The Influence of Subtle and Blatant Prejudice on Group Identity

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Abstract

Recent research on social distancing and intergroup relations focuses on the black sheep effect—the notion that individuals will distance themselves from deviant group members—and those who exhibit varying levels of discrimination (Johns et al., 2005). Other research suggests that the degree to which prejudice is detected varies with the type of prejudice expressed—blatant or subtle (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997). The current research tested whether the type of sexual prejudice expressed by members of one's ingroup influences the extent to which individuals identify with, and distance from, both their ingroup and the prejudiced individual. Participants were exposed to either blatant or subtle prejudice and then their identification with their ingroup and the prejudiced individual was measured. Results revealed that exposure to blatant prejudice was related to greater social distancing from the prejudiced individual and one's ingroup than exposure to subtle prejudice. The implications are discussed.

Keywords: Subtle Prejudice, Group Identification, Sexual Prejudice, Black Sheep Effect

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"I just think my children -- and your children -- would be much better off, and much more successful, getting married and raising a family. And I don't want them to be brainwashed into thinking that homosexuality is an equally valid or successful option -- it isn't." ~ Carl Paladino

"I only have one problem with homosexuality and that's their desire to be married. And beyond that, I don't have a problem whatsoever." ~ Carl Paladino

Did these statements by Carl Paladino, 2010 Republican nominee for Governor of New York, lead Republicans to distance him from their political identity? Could the former statement have led to a greater distancing from political identity than the latter? If the answer to either of these questions is yes, this may be a clear example of the black sheep effect. The black sheep effect occurs when individuals evaluate poor performance by ingroup members more harshly than comparable performance by outgroup members (Lewis & Sherman, 2010).

Recent research examined the impact of the black sheep effect on group identity in relation to discriminatory behavior (Johns, Schmader & Lickel, 2005). The black sheep effect occurs when individuals evaluate poor performance by ingroup members more harshly than comparable performance by outgroup members (Lewis & Sherman, 2010). Subsequent research found a link between American group identification and the perceived negativity of an event directed at Middle Easterners (Johns et al., 2005). Specifically, highly identified Americans distanced themselves from their ingroup when a discriminatory act toward the outgroup was very negative (e.g., physical assault of an Arab-American by an American), whereas, identification predicted less distancing when events directed at Middle Easterners were less negative and seemingly more justifiable (e.g., ethnic slurs directed toward Muslims or Arab-Americans). This research has shed light on the impact of discriminatory practices and group identity, by showing that more ambiguous acts of discrimination lead to less social distancing than more direct discrimination. However, Johns and colleagues (2005) compared discrimination and prejudice

expression in terms of their impact on ingroup identification, but they did not compare how different forms of expression may elicit differential reactions.

The present study seeks to extend this research by assessing whether blatant or subtle expressions of prejudice are sufficient to elicit distancing behaviors. If prejudice expression is related to social distancing, then this may show the power that ingroup members have to confront negative attitudes before they lead to aggressive acts of discrimination. In addition, the current research also examines a marginalized group that is not often looked at in relation to the consequences of blatant and subtle prejudice expression—gay men and lesbians.

The Black Sheep Effect

According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978), group members tend to favor individuals within their ingroup over outgroup members in several domains, including perceptual, attitudinal, and behavioral (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). This form of ingroup favoritism is often viewed as a strategy to enhance an individual's social identity. In fact, ingroup favoritism is both a means through which individuals preserve their social identity and nurture their self-concept (Tajfel, 1982).

Although ingroup favoritism predominantly emerges through a variety of positive behaviors toward ingroup members, the black sheep effect illustrates how negative evaluations help to preserve social identity in a distinct, yet related way. The black sheep effect occurs when evaluations of ingroup members are more extreme (in both positive and negative circumstances) than judgments about comparable individuals from an outgroup (Marques, et al., 1988). The extent that this effect occurs is positively related to the relevance that fellow ingroup members have to the individual's social identity, but not to the relevance of outgroup members to identity (Marques, et al., 1988; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). That is, even though ingroup

members are primarily favored over members of the outgroup they are also more relevant to an individual's self concept, leading to extreme positive judgments when an ingroup member acts favorably, and extreme negative reactions when an ingroup member behaves in a way that reflects poorly on the ingroup. This negative reaction can take the form of direct confrontation (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006), or decreased identification with ingroup members (Johns et al., 2005).

Research on the black sheep effect originally focused on deviant behaviors of ingroup members (e.g., Marques, Paez, & Abrams, 1998; Pinto et al., 2010); more recent research has examined how discriminatory behaviors might elicit the effect (Johns et al., 2005). Specifically, this research has found a link between the perceived negativity of a discriminatory act directed at a target outgroup by members of one's ingroup and the amount that individuals identify with their ingroup as a result of this action (Johns et al., 2005). In order to examine the impact of prejudice expression on ingroup identity, the present research focused on the multifaceted forms of prejudice expression that have emerged within the past fifty years.

Blatant and Subtle Prejudice

Historically, prejudice was defined as reflecting overt intergroup hostility toward marginalized groups (Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). However, recent research has demonstrated that this traditional form of prejudice does not encompass the existing attitudes that have developed since prejudice was first considered within psychological literature. Specifically, research asserts that there are two distinct, yet related types of prejudice expression that are present in contemporary society: blatant and subtle (Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Swim, Ferguson, & Hyers, 1999). Blatant prejudice has been characterized as "involving threat combined with both

formal and intimate rejection of the outgroup" (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997, p. 56). Although this type of prejudice is still present, discriminatory arguments and attitudes have developed with society to reflect "politically correct" norms, but these blatant statements continue to express attitudes about the inferiority of an outgroup and are increasingly less accepted in the public sphere (Burridge, 2004). Research suggests that this rejection has not resulted in a sharp increase in egalