role of ethnic, racial, and gender bias in social and economic policy decision-making. The dissertation applies psychological theory about how the nature of subtle, contemporary bias to help explain why social disparities may persist while overt expressions of racism and sexism have substantially declined. This work hypothesizes that bias is currently expressed in subtle, often ostensibly prosocial, ways. This thesis reviews how modern forms of bias have evolved over time and how they relate to the maintenance of groups’ social

hierarchical position. Specifically, I aim to increase the knowledge of how subtle forms of bias related to prosocial behavior operate in racial and gender relations. Thus, the dissertation explores contemporary types of subtle bias that are expressed in the form of helping behavior that influence ethnic/racial intergroup and gender relations.

## **1.2. CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL BIAS**

Prejudice has been traditionally defined as a negative attitude, including feelings of hostility. In his seminal volume, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1954) defined prejudice as “an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he [sic] is a member of that group” (p. 9). Most researchers have continued to define prejudice as a negative attitude (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010).

Perhaps because of increasing egalitarian social norms, contemporary social biases are less overtly negative while subtly restricting opportunities for social advancement of members of traditionally disadvantaged groups. This bias is often cloaked in system-justifying ideologies that rationalize the advantages that some groups experience over others. According to System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost & Van der Toorn, 2012), people are motivated to defend, justify, and bolster aspects of the status quo. They engage in psychological processes by which they legitimize the institutions and arrangements in society, thereby coming to see social inequality as not only legitimate but also natural and normal. System-justifying processes are often activated unconsciously, without deliberate awareness or intent (see Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002; Jost et al., 2004; Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002). The influences, in the form of general ideological motives, contribute to the

defense and legitimating of the existing social order, justifying disparities between groups across time and societies.

Subtle bias may be particularly pernicious because it often operates without recognition or intervention. System-justifying ideologies and legitimatizing myths are, in fact, often endorsed by members of disadvantaged groups. For example, Kay et al. (2009) manipulated how dependent women felt on government actions and policies and then exposed them, under the guise of an article describing the responsibilities of the Canadian Parliament, to a graph showing that currently only 20% of the members of Parliament were women. Consistent with System Justification Theory, women who were led to believe that they were highly dependent on the government were more likely to defend the status quo, endorsing the present status of women in parliament as appropriate, than were women who believed that they were low in dependency. System Justification Theory thus accounts for the fact that low-status group members often support the status quo, often at a cost to themselves and fellow group members (see Jost et al., 2004).

Besides being motivated to justify the social system generally, people are motivated to justify the hierarchical positions that specific groups occupy in society. Social Dominance Theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) focuses on the maintenance of social group-based hierarchies, supported not by generalized hostility but by the process of the psychological competition for social prestige and superiority over other groups. Social Dominance Theory proposes that broadly shared cultural ideologies operate in the form of legitimizing myths that provide the moral and intellectual justification for the maintenance of group-based inequalities. Examples of such group-serving ideologies are the Protestant Work Ethic and Meritocracy. The Protestant Work Ethic asserts that humans control their own fate and emphasizes that people

should work hard as the means to success (Mirels & Garrett, 1971); meritocracy focuses more strongly on the value of a person's input than on the effort expended by the person in their input. From these perspectives, people who are disadvantaged socioeconomically are often assumed to have "earned" their lower status through lack of motivation or ability (Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007).

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) reflects individual differences in which people endorse group hierarchy (Ho et al., 2012; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). SDO items include: "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups"; "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups"; "Inferior groups should stay in their place"; and reversed-scored items, "Increased social equality is beneficial to society"; "No group should dominate in society." In the United States and Europe (Hiel & Mervielde, 2002; Zick, Küpper, & Hövermann, 2011), SDO is associated with overt racism, competition and aggressive attitudes toward outgroups, rejection of equalitarian social policies, endorsement of subtle legitimizing ideologies, and conservatism (Freeman, Aquino, & McFerran, 2009; Sears, Haley, & Henry, 2008).

Because contemporary bias is typically obscured by personal rationalizations (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004), ideologies, and system-justifying myths and standards (Jost & van der Toorn, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), modern forms of racism and sexism are less recognizable or seen as less objectionable than traditional forms. For instance, in the US, people are more likely to endorse biased responses on Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) and the Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002) than they to endorse items representing Old-Fashioned Racism (McConahay, 1986). Whereas items on scales of traditional racism assess support for directly biased statements ("Because the Netherlands is not their natural homeland, ethnic



minorities have in fact no right to be here”; Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993), items on the Modern Racism and Symbolic Racism Scales incorporate potential rationalizations. For example, an item on the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) is, “Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States”; an item on the Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002) is, “How much discrimination against Blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?” Endorsement of Modern Racism and Symbolic Racism are typically even better predictors of biased behavior than traditional racism (Sears & Henry, 2005).

In the context of gender relations, modern sexism seems to be a more socially acceptable expression of prejudice than old-fashioned sexism (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995). As in the relation between Modern Racism and Old-Fashioned Racism, Modern Sexism involves support for items involving justifications for restricting the roles of women (“Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement”), whereas Traditional Sexism reflects more direct expressions of bias (“Women are generally not as smart as men”) (Swim et al., 1995). However, as it occurs with different forms of racism, both types of sexism imply prejudicial beliefs and discriminatory behaviors that have negative consequences for women.

Consistent with the idea that modern sexism is more socially acceptable than traditional sexism, Barreto and Ellemers (2005) conducted a study in the Netherlands to examine the differences in the extent to which old-fashioned versus modern sexist statements were recognized as holding prejudiced attitudes, as well as the affective consequences of exposure to both kinds of sexism for males and females. They found that people agreed more strongly with expressions of Modern Sexism in relation to expressions of Old-Fashioned Sexism, and this

difference was particularly strong among female participants. Moreover, Old-Fashioned and Modern Sexism both had negative consequences, but of a different type. Old-Fashioned Sexism elicited more hostility toward women by both men and women, while Modern Sexism induced more anxiety among women and less among men. The authors concluded that consequences of Modern Sexism that threaten women's identity like inferior ability, dependence on males or deficiency on pursue of a career that root on stereotypical attributions to women may be the cause of the greater anxiety among women (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999).

While overt forms of bias still exist and directly negatively affect racial/ethnic minorities and women, the present dissertation focuses on subtle expressions of bias. Indeed, subtle bias may be particularly pernicious because it maintains an imbalance of resources and opportunities between groups in society while avoiding recognition of unfair treatment and often inducing the cooperation of members of disadvantaged groups through actions that appear positive and seemingly promote harmony but have longer-term negative implications by reinforcing hierarchical relations (Jackman, 1994; Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008; Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2006). Paternalism, which involves actions that limit the freedom of members of a group with the justification that it is "for their own good," seems to be a powerful instrument to persuade members of particular groups to accept a subordinate position in the group hierarch, allowing the group showing paternalism dominance.

Glick and Fiske (2001) argued that Paternalism (Benevolent Sexism) reflects a desire to domesticate and exploit a low status group while it serves as an ideological trend that legitimates the status inequality favoring the dominant group. Thus, the development of bonds of affection in a form of parental protection while exercising absolute authority over the low status group shapes intergroup relations in a way that molds the low status group's behavior into the

acceptance of stable disparities between them and the dominant group (Jackman, 1994). In gender relations, paternalism may lead to women's acceptance of sexist ideologies, and therefore to reduce the likelihood that women will challenge the status quo by seeking greater independence and higher status. For example, Rudman and Heppen (2003) found that college women who implicitly associated male romantic partners with gentlemanly portraits had less ambitious career goals, probably because they were relying on a future protector and husband to provide for them (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Similarly, with respect to race, Brueggemann (2000) analyzed the link between paternalism and stratification in the case of the investment that Henry Ford made toward the Black community in Detroit in the 1930s. Ford offered labor opportunities to Blacks in a period of systematized social, educational and economic disadvantages, and unfavorable labor conditions for African Americans. Thus, while exploiting them and assuring their loyalty to the company's interests, it also prevented Black employees from aligning with other organizational mechanisms (like a union) to pursue their group's development (Meyer, 1981). Overall, unequal social relations "are driven not by hostility but by the desire to control subordinates" (Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005, p. 101). The present dissertation examined one mechanism related to paternalism – the influence of helping behavior.

### **1.3. HELPING AND POWER RELATIONS**

Helping relations are a complex phenomenon involving multiple causes and multifaceted human interaction. Social psychological research has examined helping relations as an expression of solidarity and genuine caring for others in need (e.g. Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005), which reinforces individuals' common connection (Caprara & Steca, 2005; Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder & Penner, 2006; Reicher & Haslam, 2010).

However, recent research on helping and intergroup relations also examines helping interactions as an expression of inequality in social relations. Much of this research has been influenced by the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002). This model has received considerable, converging empirical support over the past decade (e.g., Cunningham & Platow, 2007; Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008; Nadler & Halabi, 2006; van Leeuwen, Täuber, & Sassenberg, 2011). The studies that I present in this doctoral dissertation focus on this aspect of helping relations as power relations. My dissertation research examines the relationship between intergroup relations and helping relations for women (Chapter II) and ethnic minorities (Chapter III), and as a function of status threat (Chapter IV).

The Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model explains the ways that groups use intergroup helping relations as a mechanism to maintain or challenge hierarchy and social advantage. Indeed, the model, depicted in Figure 2, suggests that helping outgroup members, at least in particular ways, contributes to maintaining the ingroup's positive distinctiveness, and that being willing to receive help from the outgroup implicates the acceptance of the receiving group's lower status. Both cases describe a general picture of the mechanisms that underlie the perpetuation of social inequity.

By contrast, low status group members can challenge the existing social hierarchy by refusing to seek or receive help from the outgroup. These helping dynamics are presented in Figure 2, identifying the principal factors that are involved in intergroup helping relations: (a) nature of intergroup power relations (high perceived legitimacy and stability vs. low perceived legitimacy and stability), and (b) type of help that is offered (independent vs. dependent help). Nadler's model considers both the type of assistance offered by members of high status groups and the responses of members of low status groups to this help.

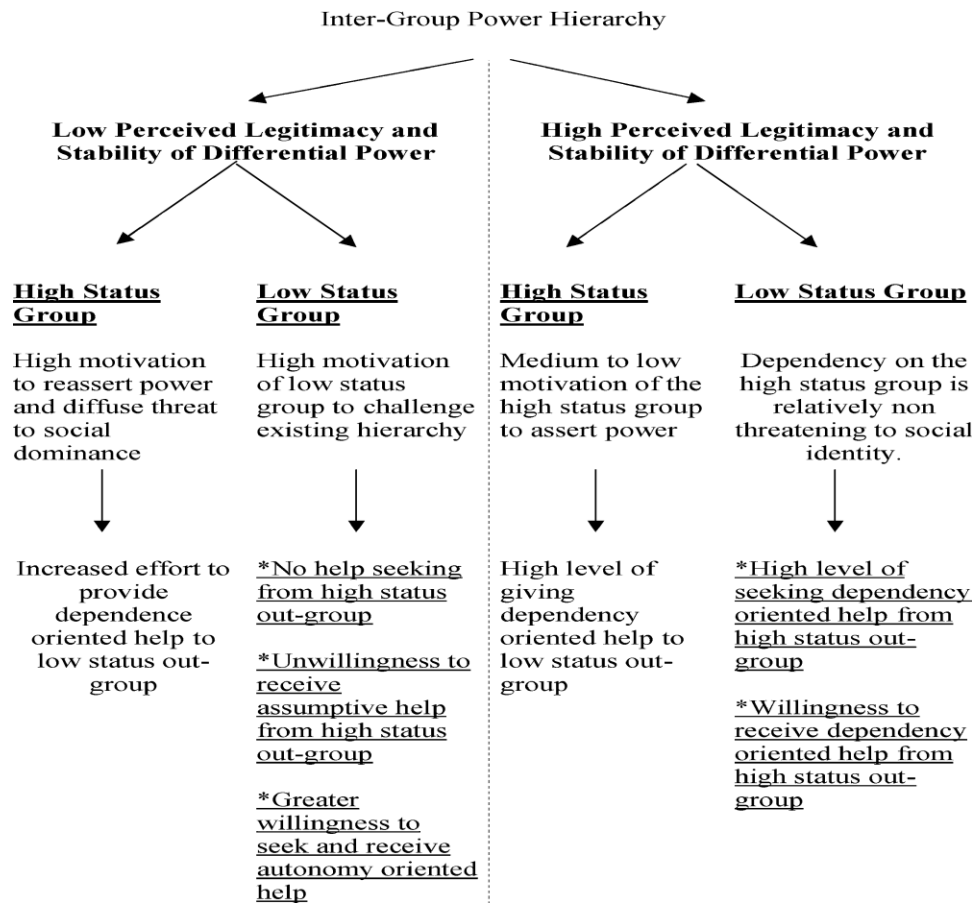


Figure 2. Intergroup helping relations as affected by perceived legitimacy and stability of power relations between groups. From “Inter-group helping relations as power relations: Maintaining or challenging social dominance between groups through helping,” by A. Nadler, 2002, *Journal of Social Issues*, 58, 487–502.

The Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model builds directly on fundamental tenets of Social Identity Theory. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) states that a critical factor shaping intergroup relations is the nature of power relations, particularly the *security of hierarchical status relations between groups*. Secure status relations are perceived as stable and legitimate, whereas insecure relations are perceived as illegitimate and/or unstable. When the status hierarchy is perceived as secure, neither high-status group members nor low-status group members are motivated to challenge inequality. However, when the status hierarchy is perceived

as insecure, high-status group members are motivated to preserve the status quo by strengthening the low status group's dependence on them (Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, & Ben-David, 2009). Low-status group members, by contrast exhibit greater motivation to initiate social change when status relations between the groups are more insecure (Nadler & Halabi, 2006). For example, in a series of experiments, van Leeuwen, Täuber, and Sassenberg (2011) demonstrated that under conditions of social conflict between groups, participants were (a) less willing to seek help from the other group in general and (b) less willing to seek help that increases their dependency on the other group in particular.

According to the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002), these motivations are reflected in the type of assistance offered by members of high status groups to members of low status groups and in reciprocal responses of members of low status to offers of assistance by high status groups (see Figure 2). In terms of assistance offered, Nadler (2002) distinguished between dependency-oriented and autonomy-oriented help. Dependency-oriented help offers an immediate solution to the problem and it assumes that the recipient of the help does not have the knowledge or the resources to solve the problem by him/herself. Autonomy-oriented help provides the appropriate tools to solve a problem. This kind of help preserves the independence of the recipient of the help in dealing with the problem in the future. Thus, when intergroup relations are perceived as less secure, members of high status groups are more likely to offer dependency-oriented, relative to autonomy-oriented, help to members of low status groups.

Experimental research on the subject has demonstrated the validity of the Helping as Status Relations Model and its consideration of helping as a social mechanism to ensure the helper's prestige and power. Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, and Ben David (2008) used the term *defensive*

*helping* to describe how the advantaged group can use helping strategically to defend against threats to their social identity and protect their privileged position in society. Ostensibly on the basis of a dot estimation task (but actually randomly), these researchers assigned participants to a group of “global” or “specific” perceivers. Nadler et al. (Study 1) found that participants who identified more strongly with their group were more likely to offer assistance to the other group in order to enhance the status of their group, particularly when they felt that status was threatened. In addition, in a second study, in which the stability of the status between high schools was portrayed as less stable (Nadler et al., 2009, Study 2 and Study 3), students from a high status high school offered more patronizing assistance (help on an easy task) dependency-oriented help but not empowering help (help on a difficult task) and autonomy-oriented help to students from a low status high school.

Because accepting assistance reinforces the subordinate status of the recipient to the donor of helping (see Nadler & Halabi, 2006), members of low status groups tend to respond negatively to offers of assistance from high status groups (Deelstra, Peeters, Schaufeli, Stroebe, Zijlstra, & van Doornen, 2003). However, these negative responses are particularly likely to occur when status relations are insecure and members of low status groups are particularly motivated to improve the position of their group and the type of help offered is dependency-oriented.

Recent findings on intergroup helping also demonstrate that help seeking has different meanings and different implications for members of high-status groups versus members of low-status groups. Following a pattern of “a stigma-consistent behavior,” high-status group members that seek for help are considered to be competent individuals are highly motivated to overcome an obstacle, resulting in autonomy-oriented help. However, the seeking help behavior of low-

status group members is viewed as lack of ability, which is a confirming stereotype of weakness that results in dependency-oriented help (Nadler & Chernyak-Hai, 2014).

Although Nadler's (2002) Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model encompasses responses of both helpers and recipients of help in intergroup contexts, my dissertation focuses on the type of help that is offered. That is, my emphasis is on the helper. The dissertation extends previous work by integrating principles and paradigms from the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model with research on intergroup relations between members of different ethnic and racial groups and with work on patronizing forms of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007; Glick & Fiske, 2001). In addition, this dissertation considers individual differences that can moderate the relationship between intergroup status relations and the type of help that is offered to ethnic minorities.

#### **1.4. ETHNICITY, RACE, POWER RELATIONS, AND HELPING**

Research guided by the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model (Nadler, 2002) has examined various forms of relations between racial and ethnic groups, representing different social statuses. Intergroup helping relations are a complex phenomenon that involves varied motives to give help and subsequently reactions to receiving help. For example, when members of the dominant group feel responsible for the disadvantaged position of the members of the low-status group, and feel guilty for them, they get into prosocial actions to compensate the damage of institutionalized inequities. Iyer, Leach, & Crosby (2003), and Leach, Bilali, and Pagliaro (in press) found that White Americans who felt guilty for their supremacy position over Black Americans were more likely to help them in order to relieve their feelings of collective guilt.

Consistent with the Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002), Model, the *ways* people help members of other groups are shaped by motives to maintain or achieve higher status



for their group. Halabi et al. (2008) found, for example, that Israeli Jews offered Israeli Arabs less help, and particularly less autonomy-oriented help, than other Israeli Jews across a variety of problem-solving situations. Moreover, when status relations were perceived as threatened by the educational progress made by Israeli Arabs, Israeli Jew offered more dependency-oriented, relative to autonomy-oriented assistance to Israeli Arabs. Members of other dominant ethnic groups, residents of host countries, also dispense more dependency-oriented help than autonomy-oriented help to immigrants when they are perceived as a threat (Jackson & Esses, 2000) and give them more dependency-oriented help compared to ingroup members when the status relations are perceived as unstable (Cunningham & Platow, 2007).

Opposition to affirmative action programs that are designed to promote autonomy and independence among low status members may be a socially acceptable expression of racial prejudice in societies where more blatant ways of discrimination are seemed as illegitimate (McConahay, 1986), and that this objection to affirmative action programs is a way to maintain social hierarchy and ingroup advantage (Augustinos, Ahrnes, & Innes, 1994).

The literature on intergroup helping has also examined the psychological effects of receiving help and its influence on ethnic relations. Specifically, Halabi, Nadler and Dovidio (2011) demonstrated the arousal of negative reactions to receiving help in the context of intergroup relations between Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews. Their study showed that in a situation where Israeli Arab participants were exposed to a difficult described task versus an easy one, those who obtained the help of a high-status outgroup member (a Israeli Jew) or on an easy task showed more negative reactions than those who received help from a ingroup member (a Israeli Arab) or on a difficult task. Particularly, when status relations are perceived as illegitimate and unstable and help is dependency-oriented, low status groups members who are offered

assistance by members of high status group (such as Israeli Arabs being offered help by Israeli Jews; Halabi, Dovidio & Nadler, 2012) are likely to express suspicions about the motives of such assistance and respond negatively to it, reducing their willingness to accept help from members of the high status group.

Receiving dependency-oriented help can also undermine the self-confidence of members of a low status group. For example, a study among Black and White American students, Schneider, Major, Luhtanen, and Crocker (1996) revealed that Black students who received unsolicited support from a White peer perceived themselves as less competent than Black students who did not receive this type of help. Steele (1992) argues that affirmative action programs that are based on stereotypical deficiencies of the low status group members can create a “suspicion of inferiority” for the beneficiaries and damage their self-esteem (Turner & Pratkanis, 1994).

Moreover, the link between dependency-oriented help and the promotion of chronic dependency is a vicious cycle that has been examined in the educational field. D’Errico, Leone, & Mastrovito (2011) found that Italian teachers overhelped recently emigrated children from Romania giving them much dependency-oriented help compared to Italian children. This dynamic influenced children of the low status group to behave less autonomously than Italian children in their interaction with their teacher while solving a puzzle task, and it subsequently reinforced children of the low status’ chronic dependency and lower status.

Because maintaining status hierarchy appears to be involved in both gender and racial/ethnic intergroup relations (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), different forms of helping behavior can also affect the processes of gender-based group hierarchy, contributing to the perpetuation of structural disparities.

## **1.5. GENDER, POWER RELATIONS, AND HELPING**

The perceived legitimacy and stability of the dominance of men over women has substantially changed over the years. In the past, gender hierarchy was viewed as a stable and legitimate social phenomenon. However, women are now more prevalent in the labor force (Cotter, England, & Hermsen, 2008) and involved in new social spheres beyond domestic relations and traditional “female” occupations (Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman 2004, pp. 10-14; England & Folbre, 2005). Thus, men’s social advantage over women is no longer considered stable or legitimate; gender hierarchical relations have evolved into an insecure and changeable condition (Diekman, Goodfriend, & Goodwin, 2004; Nadler, 2002).

In these circumstances of recent instability of the male dominant group’s hegemony, the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002) predicts that the dominant group will defend its social advantage by reinforcing the low status group’s dependence on them. Providing dependency-oriented help to women contributes to institutionalizing women’s chronic dependency and social disadvantage, while still being consistent with general social norms of being gracious and supportive to women in need. Compatible with research on benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; see also Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2010), it establishes an environment of caring and support for women that endorse the valuable “feminine” qualities while their social roles remain restricted compared to men.

Moreover, Jackman (1994) and Biernat and Vescio (2002) found that women also supported paternalistic biases against women. In particular, Biernat and Vescio (2002) found that women, as much as men, engaged in patronizing forms of praise while still discriminating against competent women. Also, in a series of studies, Kay et al. (2009) demonstrated that people’s motivations to justify and preserve the status quo, which are equally strong for women and men,

lead women to support policies and take actions maintain the status quo, ultimately perpetuating gender inequality. Specifically, Kay et al. found that women who felt dependent on the social system were as likely as men to support the status quo rather than endorse affirmative action policies that would benefit the social advancement of women. Furthermore, after being presented with information that women were underrepresented in politics or in business, under conditions designed to elicit greater system justification needs participants of both genders engaged in actions that would reinforce the underrepresentation of women in these domains (e.g., rating a “deviating” woman’s competence and likeability poorly).

Chapter II in the present dissertation investigates how prosocial behavior offered by both men and women can contribute to gender hierarchy. My hypothesis is that, because of prevalent motivations for system justification (Jost et al., 2004; Jost & Van der Toorn, 2012) and to preserve the status quo (Kay et al., 2009), both men and women would support women who displayed prosocial characteristics in a seemingly positive way through dependency-oriented helping. Thus, this pattern would maintain and reinforce traditional gender hierarchy (Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005, JPSP). The present dissertation examines the role of helping in maintaining the status quo of intergroup relations generally and of dominance of men over women specifically. The next section thus discusses the role of gender in helping.

### **1.5.1. Gender Differences in Helping**

Research on the development of prosocial behavior has examined male-female differences in helping generally, examining when, how, and why differences in helping and in seeking help between women and men occur. Some early findings in this area suggested that men were significantly more helpful than women, such as the results obtained when examining the relative frequency of heroic actions (i.e., risky rescues to save another human life by men and by women;

Huston, Ruggiero, Conner, & Geis, 1981). Becker and Eagly (2004) found that, throughout the past century, less than 10 percent of women appeared in the list of ordinary people who received awards for engaging in heroic acts to save the life of another person (Carnegie Hero Fund Commission Requirements Section, paragraph 1). However, women appeared to be more helpful than men in other types of high-risk situations, such as during the Holocaust in Europe, when Christians risked their lives to save Jews (Becker & Eagly, 2004).

In nonemergency situations, women have been found to more likely to work in caring careers like teaching or nursing, to become involved in volunteering activities, and to be organ donors (Becker & Eagly, 2004; Biller-Andorno, 2002; Cancian & Olicker, 2000; Fletcher & Major, 2004; Otten, Penner, & Waugh, 1988; Zimmerman, Donnelly, Miller, Steward, & Albert, 2000). Additional studies of children and adolescents have also shown that girls have stronger prosocial values, more prosocial attitudes, and engage in more prosocial behavior than boys (Beutel & Johnson, 2004; Pakaslahti, Karjalainen, Keltikangas-Järvinen, 2002; Persson, 2005). Overall, women and girls seem to be an important source of help to others.

The concepts of gender and gender role play important roles in understanding gender differences in helping. Traditional female gender roles that describe women as and prescribe women to be communal and nurturing may lead women to respond to people distress with empathic emotion and sympathetic responses (Becker & Eagly, 2004), providing more emotional support and counseling about personal problems (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1991) than their male counterparts. By contrast, the male gender role emphasizes risky and courageous behaviors for the protection of others and situates men as competent benefactors (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). Consequently, men may engage in different kinds of prosocial actions, such as emergency heroic interventions and in gentlemanlike behaviors to protect others that are viewed as less able and

powerful, that reflect traditional expectations associated with men. Consistent with this reasoning, Kidder (2002) examined gender differences in organizational citizenship behavior and found that women were more likely than men to help their coworkers in general, whereas men were more prone than women to help advance the organization. Furthermore, people who work in female-dominated careers, compared to male-oriented field, are more likely to engage in altruism.

This evidence supports the hypothesis that socialization critically determines gender differences in helping. However, despite consistent gender differences in prosocial orientations, gender of a potential benefactor has not played a significant moderating role in the context of the dynamics of helping in research on the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002). My dissertation thus explores possible ways that the gender of a potential benefactor could affect whether women and men differ in the type of help they offer, dependency- or autonomy-oriented. On the one hand, to the extent that women are more responsive than men to the needs of a person in need (Eagly, 2009), they may be generally more likely to offer autonomy-, relative to dependency-, oriented help than men. On the other hand, to the extent that women's greater helpfulness than men's stems from socialization influences directing how women should behave, women would likely show the same pattern of dependency- relative to autonomy-oriented helping as men. As noted earlier, women and men have similar motivations to preserve the status quo (Jost et al., 2011) and may therefore show similar patterns of helping to support the status quo, including gender relations. That is, women may contribute in the same ways as men to the maintenance of a "justified" system based on power relations between the sexes (Kay et al., 2009).

Intergroup helping relations are also affected by group members' individual characteristics. In the next section, I discuss intergroup helping patterns within the social identity perspective, considering the level of ingroup identification (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). I also consider how general endorsement or intergroup hierarchy and specific prejudices affect helping relations.

### **1.6. INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES AND HELPING**

Individual differences play a general role in helping behavior. People who are higher in empathy and in feelings of efficacy are typically more helpful (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder & Penner, 2006). However, with respect to the helping as a way to establish or attain status (Nadler, 2002), the two most influential individual differences have been ingroup identification and Social Dominance Orientation. Ingroup identification refers to the degree to which a group membership is a valued and central element in one's identity (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999; Leach, Mosquera, Vliek, & Hirt, 2010). Individuals with a higher level of ingroup identification are more likely to use helping relations as a way to preserve or promote their group's social position. Nadler and Halabi (2006) found that high identifiers were less willing to accept help from the high-status outgroup than low identifiers, and that this reaction was more pronounced when status relations were perceived as unstable and help was dependency-oriented.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), which represents individual differences in support of group-based hierarchy ideologies, also systematically influences the ways people choose to help members of another group. In general, because people higher in SDO tend to see intergroup relations as more zero-sum and are motivated to support their group's status, tend to give less autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented help across group lines. Higher SDO Canadians were less likely to give autonomy-oriented forms of

help to immigrants (Jackson & Esses, 2000), and similarly, higher SDO Israeli Jews were less likely to support giving autonomy-oriented help to Israeli Arabs (Halabi et al., 2008).

Intergroup prejudices are also a potentially important, but less examined, individual difference within the context of Nadler's (2002) model. Opposition to affirmative action programs that are designed to promote autonomy and independence among members of low status groups may be a socially acceptable expression of racial prejudice in societies where more blatant ways of discrimination are deemed illegitimate (McConahay, 1986). This objection to affirmative action program that provide autonomy-oriented help may thus be a way to maintain social hierarchy and ingroup advantage (Augustinos, Ahrnes, & Innes, 1994). The link between dependency-oriented help and the promotion of chronic dependency of negatively-valued groups has also been examined in the educational field. D'Erico, Leone, and Mastrovito (2011) found that Italian teachers "overhelped" recently-emigrated children from Romania, giving them much more dependency-oriented help compared to Italian children. This dynamic influenced children of the low status group to behave less autonomously than Italian children in their interaction with their teacher while solving a puzzle task, and it subsequently reinforced there lower status and potentially contributed to chronic dependency.

My dissertation extends Nadler's (2002) framework in two ways. First, whereas Nadler's model has focused primarily on relations between ethnic groups with long-term competitive relations (Israeli Jews and Arabs), my dissertation investigates the applicability of this framework to gender relations. An objective of this research is to illuminate how helping behavior can operate as a social control mechanism that shape hierarchical relations for women and men. Moreover, the present dissertation expands on the work of Nadler by considering



directly the role of prejudice toward the specific recipients of help as a moderator of the type of assistance that people offer.

## **1.7. THE PRESENT DISSERTATION**

Helping behavior, then, can be a key mechanism in maintaining power relations between different groups. This doctoral dissertation focuses on intergroup processes in helping, demonstrating different patterns of helping for ingroup and outgroup members, and the interrelation between some individual differences and helping. The kind and amount of help that women and racial outgroups members would receive when the dominant group individuals are asked to offer them help, will follow an Intergroup Helping Relations as Power Relations Model (Nadler, 2002) that would allow privileged group members to maintain their high status in the society. This model distinguishes between two types of helping, dependency oriented or offering of a full solution to the problem and independency oriented or equipping with the necessary tools to face and solve the problem. These concepts are compatible with the division that offered Jackson and Esses (2000), differentiating between dependency- and autonomy-oriented help. We are interested in demonstrating that prejudice against women and ethnic/racial outgroup members can be expressed in symbolic ways such as subtle bias in the amount and type of helping that is offered to them.

This doctoral dissertation describes a series of experimental studies that examined gender and racial/ethnic subtle bias in intra- and inter-group helping, and the role of prejudice in this process. In Study 1, I examined how gender stereotypes influence helping behaviors as power relations that perpetuate inequality of women and men. In Study 2, I investigated the relation between prejudice against Latinos and subtle bias, and compared the degree to which people offer autonomy-oriented relative to dependency-oriented assistance to a Latina in relation to an

African American and a White woman in need. Finally, Study 3 explored how cooperation versus competition behaviors influences intergroup helping relations.

## **1.8. AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION**

This doctoral dissertation aims to investigate how subtle forms of bias towards women and ethnic minorities affects the development of prosocial behavior in a culturally diverse society like the US, and how intergroup helping relations are shaped to maintain the privileged status of dominant groups in the society.

Adopting Nadler's (2002) Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model, I aim to enrich the literature on gender and racial/ethnic biases, examining how different forms of helping can be used as an important social control mechanism. Specifically, I aim to demonstrate that:

- (a) Helping, an ostensibly prosocial behavior, can be a vehicle for contemporary forms of bias that reinforces the subordinate status of racial/ethnic minorities (Chapter II) and women (Chapter III);
- (b) Prejudice against racial/ethnic minorities (Chapter II) and women (Chapter III) can be expressed in subtle forms as in the amount and type of help (independent vs. dependent help) that members of dominant groups offer to them.
- (c) People's social and economic policy decision-making can be affected by the motivations to support current hierarchical relations between groups (Chapters II and III).
- (d) Individual differences in intergroup orientations (Modern Racism and Social Dominance Orientation) play an important role in bias in intergroup helping relations (Chapter II).

**CHAPTER II. THE DYNAMICS OF INTERGROUP HELPING: THE CASE  
OF SUBTLE BIAS AGAINST LATINOS**

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## **Abstract**

Despite the traditional importance of Latinos in the US, the growing Latino population, and evidence of group-based disparities, psychological studies of discrimination against Latinos are surprisingly rare. The present research investigated the relationship between prejudice against Latinos and subtle bias, specifically the degree to which people offer autonomy-oriented relative to dependency-oriented assistance to a Latina in need. Participants read scenarios that described concrete social problems faced by particular Latinas, African Americans, or Whites and then indicated their support for forms of helping. Participants higher in prejudice against Latinos, assessed with an adaptation of the Modern Racism Scale, were less likely to offer autonomy-oriented help, and significantly more so after reading scenarios about a Latina than about an African American or a White woman. These findings extend previous work by identifying, experimentally, subtle bias against Latinas in helping and directly implicate the role of prejudice against Latinos in this process.

*Keywords:* Latinos; Prejudice; Intergroup Helping; Subtle Bias

## **2.1. THE DYNAMICS OF INTERGROUP HELPING: THE CASE OF SUBTLE BIAS AGAINST LATINOS**

The United States and other countries worldwide are rapidly becoming more diverse, and this diversity has become more complex, involving many different racial and ethnic groups simultaneously. For example, Latinos (15.4% of the population) have surpassed African Americans (12.2% of the population) as the largest minority group in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2009). Moreover, demographic projections by the US Census Bureau indicate that by 2050 non-Hispanic Whites will be a numerical minority group (representing less than 50% of the population) and that Latinos are the racial/ethnic minority group that is contributing the most to this population change. Yet, within the United States, the study of intergroup relations has focused primarily on relations between White and African Americans (Dovidio, Gluszek, John, Dittmann, & Lagunes, 2010; Sears, Citrin, & van Laar, 1995). Indeed, only 7% of the research in intergroup relations has considered bias toward Latinos (Dovidio et al., 2010; see also Ramirez, 1988). Accordingly, the present research was designed to investigate individual differences in bias against Latinos and its contemporary expression.

Despite the rapidly expanding population, Latinos suffer economic and social disparities (US Census Bureau, 2007) and discrimination (Bratt, Stone, & Hartman, 2006; Espino & Franz, 2002) comparable to those experienced by African Americans. In addition, intergroup dynamics unique to the Latino population and their situation in the US distinctively define the nature of contemporary prejudice against Latinos. For example, recent research revealed that when White American participants were presented with information regarding their soon-to-be numerical minority status, they expressed more anger and fear toward ethnic minority groups, an effect that

was mediated by perceptions of the ingroup's status as threatened (Outten, Schmitt, Miller, & Garcia, 2012). Given that Latinos are the primary cause of these demographic changes that White Americans find threatening, Latinos may be a primary recipient of contemporary forms of intergroup bias.

Further supporting this reasoning, recent research also indicates that Latino Americans are particularly likely to be excluded from the American national identity. Inclusion in a national identity can be defined either in terms of "ethnic nationalism," which reflects shared ancestry, or in terms of "civic nationalism," which instead reflects commitment to a nation's defining ideals, standards, and social norms (e.g., Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). Unlike African Americans who, because of their historical presence in the United States, deviate from the prototypical (i.e., White) American primarily on the ethnic dimension, Latino Americans deviate from the prototype on *both* dimensions (Dovidio et al., 2010). Indeed, Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, and Gomez (2012) found that Latino American targets were excluded from the American national identity even when they were high in status (in terms of profession) and fit both the civic prototype (by engaging in public service that benefited the nation) and the ethnic prototype (by not identifying strongly with their ethnicity). That is, even though public service on behalf of America and low ethnic identification served to reduce exclusion, exclusion remained substantial in each experimental condition, particularly on implicit measures (Yogeeswaran et al., 2012).

Perhaps as a result of such pervasive exclusion from the American national identity, Latinos and their status in the US have aroused substantial political debate. For example, Arizona's proposed immigrant law SB 1070 required state and local police to determine a person's immigration status if there is "reasonable suspicion" they are undocumented (Arizona

Peace Officer Standards and Training Board, 2010). Moreover, current political discourse portrays Latinos generally as undocumented immigrants, raises questions about the legitimacy of their receiving basic forms of assistance and support, and dehumanizes them (Rodriguez, 1999; Trujillo, 2012). As a consequence, policies that offer assistance to Latinos for more education, greater economic opportunity, better health, and full rights as US citizens (e.g., the Dream Act) frequently meet considerable political opposition (Ramirez, 2012). Although most people will not express their social biases directly in the form of advocating harm for members of another group because it violates strong egalitarian norms against discrimination in the US, they will more commonly express their biases by withholding assistance (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). The present research thus focused on willingness to help members of different groups.

While much of the traditional research emphasis on prejudice and discrimination has been on blatant bias and aggression against minority groups, primarily against African Americans, contemporary bias may be substantially more subtle. In particular, because of strong egalitarian social norms and personal values, intergroup bias is currently expressed in the United States in more indirect ways (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). In general, overtly negative behavior may be avoided because it can readily be seen, by others and oneself, as being biased. However, bias may be expressed in less obvious ways. Contemporary bias may be more apparent in the failure to behave positively toward minorities, reflected for instance in decisions about assistance that may be offered (Gaertner et al., 1997). The literature on racial/ethnic biases in helping has focused predominantly on Whites helping African Americans (for a review, see Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005). The present work thus extended this line of research by examining the relationship between prejudice against Latinos and helping behavior toward Latinos.

Recognizing the *different ways* people can help is an important element of understanding intergroup relations. Drawing on social identity research (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Nadler (2002) proposed the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model, in which motivations to maintain or achieve status are critical determinants of helping across group boundaries. This model distinguishes between dependency-oriented and autonomy-oriented helping. Dependency-oriented help is, on the surface, a positive action in that it offers immediate benefit to the recipient but makes the recipient reliant on others' help in the future (e.g., giving the person an answer to a problem but not explaining how to solve the problem; Halabi et al., 2008). Autonomy-oriented help (e.g., explaining how to solve a problem), by contrast, is instrumental for the recipient to improve his or her position and become independent (Nadler, 2002). These definitions of dependency- and autonomy-oriented helping parallel the distinction of Jackson and Esses (2000; see Brickman, Rabinowitz, Karuza, Coates, Cohn, & Kidder, 1982) between direct assistance and empowerment helping.

Research supporting the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model (Nadler, 2002) has revealed that members of dominant groups are more likely to offer dependency-oriented than autonomy-oriented assistance to members of nondominant groups (e.g., Israeli Jews to Israeli Arabs; Halabi et al., 2008; members of a host country to immigrants; Jackson & Esses, 2000). Furthermore, prior work has also demonstrated that while people tend to offer less autonomy- than dependency-oriented help to outgroup members, factors that increase bias, such as perceived threat, amplify this difference (Halabi et al., 2008). In the present research, we therefore investigated the relationship between prejudice against Latinos and the degree to which people offer dependency-oriented and autonomy-oriented assistance to a Latina in need.



We focused specifically on female targets because although the preponderance of the research on attitudes toward minority groups has focused on responses toward the group as a whole, recent work has drawn attention to the importance of recognizing intersectional identities (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), particularly distinguishing between responses to male and female minority-group members (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). Moreover, because people's stereotypes and attitudes toward a group are much more closely associated with their beliefs and feelings regarding men (vs. women) of the group (Eagly & Kite, 1987), intergroup orientations toward minority women represent a relatively underresearched topic. However, women from racial/ethnic minority groups typically face more disadvantage than men. For example, according to current estimates from the US Census Bureau (2012), a greater percentage of women (vs. men) from minority groups are living below the poverty level. The present research thus focused on intergroup helping responses toward Latino women (i.e., Latinas), relative to White and African American women.

More specifically, the purpose of the present study was to examine how individual differences in prejudice influence the kind of help offered to Latinas in need, in comparison to helping African Americans or Whites in the same circumstances. The procedure was modeled after that of Halabi et al. (2008), in which participants responded to descriptions of individuals in need. In the present study, participants read scenarios that described concrete social problems faced by particular Latinas, African Americans, or Whites. After reading each scenario, participants indicated the extent to which they would be willing to support small tax increases if the surplus money were spent to help the target cope with the difficulty she was facing. We examined individual differences in prejudice using an adaptation the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986). This scale, which was developed initially to tap Whites' underlying

negative feelings toward African Americans (McConahay, 1986; Whitley & Kite, 2010), has been successfully adapted to study prejudice toward other groups, such as Asians (Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008).

We investigated the relationship of prejudice to the relative amount of autonomy-oriented to dependency-oriented help for Latinas. Prejudice represents a functional attitude that perpetuates the relative advantage of one's group over another group (Dovidio et al., 2010). Thus, based on the research of Nadler, Halabi, and their colleagues (Halabi et al., 2008; Nadler, 2002) that demonstrates that giving less autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented help functions to maintain and reinforce majority-minority status differences, we predicted that participants who were more prejudiced toward Latinos, based on their scores on the adapted MRS scale, would be less likely to offer Latinas autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented help. We further hypothesized that the relationship between prejudice and biases in the relative amount of autonomy-to-dependency help would be strongest for Latinas (compared to African American and White women) because our measure of Modern Racism, based on Son Hing et al.'s (2008) adaption, focuses specifically on attitudes toward Latinos. As the classic work of Ajzen and Fishbein (1977), supported by substantial recent research (Glasman & Albarracin, 2006), indicates, attitudes predict behaviors better when there is greater correspondence between the measure and the behavior assessed.

In addition, we further explored the extent to which a potentially related, broader underlying factor – Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) – plays a role in bias in intergroup helping. SDO reflects the degree to which individuals support hierarchical relations between groups (vs. equality). People who score higher in SDO tend to see intergroup

relations as more competitive and zero-sum, and they endorse attitudes and policies that reinforce social hierarchies. People higher in SDO exhibit biases toward a broad range of minority groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In the context of the present research, Whites higher in SDO would thus be expected to be less likely to offer autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented help to minority groups in general (i.e., both African Americans and Latinas), overall and compared to a comparable White person. Nevertheless, because of the particular attitude assessed by our measure of modern racism toward Latinos, our specific aim was to demonstrate that MRS would predict helping toward Latinos *above and beyond* the more general effects of SDO.

## **2.2. METHOD**

### **2.2.1. PARTICIPANTS**

Two hundred and one American participants (84 men, 117 women; 90.5% White, 9.5% Asian American) were recruited via a research participation website hosted by a university in return for a chance to win a \$25 gift certificate.

### **2.2.2. PROCEDURE AND MEASURES**

Participants were told that the goal of the study was to examine “how people assess different social policies” and were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: Latina target ( $N=72$ ), African American target ( $N=65$ ), or White target ( $N=64$ ). Each participant read four scenarios describing a difficult situation in the life of a female target person. The target’s race was manipulated, based on pretesting, by varying her name (Maria Santos or Rosario Garcia for the Latina target; Ebony Thomas or Tasha Jackson for the African American target; and Anne Davis or Lauren Smith for the White target). In the pretest ( $n=16$ ), respondents identified the

race/ethnicity of the target person in the way we intended 93% of the time.

The four scenarios, presented in full in Table 1, described issues related to education (access to college tuition scholarships; access to high school tutoring) and healthcare (access to health insurance; access to treatment for depression).

After reading each scenario, participants indicated the extent to which they would be willing to support small tax increases if the surplus money were spent to help the target cope with the difficulty she was facing (1=*strongly disagree* to 5=*strongly agree*). For each scenario, one item assessed dependency-oriented helping and one item assessed autonomy-oriented helping (see Table 1; see Nadler & Halabi, 2006, for a similar manipulation). We averaged responses across the four scenarios to form a single index of dependency-oriented help ( $\alpha=.92$ ) and a single index of autonomy-oriented help ( $\alpha=.89$ ).

In order to establish the validity of the items assessing autonomy- and dependency-oriented help, we presented these items to an independent sample of 18 volunteers. The volunteers read each item, referred to as “help types,” and rated the degree to which each help type “would promote the autonomy of the person receiving it” and “would promote the dependency of the person receiving it” (1=*not at all* to 7=*very much*). The responses were averaged to form a single index of autonomy-promotion for autonomy-oriented help items, a single index of dependency-promotion for autonomy-oriented help items, a single index of autonomy-promotion for dependency-oriented help items, and a single index of dependency-promotion for dependency-oriented help items. We conducted a 2 (Dimension Promoted: autonomy vs. dependency)  $\times$  2 (Item Type: autonomy-oriented vs. dependency-oriented) within-subjects analysis of variance, which revealed the expected interaction,  $F(1, 17)=30.41, p<.001$ ,

$\eta^2_p=.64$ . Analyses of simple effects confirmed that whereas autonomy-oriented help items ( $M=5.29, SD=0.77$ ) were perceived as promoting autonomy to a greater degree than were dependency-oriented items ( $M=3.91, SD=0.88$ ),  $p<.001$ , dependency-oriented help items ( $M=3.99, SD=0.93$ ) were perceived as promoting dependency to a greater degree than were autonomy-oriented items ( $M=2.95, SD=1.00$ ),  $p=.001$ . These results confirmed that the items were perceived as promoting the intended type of help. Furthermore, autonomy-oriented help items were perceived as promoting autonomy more than dependency,  $p<.001$ , while dependency-oriented help items were perceived as promoting autonomy and dependency to similar degrees,  $p=.823$ . Taken together, this pattern demonstrated that the items were differentially perceived as autonomy- and dependency-oriented in expected ways.

Participants in the main study also completed a nine-item Modern Racism Scale (see Son Hing et al., 2008) adapted to assess prejudice against Latinos (1=*strongly disagree* to 5=*strongly agree*). We employed this scale because the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) was designed to assess subtle, contemporary expressions of bias and continues to be an important predictor of racial discrimination (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005). Moreover, Son Hing et al.'s (2008) version of the scale modified the content of the original MRS items to reflect issues particularly relevant to their target outgroup, Asians. Son Hing and colleagues selected Asians as the target group for their scale and research because Asians represented the largest and most visible minority group in Canada (see Son Hing et al., 2008, p. 972), and increases in the Asian population were due primarily to immigration to Canada. Thus, the issues associated with prejudice toward Asians in Canada correspond strongly to issues that are relevant to prejudice against Latinos in the US (e.g., issues related to being the fastest-growing population in the country, immigration, and illegal immigration). Accordingly, we maintained the integrity of the

scale developed by Son Hing et al. (2008): We did not further revise the content of the items but simply replaced references to Asians with references to Latinos. The items were: “There are too many foreign students of Hispanic descent being allowed to attend university in the US”; “The US should open its doors to more Latino immigration from the poorer countries” (reverse-scored); “It’s good to live in a country where there are so many Latinos” (reverse-scored); “Intermarriage between Latinos and Whites is a good thing for the US” (reverse-scored); “It is not fair that so many scholarships and awards are awarded to Latino students”; “It is too easy for Latinos to illegally arrive in the US”; “Many Latinos do not bother to learn proper English”; “Discrimination against Latinos is no longer a problem in the US”; and “White Americans do not get treated very well in places dominated by Latinos.” The scale had high internal consistency,  $\alpha=.84$ . To avoid arousing suspicion about the purposes of the study, to limit socially desirable responding that can be aroused by presenting participants with Modern Racism items initially (see Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995), and to avoid priming participants with specific associations involving Latinos, in all conditions the MRS was administered after the helping measures. There were no differences across conditions in MRS scores,  $p=.914$  (overall  $M=2.93$ ,  $SD=0.73$ ).

Participants also completed a 16-item measure of Social Dominance Orientation, an index of the extent to which individuals generally prefer hierarchical social systems over group equality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; e.g., “Some groups of people are just more worthy than others”). The scale had high internal consistency,  $\alpha=.92$ , and there were no differences among conditions,  $p=.311$  (overall  $M=2.41$ ,  $SD=0.75$ ). Participants finally provided basic demographic information (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, nationality) and were debriefed and entered into a prize drawing for the gift certificates.

### 2.3. RESULTS

We first examined mean levels of autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help offered to Latina, African American, and White targets by participants low and high in Modern Racism (based on a median split; MRS median=3.00). As anticipated, the means, presented in Table 2, indicated that high-MRS (vs. low-MRS) participants appeared to offer a lesser amount of autonomy-oriented help, particularly to Latina targets.

To examine the pattern suggested by the means in greater detail, we conducted a linear regression analysis. We subtracted the amount of dependency-oriented help from the amount of autonomy-oriented help and used the difference score as the criterion variable; scores above zero indicated more autonomy-oriented than dependency-oriented help (overall  $M=0.39$ ,  $SD=0.79$ ). We employed this analytic strategy (i.e., linear regression on the difference score) in order to test the hypothesized moderation by MRS, a continuous variable (as recommended by Judd, Kenny, & McClelland, 2001); other strategies (e.g., mixed-model analysis of variance) would not have allowed us to directly examine this specific hypothesis. Although difference scores can be problematic (e.g., Edwards, 1995), some researchers have argued that these problems may arise only in specific, unusual circumstances (e.g., Dimitrov & Rumrill, 2003; Rogosa, Brandt, & Zimovski, 1982). However, acknowledging the potential issues associated with difference scores, below we also report analyses in which we examined autonomy- and dependency-oriented help separately.

In the regression model examining the difference between autonomy- and dependency-oriented help, the main predictor of interest was the target's race, dummy-coded with Latina targets as the reference group, such that White Target represented the difference in help offered

to Latina versus White targets and African American Target represented the difference in help offered to Latina versus African American targets. Other predictors were MRS (continuous, mean-centered) and the two-way interactions. The model (see Table 3) accounted for 19% of the variance in participants' responses,  $F(5, 195)=9.36, p<.001$ .

The interaction between White (vs. Latina) Target and MRS was obtained,  $b=0.34, SE=0.17, p=.053$ . Simple slopes analyses indicated that MRS was a negative predictor of the difference in autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help offered to Latina targets,  $b=-0.64, SE=0.12, p<.001$ , and to White targets,  $b=-0.31, SE=0.13, p=.017$ ; as indicated by the interaction, this relationship was significantly stronger for Latina targets (explaining 35% of the variance; i.e.,  $\beta=-.59$ ) than for White targets (explaining 8% of the variance; i.e.,  $\beta=-.28$ ).

In addition, the interaction between African American (vs. Latina) Target and MRS was marginally significant,  $b=0.29, SE=0.17, p=.089$ . Simple slopes analyses indicated that MRS was a negative predictor of the difference in autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help offered to African American targets,  $b=-0.36, SE=0.12, p=.003$  (explaining 11% of the variance; i.e.,  $\beta=-.33$ ); as indicated by the marginally significant interaction, this relationship was somewhat stronger for Latina targets. Thus, as predicted and as illustrated in Figure 3, the greater the participants' MRS scores, the smaller the difference between autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help offered to all targets. Also as predicted, this relationship was strongest for Latina targets and weakest for White targets.

We next estimated the same linear regression model separately for dependency-oriented and autonomy-oriented help. No significant main or interactive effects of Target's Race or MRS were observed for dependency-oriented help. In contrast, MRS was significantly negatively



associated with autonomy-oriented help offered to Latina targets,  $b=-0.75$ ,  $SE=0.18$ ,  $p<.001$ , African American targets,  $b=-0.51$ ,  $SE=0.18$ ,  $p=.005$ , and White targets,  $b=-0.42$ ,  $SE=0.19$ ,  $p=.028$ . Although the interaction effects did not reach significance, indicating that the strength of the relationship between MRS and autonomy-oriented help did not differ significantly based on the target's race, the percentage of variance explained was largest for Latina targets (22%), intermediate for African American targets (10%), and smallest for White targets (7%). Thus, the pattern of responses for autonomy-oriented help paralleled that obtained for the difference between autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help.

We then re-conducted all analyses adjusting for SDO (continuous, mean-centered). SDO was negatively associated with autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented help (i.e., the main effect of SDO was significant),  $b=-0.20$ ,  $SE=0.08$ ,  $p=.017$ . Moreover, controlling for the main effect of SDO, MRS negatively predicted the difference in autonomy- and dependency-oriented help for Latina targets,  $b=-0.51$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ,  $p<.001$ , but *not* for White targets,  $p=.278$ ; these two relationships were significantly different,  $p=.038$ . MRS was also a negative predictor of the difference in autonomy- and dependency-oriented help offered to African American targets,  $b=-0.28$ ,  $SE=0.12$ ,  $p=.022$ ; the strength of this relationship did not differ significantly between Latina and African American targets,  $p=.169$ . However, African American targets also did not differ from White targets,  $p=.467$ . Accordingly, adjusting for SDO—a proxy for general prejudice, as opposed to prejudice specifically against Latinos that was indexed by MRS—reduced the relationship between MRS and help offered to White targets to nonsignificance, and accentuated the relationship between MRS and help offered specifically to Latina targets. Including SDO in the supplementary analyses examining autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help separately did not result in any differences relative to the analyses reported above.

Finally, we conducted an analysis in which the roles of MRS and SDO were reversed, such that we considered individual differences in SDO as a predictor of autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented help offered to Latina, African American, and White targets, adjusting for the main effect of MRS. In this analysis, SDO predicted less autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented helping significantly and comparably for Latina targets,  $b=-0.29$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ,  $p=.025$ , and African American targets,  $b=-0.29$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ,  $p=.036$ , but in contrast SDO did not predict autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented helping for White targets,  $b=-0.07$ ,  $SE=0.12$ ,  $p=.547$ .

## **2.4. DISCUSSION**

The present study extended previous work on the relationship between intergroup bias and helping behavior in two novel ways. First, to our knowledge our experiment is the first to find support for the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model (Nadler, 2002) in terms of bias against Latinas. Second, our findings directly implicate the role of prejudice against Latinos in this process. Specifically, participants higher in prejudice against Latinos, as indexed by an adaptation of the Modern Racism Scale (see Son Hing et al., 2008), were less likely to offer autonomy-oriented relative to dependency-oriented helping in terms of social policies associated with a case of a particular Latina in need. Based on previous research showing that the attitude-behavior relationship is stronger when the measure of attitude corresponds more strongly to the behavior assessed (Glasman & Albarracin, 2006), we predicted and found that our adapted Modern Racism Scale for Latinos most strongly predicted autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented helping for Latinas (vs. African Americans or Whites). This explanation, however, could be more definitively tested in future research that includes a measure of Modern Racism toward African Americans and, perhaps, a similar measure of prejudice toward poor Whites, and

examines whether the strongest relations with helping emerge with the corresponding racial/ethnic groups.

We note that participants higher in prejudice against Latinos also tended to show bias in autonomy-oriented relative to dependency-oriented helping with respect to African American women and even White women, albeit to a lesser degree. While our statistical interaction effects demonstrate, as we predicted, that prejudice toward Latinos accounts for significant unique variance in responses to Latinas, there appears to be some common variance across target groups associated with our prejudice measure, likely in part because prejudice is often associated with personality factors such as authoritarianism or Social Dominance Orientation (Weigel & Howes, 1985). As previous research has shown, people who hold biases toward one disadvantaged group tend to hold biases toward other disadvantaged groups as well (Weigel & Howes, 1985; Zick et al., 2008). More specifically, people who score higher on a Modern Racism toward African Americans are also more biased toward homosexuals and the elderly (Weigel & Howes, 1985). The nature of our scenarios implicated the relatively low socioeconomic status of the person in need, and poor Whites are also a commonly stigmatized social group (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Indeed, when we simultaneously considered a measure of general prejudice, Social Dominance Orientation, it predicted less autonomy- relative to dependency-oriented help for Latina and African American targets, but not for White targets. Moreover, adjusting for SDO reduced the relationship between MRS and help offered to White targets to nonsignificance, and accentuated the relationship between MRS and help offered specifically to Latina (vs. African American or White) targets. Thus, holding constant participants' general tendency to derogate low-status groups served to underscore the specificity of our measure of prejudice against Latinos and its relationship to dynamics of intergroup help offered to Latinas.

Supplementary analyses examining autonomy- and dependency-oriented helping separately revealed that although the pattern for autonomy-oriented helping more closely resembled the pattern we obtained for our main relative helping measure than did the pattern for dependency-oriented helping, neither measure revealed statistically significant results alone. Thus, simultaneous shifts in dependency-oriented helping and, particularly, autonomy-oriented helping contributed to the effects we observed. Scheepers and his colleagues (2006) demonstrated that the motivation of majority-group members to maintain or reinforce their group's advantage over minority groups is manifested in multiple ways behaviorally. The work of Nadler and Halabi (Halabi et al., 2008; Nadler, 2002) and Jackson and Esses (2000) suggests that both the motivation to reduce intergroup threat – by limiting the autonomy of the other group – and reinforcing control over the other group – by fostering its dependency on the majority group – can operate in coordinated ways to reinforce hierarchical relations between the groups (see also Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Indeed, our research reveals that both processes may operate in concert. Practically, our finding that neither differences in terms of less autonomy-oriented helping or more dependency-oriented helping alone were statistically significant but in combination they were may reflect the subtlety of contemporary bias. Understanding how Whites' biases toward racial and ethnic minority groups operates in multiple subtle ways can thus help identify when and how bias operates and inform interventions to reduce bias.

Future research might explore more deeply both the unique aspects of bias toward Latinos – including its extent and the potentially different ways that bias may be expressed toward Latino men and Latinos as a group relative to other groups (see Dovidio et al., 2010) – and the aspects of these attitudes that generalize to other groups and why. For example, greater attention to bias against Latinos can help illuminate different ways that intergroup biases may be manifested

subtly and possibly distinctively toward Latinos. In particular, future research might productively examine additional kinds of help that represent subtle bias toward Latinos. Manifestations of bias toward Latinos may differ from bias toward African Americans because, whereas African Americans are recognized as citizens of the United States, current public rhetoric and political debate often associates Latinos with illegal immigration status. One consequence of this difference is that people who are more prejudiced against Latinos may help them, even with autonomy-oriented assistance, if it facilitates them leaving the country. That is, to the extent that more prejudiced Whites are more motivated to reduce competition or threat by minority groups, in the case of Latinos (who are perceived to be un-American; e.g., Yogeeswaran et al., 2012) offering less autonomy-oriented help, more dependency-oriented help, and autonomy-oriented help contingent upon them leaving the US would all serve this function. In contrast, because African Americans are Americans, the last option would not be realistic (Dovidio et al., 2010). Thus, such “autonomy-to-leave” oriented help, which would permit Latinos to achieve a higher independent status in their home country while also allowing majority group members to reject Latinos from their society, could represent a distinctive form of subtle bias toward Latinos.

In conclusion, we have demonstrated that bias against Latinos is associated with a preference among Whites to offer the type of intergroup help that allows them to maintain their privileged position. Our findings relating to the effects of individual differences in prejudice coupled with the widespread evidence of social biases against Latinos in the US substantiate the need to devote more theoretical and empirical attention to developing measures that capture the essential elements of bias against Latinos specifically. Future work may further clarify the pattern of responses we observed by more specifically examining attitudes toward and help offered to immigrant Latinos, and by investigating Whites’ inclination to offer assistance to

Latinos versus other racial/ethnic minorities and immigrants in the US. Distinguishing between help that would permit Latinos to improve their position in America and assistance that would allow Latinos to attain an improved position in their home country may provide a unique avenue for better understanding the intergroup dynamics of help offered to racial/ethnic minorities.

*Table 1.* Scenarios and items assessing autonomy- and dependency-oriented help.

Scenario	Autonomy-oriented help	Dependency-oriented help
[The target's] daughter received excellent grades throughout High School and would like to go to college. [The target] can't possibly afford tuition so her daughter will most likely have to start working right after she graduates from high school.	How much would you support a small increase of 0.75% in your taxes if that money were used for a program that would help [the target's] daughter to receive a scholarship that would allow her to visit a good college in America?	How much would you support a small increase of 0.75% in your taxes if that money were used for a program that would help [the target's] daughter to receive a loan that would help her pay for the first year of college?
[The target's] daughter is having trouble keeping up with the school curriculum. Because she has to work very late [the target] doesn't have time to help her daughter with her homework. Her school counselor recommended extra classes after school to help her catch up with the class. [The target] can't afford to pay for these extra classes for her daughter.	How much would you support a small increase of 1% in your taxes if that money were used for a program that would help [the target] send her daughter to a boarding school in America where all of her needs could be ideally met?	How much would you support a small increase of 1% in your taxes if that money were used for a program that would enable schools to put children like [the target's] daughter in special classes with other children of the same achievement level with a less strenuous curriculum?
[The target] feels little integrated in her community and is suffering from mild depression. She can't remember what being happy felt like and sees no hope for her future.	How much would you support a small increase of 0.5% in your taxes if that money were used for a program that would advise [the target] where she can get psychological counseling?	How much would you support a small increase of 0.5% in your taxes if that money were used to build a center where [the target] could come for free psychological counseling in an emotional crisis?
[The target] has a history of breast cancer in her family. She would like to go to the hospital for checkups regularly, but doesn't have health care.	How much would you support a small increase of 0.5% in your taxes if that money were used for a program that would help [the target] learn how to become eligible and pay for health insurance in America?	How much would you support a small increase of 0.5% in your taxes if that money were used for a program that would help [the target] pay for treatment in an emergency?

*Note.* Participants read each scenario and indicated the extent to which they were willing to offer both autonomy- and dependency-oriented help to the target. The target's race (Latina, African American, or White) was manipulated between-subjects by varying her name.

*Table 2.* Mean levels of autonomy- and dependency-oriented help offered by participants low or high in Modern Racism toward Latinos to a Latina, African American, or White target.

		Autonomy-oriented help	Dependency-oriented help
		<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Latina target	Low MRS ( <i>N</i> =39)	2.93 (1.04)	2.20 (0.84)
	High MRS ( <i>N</i> =33)	2.36 (1.34)	2.26 (1.28)
African American target	Low MRS ( <i>N</i> =31)	3.12 (0.96)	2.49 (1.09)
	High MRS ( <i>N</i> =34)	2.81 (1.25)	2.58 (1.28)
White target	Low MRS ( <i>N</i> =36)	2.72 (1.06)	2.24 (1.13)
	High MRS ( <i>N</i> =28)	2.68 (1.21)	2.58 (1.22)

*Note.* MRS=Modern Racism toward Latinos. Low and high MRS are based on a median split (median=3.00; response scale: 1-5).

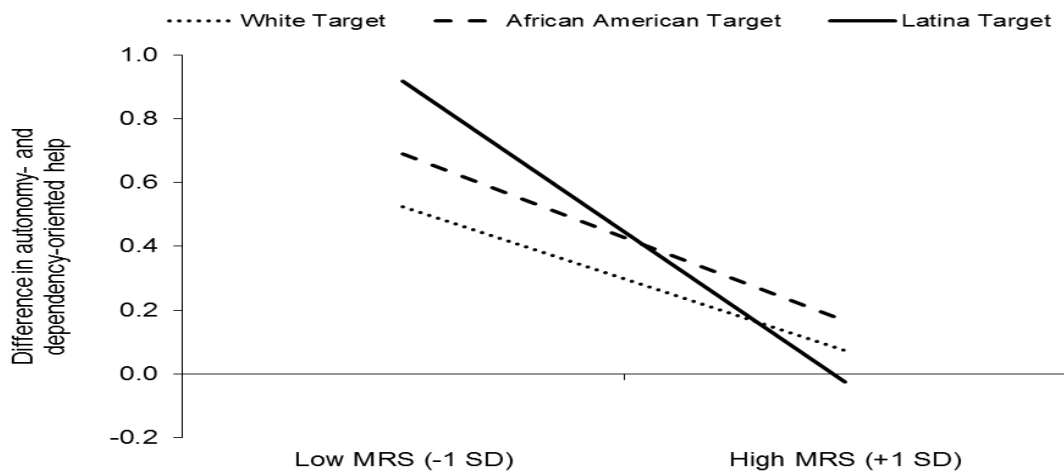


*Table 3.* Unstandardized regression coefficients (and standard errors) from a linear regression model predicting the difference between autonomy- and dependency-oriented help offered to Latina, African American, and White targets.

Predictor	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>p</i>
White (vs. Latina) Target	-0.15 (0.12)	.234
African American (vs. Latina) Target	-0.02 (0.12)	.875
Modern Racism (MRS)	-0.64 (0.12)	<.001
White Target × MRS	0.34 (0.17)	.053
Black Target × MRS	0.29 (0.17)	.089
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.19	<.001

### Figure Captions

Figure 3. Interactive effect of the target's race (Latina, African American, or White) and Modern Racism toward Latinos on the difference between autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented intergroup help. Scores above zero indicate more autonomy-oriented than dependency-oriented help.



**CHAPTER III. GENDER AND INTERGROUP HELPING: FORMS  
OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR AS DIFFERENTIAL SOCIAL  
CONTROL MECHANISMS FOR MEN AND WOMEN**

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## **Abstract**

The present research, drawing on the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model (Nadler, 2002), investigated the ways in which different forms of helping behavior can strategically affect responses to women and men who display socially valued or devalued characteristics. Participants read scenarios about concrete problems faced by a woman or man in need, who displayed positive (i.e., prosocial) or negative (i.e., antisocial) characteristics, and indicated the extent to which they would be willing to support small tax increases if that money were used to help address the target's issues. As we predicted, participants gave less autonomy-oriented (i.e., empowering) help to a man displaying antisocial (vs. prosocial) characteristics and more dependency-oriented (i.e., disempowering) help to a woman women exhibiting prosocial (vs. antisocial) qualities. The role of seemingly positive forms of social behavior as a mechanism for social control and the relation of helping to processes of group-hierarchy and system-justifying processes are considered.

**Keywords:** Paternalistic Help, Power Relations, Prosocial Behavior, Gender Roles

### **3.1. GENDER AND INTERGROUP HELPING: FORMS OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR AS DIFFERENTIAL SOCIAL CONTROL MECHANISMS FOR MEN AND WOMEN**

Blatant prejudice and overt discrimination have declined across a broad range of societies internationally (European Commission, 2012; Pearson et al., 2009). Nevertheless, subtle forms of bias, which maintain and reinforce the advantaged status of dominant groups over nondominant groups, continue to shape intergroup relations in significant, systematic ways (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Saucier et al., 2005). Moreover, subtle biases, for example in the form of hierarchy-justifying ideologies (e.g., meritocracy; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and system-justifying ideologies (e.g., perceiving the status quo as what *should* be; Kay et al., 2009), engage members of both dominant and nondominant groups in seemingly harmonious relations that promote and maintain the status quo (Scheepers et al., 2006). With respect to relations between men and women, examples of subtle forms of gender bias have been the focus of research on topics such as paternalism, in which the opportunities for a person or group are limited for the person's or group's "own good" (Jackman, 1994, 2005), and benevolent sexism, in which women are viewed "stereotypically and in restricted roles ... that are subjectively positive in feeling tone" (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). Integrating insights from prior work on subtle bias and maintenance of the status quo, the present research investigated the ways in which different forms of *prosocial behavior* can operate as social control mechanisms that can strategically affect responses to women and men who display socially valued or devalued characteristics.

In particular, we draw on the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model (Nadler, 2002), according to which motivations to maintain or achieve status are critical

determinants of helping across group boundaries. This model identifies two functionally different forms of assistance: dependency-oriented and autonomy-oriented helping. Dependency-oriented helping represents seemingly positive action in that it offers immediate benefit to the recipient but makes the recipient reliant on others' help in the future. For example, Halabi, Dovidio, and Nadler (2008; see also Nadler & Halabi, 2006) operationalized dependency-oriented help as giving the person an answer to a problem but not explaining how to solve the problem. By contrast, autonomy-oriented help is instrumental for the recipient to improve his or her position and become independent (Nadler, 2002). For example, in Halabi et al. (2008), autonomy-oriented help was represented by assistance that included an explanation about how to solve a problem. These definitions of dependency- and autonomy-oriented helping parallel the distinction of Jackson and Esses (2000; see also Brickman et al., 1982) between direct assistance and empowerment helping. Dependency-oriented helping, similar to overhelping (Gilbert & Silvera, 1996) and assumptive helping (in which the need for help is presumed by the helper; Schneider et al., 1996), is a subtle form of control that increases the extent to which recipients rely on assistance from a group or individual, reinforcing the superior position of the group or person providing the assistance. Thus, both forms of helping orientations – withholding autonomy-oriented help and giving dependency-oriented help – can operate as social control mechanisms.

Because dependency-oriented helping functions to create or reinforce the subordination of members of another group, it may be particularly likely to be exhibited when individuals are motivated to maintain their group's advantaged status. For instance, people higher in prejudice (Abad-Merino, Newheiser, Dovidio, Tabernero, & Gonzalez, 2013) and higher in support for group-based hierarchy (Halabi et al., 2008)

are more likely to support helping policies that increase the dependency, relative to the autonomy, of ethnic minority groups. In addition, members of high-status groups are more likely to offer dependency-oriented relative to autonomy-oriented assistance when they perceive their advantaged position as less stable (Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2012). By contrast, autonomy-oriented help, because it is empowering (Jackson & Esses, 2000), is reinforcing for recipients and thus may be strategically (albeit not necessarily consciously) provided when individuals or groups display behavior that is valued by the dominant group. For example, in the context of relations between Jews and Arabs, participants lower in social dominance orientation (SDO), who are generally more motivated to attenuate than enhance status differences between groups (Kteily, Ho, & Sidanius, 2012), were more willing to offer autonomy-oriented help to Arabs. In the present research, we extended research on intergroup helping as power relations to the domain of gender. Specifically, we investigated participants' willingness to support social policies that would provide dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented help to a male or female target as a function of whether the target exhibits prosocial or antisocial qualities.

In particular, the present experiment adapted the procedure of Abad-Merino et al. (2013), in which participants read about a particular person in need, in the present case a White woman or man, who displayed positive (i.e., prosocial) or negative (i.e., antisocial) characteristics. That is, the person who demonstrated positive characteristics mentored at-risk youth in high school, tried hard in class, and was very motivated and achieved an outstanding academic record. However, despite of his/her effort, his/her family's financial situation did not allow him/her go to college. By contrast, the person who demonstrated negative characteristics used drugs and engaged in criminal activity

in high school, did not try hard academically, and his/her poor achievement did not allow him/her to go to college. Then, participants read scenarios that described concrete social problems faced by this particular male or female target. After reading each scenario, participants indicated the extent to which they would be willing to support small tax increases if that money were used to help the target cope with the difficulty she/he was facing. More specifically, modeled after the procedure of Abad-Merino et al. (2013), participants indicated the extent to which they supported either dependency-oriented or autonomy-oriented assistance. Because people's public policy preferences, especially in relation to providing assistance to individuals and groups in need, are strongly associated with political orientation (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, & Pratto, 2001; Skitka & Tetlock, 1993), we adjusted for political orientation in all analyses.

Given that dependency-oriented helping reflects motivations of social control (Nadler, 2002), and may accordingly be particularly likely to be offered to recipients who are perceived to pose a threat (Halabi et al., 2008) or violate social norms that can undermine the stability of the status quo (Halabi et al., 2012), we hypothesized that participants would endorse more dependency-oriented relative to autonomy-oriented helping for male targets displaying antisocial (vs. prosocial) qualities. Stated differently, because autonomy-oriented assistance is empowering and may thus be extended to recipients who display valued characteristics or behaviors, we anticipated that male targets displaying positive, prosocial characteristics would be rewarded with autonomy-oriented assistance.

When the target was a woman, we expected a different pattern, however. Because the same antisocial characteristics likely pose a lesser threat when attributed to a female (vs. male) target (Becker, Kenrick, Neuberg, Blackwell, & Smith, 2007;



Biernat, Ma, & Nario-Redmond, 2008), we did not expect that women who displayed antisocial characteristics would be especially likely recipients of dependency-oriented help. Instead, we expected that participants would endorse more dependency-oriented relative to autonomy-oriented helping for female targets demonstrating *prosocial* qualities. Women who display prosocial characteristics uphold gender stereotypes (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989) and may thus elicit positive evaluations insofar as they help bolster the status quo (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Heilman, 2001; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). However, these positive evaluations likely come in the form of liking, but not respect (i.e., perceptions of high warmth but low competence), resulting in paternalistic responses (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Kervyn, Bergsieker, & Fiske, 2012). Accordingly, we anticipated that female targets displaying positive, prosocial characteristics would be “rewarded” with *dependency*-oriented assistance—representing a pattern of strategic prosocial behavior that serves to maintain the gender status quo. Thus, we propose that the meaning of dependency-oriented help differs based on the recipient’s gender: For male recipients, dependency-oriented help represents a form of punishment, whereas for female recipients, it represents a paternalistic “reward.”

## **3.2. METHOD**

### **3.2.1. PARTICIPANTS**

One hundred and eighty-one participants (58 men, 118 women; 5 participants did not report their gender; 66% White, 16% Asian, 6% African American or Black, 3% Hispanic or Latino/a, and 6% “other”; 6 participants did not report their race/ethnicity) were recruited via a research participation website hosted by a university in return for a chance to win a \$20 gift certificate.

### **3.2.2. PROCEDURE AND MEASURES**

Participants were told that the goal of the study was to examine “people’s ideas about politics and how people assess different social policies” and were randomly assigned to conditions in a 2 (Target Gender) × 2 (Target History: Antisocial vs. Prosocial) × 2 (Type of Support: Autonomy-oriented vs. Dependency-oriented) between-subjects factorial design. In the “Female Target, Antisocial History” condition, participants read: “Lauren Smith is a 38-year-old White American, originally from a disadvantaged urban neighborhood. When she was a teenager Lauren Smith experimented with various drugs and became addicted to some substances. Using drugs drove her to begin to engage in criminal acts in order to support her habit. She stole money from family members and products from stores that she could resell. She also became mixed up with gangs, which in turn lead her to other acts of crime. Along with this problem, her teachers routinely reported she wasn’t paying attention and not trying hard in class. Furthermore, her indifference and outside distractions created a downward spiral of low achievement that prevented her to go to college.” In contrast, in the “Female Target, Prosocial History” condition participants read: “Lauren Smith is a 38-year-old White American, originally from a deprived urban neighborhood. When she was a teenager Lauren Smith helped in the community. Throughout high school she volunteered in a variety of social programs and activities devoted to mentoring at-risk youth. One of her most rewarding experiences was working as a mentor with teenagers that had substance abuse problems. Committing her time and effort to a cause that she felt strongly about usually brought her plenty of satisfaction from helping other people. In relation to her academic achievements, her teachers usually reported that Lauren Smith always tried hard in class, was very motivated and achieved an outstanding academic record. Despite of her effort, her family’s financial situation did not allow her go to college.” The male target conditions were identical with the sole exception that the

target was named Peter Smith.

Next, participants read three scenarios describing a difficult situation in the life of the target person. After reading each scenario, participants indicated the extent to which they would be willing to support small tax increases if the surplus money were spent to help the target cope with the difficulty she/he was facing (1=*strongly disagree* to 5=*strongly agree*). Depending on condition, these items assessed participants' support for either *autonomy-oriented* or *dependency-oriented* helping. The scenarios and items are presented in Table 4 (see Nadler & Halabi, 2006, for a similar manipulation). We have employed similar scenarios in prior work (Abad-Merino et al., 2013); the scenarios used in this prior study were pretested in order to confirm that they were indeed differentially perceived as promoting autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help.

Participants finally provided basic demographic information, including gender, race/ethnicity, and political affiliation (1=*extremely liberal* to 4=*moderate, middle of the road* to 7=*extremely conservative*), and were debriefed and entered into a prize drawing for the gift certificates.

### **3.3. RESULTS**

Variations in degrees of freedom are due to missing data (e.g., not all participants reported their gender, as noted above). On the measure of political orientation, ten participants selected a response option specified as “Don’t know, haven’t thought.” Because we were specifically interested in adjusting for political orientation (and because political orientation was measured on a single, continuous item), we excluded data from these ten participants from all analyses. However, recoding these ten participants’ responses on the item assessing political orientation to

the scale midpoint and retaining them in the analyses yields the same general pattern of results as reported below. We chose to exclude these data because this approach did not require any recoding.

Across all conditions, support for policies to benefit the target person in the three scenarios were reliably associated,  $\alpha = .78$ . Thus, responses to the three scenarios were averaged to form a *policy support* measure. A 2 (Participant Gender)  $\times$  2 (Target Gender)  $\times$  2 (Target History: Antisocial vs. Prosocial)  $\times$  2 (Type of Support: Autonomy-oriented vs. Dependency-oriented) between-subjects analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), with political orientation as a covariate, was performed on policy support. Political orientation was significantly associated with policy support,  $F(1, 149) = 12.87$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .08$ , with more conservative participants reporting less policy support overall, as anticipated. In addition, we observed main effects of Type of Support,  $F(1, 149) = 4.22$ ,  $p = .042$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ , and Participant Gender,  $F(1, 149) = 3.53$ ,  $p = .062$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . Participants offered more dependency-oriented than autonomy-oriented support,  $M_s = 3.19$  versus 2.82; and female participants demonstrated somewhat higher levels of policy support than male participants,  $M_s = 3.17$  versus 2.84. The predicted Target Gender  $\times$  Target History  $\times$  Type of Support interaction was also obtained,  $F(1, 149) = 6.49$ ,  $p = .012$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$  (see Figure 4), and remained significant when political orientation was not adjusted,  $F(1, 150) = 4.41$ ,  $p = .037$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ . This effect was not further moderated by Participant Gender: The four-way interaction was nonsignificant,  $F(1, 149) = 0.07$ ,  $p = .787$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .00$ .

Because of their hypothesized distinctive dynamics, we examined the effects of Target Gender and Target History separately for autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented policy support (adjusted means are presented in Figure 4). With respect to

autonomy-oriented policy support, a marginally significant Target Gender  $\times$  Target History interaction emerged,  $F(1, 71) = 3.25, p = .076, \eta_p^2 = .04$ . For male targets, participants supported more autonomy-oriented help when his history was prosocial,  $M = 3.18$ , relative to antisocial,  $M = 2.51, F(1, 36) = 3.39, p = .074, \eta_p^2 = .09$ . For female targets, there was no difference in autonomy-oriented help in terms of whether her history was prosocial,  $M = 2.61$ , or antisocial,  $M = 2.99, F(1, 34) = 0.66, p = .421, \eta_p^2 = .02$ .

In terms of dependency-oriented policy support, a marginal Target Gender  $\times$  Target History interaction also emerged,  $F(1, 77) = 3.09, p = .083, \eta_p^2 = .04$ , but was of a different form: For male targets, there was no difference in dependency-oriented help in terms of whether his history was prosocial,  $M = 3.19$ , or antisocial,  $M = 3.41, F(1, 38) = 0.44, p = .510, \eta_p^2 = .01$ . By contrast, for female targets, participants endorsed somewhat more dependency-oriented support when her history was prosocial,  $M = 3.36$ , than antisocial,  $M = 2.80, F(1, 38) = 3.42, p = .072, \eta_p^2 = .08$ .

### **3.4. DISCUSSION**

Previous research on gender-related biases has focused largely on subtle biases embedded in sexism against women (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996). By contrast, the present research drew on work on intergroup relations generally to investigate systematic patterns of responses associated with the social control of the behavior of both women *and* men. In particular, we adopted Nadler's (2002) Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model to examine how an apparently very positive form of behavior – helping – can be used to shape social relations for women and men. Whereas most of prior work on the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model has focused on groups other than men and women, and has typically examined groups in conflict or direct competition

(e.g., Jews and Arabs in Israel), the present research investigated how both dependency-oriented and autonomy-oriented helping can operate as social control mechanisms when applied to the domain of gender. Helping in the present research was in the form of support for general policies that would aid the person in need to address his/her concrete problems. Thus, the current work further demonstrates how people's social policy attitudes can be affected by making particular beneficiaries salient (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005).

As hypothesized, we found systematic differences in participants' willingness to offer dependency- or autonomy-oriented support to targets showing prosocial or antisocial qualities. Moreover, participants' responses were moderated by the target's gender. In particular, when the target was a man, his antisocial versus prosocial characteristics primarily affected participants' autonomy-oriented helping: Participants gave less autonomy-oriented help to a man displaying antisocial than prosocial characteristics; there was not a significant difference for a female target. By contrast, there was no difference as a function of a man's antisocial or prosocial qualities for dependency-oriented helping, but there was for a female target. In this case, a woman with *prosocial* characteristics was given more *dependency*-oriented help than a woman with antisocial qualities.

Our finding that men with antisocial characteristics received less autonomy-oriented support than men who had prosocial qualities is consistent with Nadler's (2002) model, and with empirical findings related to social stability and threat by Halabi and colleagues (2008, 2012). Autonomy-oriented help is empowering (Jackson & Esses, 2000), and it is thus more socially beneficial to empower men who possess prosocial (vs. antisocial) qualities. Our finding that women who displayed prosocial

characteristics received more dependency-oriented help than women who exhibited antisocial qualities seems less intuitive. Nevertheless, this result is compatible with research on subtle sexism and, particularly, benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; see also Lee et al., 2010), which restricts the roles of women but cloaks this bias in positive expressions, such as the importance of caring for and helping women and celebrating their “feminine” virtues. Our finding for female targets is thus consistent with our prediction that women who display prosocial characteristics would be responded to in a seemingly positive way, but not in a way that reflects true respect – in this case, by offering dependency-oriented helping. “Rewarding” women who exhibit prosocial characteristics with dependency-oriented helping represents a pattern of strategic prosocial behavior that serves to maintain the gender status quo.

These systematic differences in offering autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented help occurred independently of political orientation. Consistent with previous work showing that liberals tend to be more willing than conservatives to support social programs providing social assistance (Skitka, 1999), we found that more politically conservative participants were generally less likely to endorse helping in the present study. The pattern of differences in autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented helping that we found occurred over and above the effect of political orientation and was observed even when political orientation was not statistically controlled for in the analysis.

We note that the pattern of target gender differences we observed in the present study was similar for male and female participants; participant gender did not moderate any of the observed effects. Although men endorse benevolent sexism more than women do, there is still substantial support among women for statements reflecting

benevolent sexism, as well as for women engaging in practices that support paternalistic biases in society against women (Jackman, 1994). In addition, Biernat and Vescio (2002) found that women, as much as men, engaged in patronizing forms of praise while still discriminating against competent women. Our finding of similar effects among male and female participants in the present research thus suggests that the processes outlined in the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model may operate without full conscious awareness, like other system-justifying mechanisms, to maintain the status quo. Indeed, research on System Justification Theory demonstrates that low-status group members often support the status quo at a cost to themselves and fellow group members (see Jost et al., 2004). In a study of processes associated with system justification, for instance, Kay et al. (2009) found that women who felt dependent on the social system were as likely as men to support the status quo, including acceptance of the underrepresentation of women in leadership and business. Thus, whereas the work of Nadler, Halabi, and colleagues on various forms of contentious intergroup relations (e.g., between Israeli Jews and Arabs) emphasizes the strategic ways that people engage in dependency-oriented and autonomy-oriented helping to maintain or enhance one's group position, our findings suggest that these processes may (a) function similarly for groups in more positive, interdependent relations, (b) help maintain the status quo and hierarchical status relations within it, and (c) operate perhaps unconsciously and in ways supported generally by members of the society regardless of status or group membership.

We acknowledge, however, that we examined participants' responses to female and male targets without considering the potential role of additional, intersecting social identities. For instance, prior work has revealed that people's perceptions of and



reactions to female and male targets diverge further based on the target's race (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Shields, 2008). In particular, gender role violations lead to backlash against White female targets (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008) but not necessarily against Black female targets (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012). Indeed, Black women at times appear to elicit responses that more closely resemble responses to male (rather than female) targets (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Livingston et al., 2012). Future research might thus productively examine, for example, whether Black female targets displaying prosocial characteristics would accrue dependency-oriented help, similar to White female targets in the present study, or whether Black female targets would instead elicit responses similar to those directed toward White male targets in the present study. Examining how gender, race, and other significant social identities (e.g., age, social class, and sexual orientation) combine to influence strategic helping behavior thus represents a particularly fruitful direction for future work on subtle group-based processes that function to bolster the status quo.

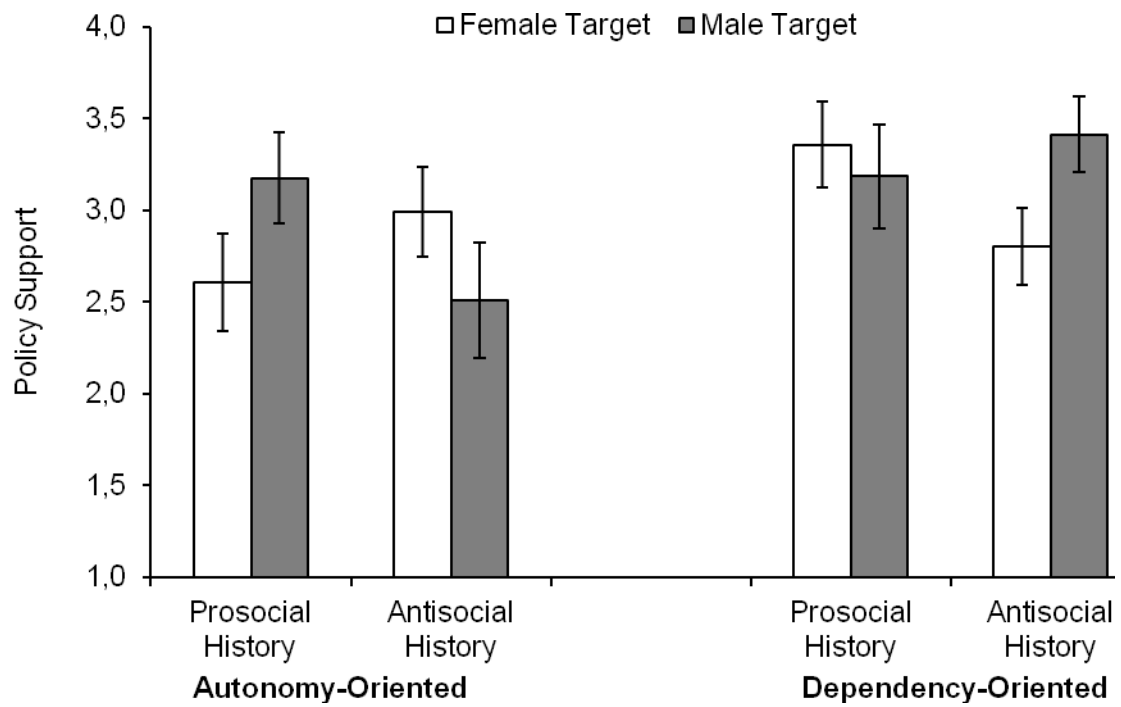
Understanding the role that different forms of helping have in maintaining societal gender inequality can help bridge theories of power relations between groups (such as the Intergroup Helping as Power Relations Model and Social Dominance Theory), work on ideologies that justify and perpetuate the status quo (such as System Justification Theory; Jost et al., 2004), and research on prejudice and sexism more generally (such as Social Role Theory; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). Eagly and Diekmann (2005) argue that prejudice is contextual, manifested primarily when members of certain groups behave in ways that deviate from stereotypic expectations that threaten traditional values or the current structure of society. From this perspective, bias against women or men is more likely to occur when targets deviate from traditional social roles

prescribed by their gender. While Social Role Theory has received considerable empirical support in terms of responses to people who violate stereotypical expectations (see Eagly et al., 2000), our research suggests that helping behavior may be a mechanism for systematically shaping, sometimes directly with autonomy-oriented helping and sometimes indirectly with dependency-oriented helping, the behavior of men and women.

Table 4. Scenarios and helping options presented to participants. Target gender and help type were manipulated between-subjects.

Scenario	Autonomy-Oriented Help	Dependency-Oriented Help
Despite her [his] effort, it has been very difficult for Lauren [Peter] Smith to get a new job.	I would support a small increase of 0.5% in my taxes if that money were used for a program that would help Lauren [Peter] Smith develop the necessary skills to start her [his] own business in America.	I would support a small increase of 0.5% in my taxes if that money were used for a program that would provide Lauren [Peter] Smith with specific jobs that need to be done but don't have enough people willing to do them.
Lauren [Peter] Smith's son received excellent grades throughout High School and would like to go to college. Lauren [Peter] Smith can't possibly afford tuition so her [his] son will most likely have to start working right after he graduates from High School.	I would support a small increase of 0.75% in my taxes if that money were used for a program that would help Lauren [Peter] Smith's son to receive a scholarship that would allow him to visit a good college in America.	I would support a small increase of 0.75% in my taxes if that money were used for a program that would help Lauren [Peter] Smith's son to receive a scholarship that would allow him to attend a good trade/technical school in America.
Lauren [Peter] Smith dreams of buying a house for herself [himself] and her [his] children to live in. Because she [he] works at a low income job she [he] is left with very few options.	I would support a small increase of 0.75% in my taxes if that money were used for a program that would help Lauren [Peter] Smith get a loan to buy her [his] own home and find a safe and yet affordable area for her [his] family to live in America.	I would support a small increase of 0.75% in my taxes if that money were used for a program that would help Lauren [Peter] Smith get a loan to rent an apartment and find a safe and yet affordable area for her [his] family to live in America.

Figure 4. Autonomy-oriented and dependency-oriented helping (i.e., policy support) as a function of target gender and prosocial or antisocial history. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.



## **CHAPTER IV. DISCUSSION**

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## CHAPTER IV. DISCUSSION

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### 4.1. GENERAL IMPLICATIONS

Whereas research on intergroup bias has traditionally focused on direct and overtly negative manifestations, the objective of the current dissertation was to illuminate how ostensibly prosocial behavior can subtly shape intergroup relations to perpetuate inequitable outcomes between groups. Specifically, this dissertation, drawing on the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002), investigated how subtle forms of bias related to prosocial behavior operate in racial and ethnic relations. The dissertation extended the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model by integrating it with theoretical perspectives on paternalism and benevolent sexism that influence gender relations.

The subtle biases reflected in strategic prosocial actions are more likely than blatant discrimination to operate to enhance social control over racial/ethnic minorities and women in a climate in which there is widespread support for egalitarian values (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). In particular, subtle biases often incorporate socially accepted rationalizations that favor hierarchical relations (Jost & van der Toorn, 2012; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and thus are less recognizable, and so are less questioned, than blatant, old-fashioned forms of bias.

The social psychological processes of legitimating hierarchical arrangements are often subtle, and multifaceted in their patterns, their motivations, and their effects, and operate at the individual-level, the group-level, and the system-level (Jost, Burgess, & Mosso, 2001). For example, in their theoretical paper, Jost and Hunyady (2005) argued some “cognitive-motivational antecedents of system-justifying ideologies” that are positively associated with the endorsement of system-justifying beliefs are needs for

order, perception of threat in the social environment, self mortality concerns, and threat to system stability and the status quo.

Additionally, considering the multiple levels at which system-justification processes function to legitimize the status quo, Costa-Lopes, Dovidio, Pereira, and Jost (2013) identified different motives to engage in these legitimating processes related to the preservation of the individual's positive image, the promotion of social dominance of one group over others, and the strength of a system governed by the status quo. For example, research analyzing processes of legitimating hierarchical arrangements at the system level found that threats to the social system motivates people to safeguard it (Jost et al., 2010; Kay, Jost, & Young, 2005; Jost, Kivetz, Rubini, Guermandi, & Mosso, 2005).

Subtle biases and processes of legitimation not only promote the acceptance of subordinate social roles by the members of disadvantaged groups, but they also elicit the cooperation of members of disadvantaged groups in social arrangements that seem to promote harmony but have unfair consequences at the structural level for racial/ethnic minorities and women. These underlying agreements on social structure and the division of social roles implicitly reinforce group-based hierarchies that are legitimated through system-justification processes at the individual-level, group-level, and system-level (Costa-Lopes et al., 2013). According to System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2004; Jost & Van der Toorn, 2012), people need to engage in system justification processes that legitimate social inequity because they have the psychological need to have stability in their lives and to hold a positive image of themselves, their social group, and its social order.

This motivation to defend the status quo of the existing system is often activated at the unconscious level (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002; Jost et al., 2004; Rudman,

Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002). Furthermore, system-justifying motivations may be particularly strong under conditions that threaten the actual social order, such as when system-threat is primed (Kay, Jost, & Young, 2005; Jost, Kivetz, Rubini, Guermendi, & Mosso, 2005), when people feel dependent on the system or on an authority figure (van der Toorn, Tyler, & Jost, 2011), or when people experience the existing system as stable and changeless (Laurin, Shepherd, & Kay, 2010), cross-culturally, and over time.

Based on these theoretical and experimental insights, my dissertation research addressed how intergroup helping relations can be used as an important social control mechanism that perpetuates the status quo of racial/ethnic and gender roles, and how subtle biases influence this process. Illuminating this phenomenon experimentally can assist both majority- and minority-group members to recognize how patronizing forms of behavior generally, and dependency-oriented helping in particular, represent contemporary and potentially unconscious ways of promoting or maintaining structural hierarchy and inequity. Specifically, prosocial behavior, in the form of dependency-oriented helping, can be an effective way of cloaking subtle bias when beneficiaries are members of social disadvantaged groups.

While broadly considered as a desirable behavior emerging from the motivation to care for others, strategic use of prosocial behavior in racial/ethnic and gender relations can trigger the dependency of group minority members and therefore reinforce their low social status. Paternalism and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001) consider the integration of ideological arguments that serve for the construction and stability of hierarchical relations. These theoretical frameworks state that the development of relationships of protection in an environment of control over individuals “in need for protection” perpetuates the acceptance of social inequalities that favor the dominant group.



Specifically, my dissertation aimed to demonstrate that the way that people help members of racial/ethnic and gender minorities is directly affected by their orientation to support group-based hierarchies. One study (see Chapter 2) examined the relationship between prejudice against Latinos and the tendency to endorse dependency versus autonomy-oriented forms of helping for Latinas. Latinos have become the focus of political and immigration debate in the United States. This ethnic group is the fastest growing population in the United States (Passel & Cohn, 2008) and, as a consequence of this growth, can be a potential source of threat to White Americans (Outten et al., 2012). Moreover, their image is commonly associated with illegal immigration (Castañeda, 2007; Lyman, 2006; Suro, 1998). This association also affects daily lives of Latinos because it can elicit blatant forms of discrimination, based on their undocumented status, as well as subtle forms of ethnic discrimination (Ditlmann & Lagunes, 2013). For example, research conducted by Yogeewaran et al. (2012) found that Latinos are normally excluded from the American national identity. Results obtained in my dissertation indicate that individuals with greater prejudice against Latinos tend to support dependency (hierarchy-sustaining) forms of assistance relative to autonomy-oriented (empowering) forms of assistance.

This dissertation study is novel in at least two main ways. First, the study extends previous findings relating to the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002) to bias against Latinas. Second, the study provides insights into the bases and dynamics of bias against Latinas. Previous research on the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model shows that members of dominant groups are particularly likely to employ dependency-oriented helping as a form of subtle social control when the minority group is perceived to be in competition for resources (Halabi et al., 2008) or threatening (Halabi et al., 2008; Jackson & Esses, 2000), or when status relations are

perceived to be unstable (Cunningham & Platow, 2007). In the US, Latinos are seen as threatening the resources and values of the United States (Rodgers, 2010). Specifically, Latinos are usually described as “welfare recipients,” as “less educated,” and unwilling to learn English, and their portrayals in the media are often associate them with criminality and low-income labor jobs (Barreto, 2012). Moreover, Latinos are frequently blamed of creating instability in the social structure through their illegal immigration to the country (Timberlake & Williams, 2012). Future research on bias against Latinos may thus consider the independent affects of these elements on different manifestations of bias against Latinos, including in intergroup helping relations, which can strategically preserve existing social hierarchies.

Helping behavior can thus contribute to the maintenance of social disparities and status hierarchy, which is potentially implicated in gender relations, as well as racial/ethnic group relations. In comparison to other groups, gender relations are traditionally characterized as cooperative and complementary between the two implicated groups, women and men. My dissertation further suggests that dependency-versus autonomy-oriented assistance is potentially extended as a form of social control intended to preserve the status quo to men who display antisocial characteristics and to women who display prosocial characteristics. Specifically, a second study in the dissertation (see Chapter 3) examined whether there is an interaction between gender of a help recipient, the recipient's past behavior (prosocial vs. antisocial), and the type of help offered (autonomy vs. dependency oriented). Previous research on the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model has focused on groups that have traditionally been in conflict or that compete against each other. My research advances knowledge on the subject by incorporating the study of different patterns of responses toward two groups that have traditionally relied on cooperation with each other, women and men.

Consistent with previous research on subtle sexism and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; see also Lee et al., 2010), my study on gender relations reveals that dependency-oriented help is “rewarded” to women as a way to promote behaviors that are gender consistent and that reinforce the constriction of women roles in the society, therefore, contributing to stability of gender status relations. The peculiarities of status relations in groups requiring cooperation (as in the case of women and men) define an environment of praise and positive superficial evaluations of low-status group members (women), while constraining them to gender roles that limit their opportunities for resources and greater social status (Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005). In a patriarchal social system, the privileged status of men requires the cooperation of women for its preservation. Benevolent forms of sexism in the form of helping behaviors disarm the resistance of women to gender hierarchies, serving then as viable mechanisms to reach this goal. Moreover, my dissertation shows how gender bias operates in helping relations to shape the behavior of both women and men as a mechanism of social control that operates to maintain the status quo.

Therefore, my dissertation research empirically demonstrates that integrating the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model incorporates a theoretically grounded approach to understanding a potentially subtle form of bias in racial/ethnic and gender relations.

#### **4. 2. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH**

The work described in the present dissertation attempts to theoretically integrate and empirically extend research and theory on subtle forms of both racial/ethnic and gender bias. The central focus of the dissertation is on the role of different forms of helping in this process. Although the goal of the dissertation was the integration of the dynamics of bias across diverse groups, the actual empirical evidence is more limited in

its scope.

Bias toward different groups may have unique aspects. For example, in the US Latinos tend to be associated with immigrants, whereas Black Americans are recognized as having historical roots in the country (Dovidio et al., 2010). This perceived cultural and historical disconnection, along with accent and language biases (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010), may limit the extent to which Latinos are perceived and accepted as being American. Moreover, the rapid growth of the Latino population in the US, and an environment of widespread concerns about illegal immigration associated with Latinos are distinctive elements that shape bias against this ethnic group.

In addition, relations between Arabs and Jews, which have been a central focus research of the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Halabi et al., 2008; Nadler & Halabi, 2006), are characterized as reflecting intractable conflict, whereas relations between men and women, although clearly longstanding, represent long-term interdependence. This dissertation focused on the examination of two examples of intergroup relations, with Latinos and women as target groups, therefore, limiting the extent of the conclusions, which should be applied cautiously to relations between other groups.

When considering the studies involved in this dissertation more specifically, various methodological limitations may exist. My studies investigated dependency-oriented help as primarily motivated by desire to control the recipient. However, I acknowledge that the present research did not examine other motives for helping that can be possibly involved in this process, such as empathy, stereotypes about the recipient's competence, or feelings of collective guilt about the historical disadvantage of the group. Further investigation that includes different measures related to these attitudes may be needed to examine their role in the overall intergroup helping

dynamics.

Moreover, Study 1 (Chapter 2) only had a Latina target, which does not capture other likely ways that bias can possibly be expressed toward Latino men and toward Latinos as a group. Additional research may investigate the differences of discrimination formulas related to helping behavior that might be different to those specifically associated to the case of the intersectional identity of women of color. For example, Eagly and Kite's (1987) found, across 28 different countries, that stereotypes of different groups more directly reflect the stereotypes of male than female members of the group. Additional research on intersectional identities also reveals that men are perceived as more prototypical of racial/ethnic minority groups than women (Thomas, Dovidio, & West, 2014). On the one hand, these findings may indicate limited generalizability of the results I obtained for responses toward Latinas. On the other hand, they suggest that the biases I observed may be even stronger with Latinos than Latinas.

The primary limitation of Study 1, which was described in Chapter 2, is that I used a prejudice measure specific to Latinos (and adapted version of the Modern Racism Scale; see Son Hing et al., 2008) that did not conclusively predict differential helping toward Latinas. This measure could not discriminate its relationship with bias toward Latinas and bias toward African American women. For example, I found that the interaction between African American (vs. Latina) Target and Modern Racism was marginally significant. Also, no significant main or interactive effects of Target's Race or Modern Racism were observed for dependency-oriented help. Future research may include a measure of Modern Racism toward African Americans and possibly also a similar measure of prejudice toward low-socioeconomic status Whites to examine potentially different patterns of helping behavior between the racial/ethnic groups

involved.

I also recognize some degree of weakness in the measures of dependency- and autonomy-oriented help that will need to be addressed effectively in future research. In order to test the validity of the items assessing autonomy- and dependency-oriented help, I presented these items to an independent sample of 18 volunteers. The validation procedure for the items measuring autonomy versus dependency in the scenarios showed that dependency items did not distinguish between autonomy versus dependency as uniquely as intended. Whereas autonomy-oriented helping items were clearly perceived as promoting the recipient group's autonomy, dependency-oriented help items were perceived as promoting autonomy and dependency to similar degrees. Therefore, further adjustments should be made so that the presented policies related to different scenarios (education, social integration, and health in Study 1, and job, education, and housing in Study 2), particularly those assumed to represent dependency-oriented help, are more strongly perceived to differentially contribute to the autonomy or dependency of the recipient group.

Future measurement development should be pursued to create robust differences between the items operationalizing the different kinds of helping (e.g., the inclusion of dependency items related to welfare programs that makes the person dependent on the state for the job and housing scenarios; and the lack of any degree of education privileges for any dependency items regardless the differential status that a learning opportunity might provide to the recipient), and so across the experimental conditions.

I also acknowledge that the gender manipulation (Study 2, Chapter 3) and the antisocial behavior condition (Study 2, Chapter 3) might be a potential limitation of the generalizability of the findings because the beneficiary of the help across both conditions is a "son," who is described as having excellent grades in school. In

particular, participants were presented with the description of either a situation of a woman in need or a situation of a man in need in which “Lauren [Peter] Smith’s son received excellent grades throughout High School and would like to go to college. Lauren [Peter] Smith can’t possibly afford tuition so her [his] son will most likely have to start working right after he graduates from High School.” This aspect of the procedure may have restricted differences obtained as a function of whether the target was a man (Peter) or a woman (Lauren). Improving the measurement properties for key variables would address this matter, and systematically varying the gender of the beneficiary (i.e., as a son or a daughter) would help clarify the different potential influences of the gender of the target and of the beneficiary.

#### **4.3. FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

My review and analysis suggest a number of novel, concrete directions for future research. First, most current measures of prejudice focus on prejudice as antipathy and/or overt expressions of support for hierarchical relations between groups (e.g., SDO). I propose that hostile forms of prejudice may be supplanted in current societies by more sophisticated subtle forms of bias. As a consequence, new measures of prejudice may need to be developed to capture these subtle, and potentially changing, forms of bias to predict the way seemingly positive actions are involved in this process as a way to maintain group hierarchy. Current measures of symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002), modern sexism (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995), and benevolent and hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001) capture many elements of subtle bias, but it may be possible to create a measure of subtle bias that, like SDO, may be applicable across a range of biases based on race, ethnicity, and gender that may share the function of maintaining hierarchy involving socially or legally protected groups through prosocial actions.

Second, future research might consider further the conditions that promote benevolent versus hostile expressions to maintain and reinforce intergroup hierarchy. For example, intergroup biases may be more direct and overtly negative when groups are seen as distinct and potentially competitive. Perceiving groups as in potentially competitive, zero-sum relationships arouses not only intergroup threat (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001) that justifies direct exploitation of the other group (Insko et al., 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). By contrast, when groups perceive themselves as interdependent within a larger community identity, they are more sensitive to issues of procedural fairness (Tyler & Blader, 2003) and recognize the potential for reactance that can produce collective action by members of socially disadvantaged groups (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), which threatens the stability of the status quo (Scheepers et al., 2006). Thus, under conditions of such interdependence prosocial mechanisms for social control, such as those identified in Nadler's (2002) model, may operate more strongly.

Future research might also examine additional kinds of help that represent subtle bias toward Latinos. For example, because a substantial portion of Americans perceive Latinos as undocumented immigrants (Rodgers, 2010), they may be willing to give Latinos a particular form of autonomy-oriented help – help that may be instrumental in helping Latinos “return to their own country.” Moreover, people with higher levels of prejudice toward Latinos might be willing to offer autonomy-oriented help that would make possible for a Latino person to leave the country because they (a) would be more likely to perceive Latinos as undocumented immigrants, and (b) would be more motivated to promote greater social and physical distance between non-Latino Americans and Latinos.



Furthermore, the study of intergroup helping behavior might also include other traditionally discriminated minorities, such as elderly or overweight individuals, or people with a physical disability, a physical illness, or a mental illness. These groups may be perceived as being especially dependent in some way (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007), and thus offering members of these groups dependency-oriented help would be seen as socially appropriate, and potentially more “prosocial”, while reinforcing their lower status position and relative powerlessness in society.

In conclusion, prosocial, as well as antisocial behavior can, when used strategically, represent a powerful mechanism for social control. These processes not only have implications for relatively spontaneous behaviors between individuals from different groups, as identified in the Intergroup Helping as Status Relations Model (Nadler, 2002), but also for support for social policies that can enhance the autonomy or dependency of members of lower status groups and affect groups collectively (Jackson & Esses, 2000). Understanding why, how, and when people and groups use ostensibly prosocial behavior as a mechanism for social control can draw attention to subtle processes that promote inequity and suggest new interventions for achieving truly fair and just societies.

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## REFERENCES

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## **APENDIX: MEASURE INSTRUMENTS**

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## APENDIX: MEASURE INSTRUMENTS

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### SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION

The goal of this survey is to explore people's ideas about groups in general.

Below are a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement by circling a number from 1 to 5. Please remember that there are no right or wrong answers, and that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Some groups of people are just more worthy than others.					
2. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.					
3. In getting what your group wants, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.					
4. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.					
5. We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally.					
6. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.					
7. No one group should dominate in society.					
8. Group equality should be our ideal.					
9. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.					
10. We must increase social equality.					
11. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.					
12. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.					
13. We must strive to make incomes more equal.					
14. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.					
15. It would be good if all groups could be equal.					
16. Inferior groups should stay in their place.					

**MODERN RACISM SCALE**

The goal of this survey is to explore people's ideas about groups in general. Please indicate your reaction to each of the statements by circling the appropriate number on each scale. There are no correct answers so please respond as accurately as possible. You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements, and you disagree with others, to varying degrees.

	1	2	3	4	5
1. There are too many foreign students of Hispanic descent being allowed to attend university in the US.					
2. The US should open its doors to more Latino immigration from the poorer countries.					
3. It's good to live in a country where there are so many Latinos.					
4. Inter-marriage between Latinos and Whites is a good thing for the US.					
5. It is not fair that so many scholarships and awards are awarded to Latino students.					
6. It is too easy for Latinos to illegally arrive in the US.					
7. Many Latinos do not bother to learn proper English.					
8. Discrimination against Latinos is no longer a problem in the US.					
9. White Americans do not get treated very well in places dominated by Latinos.					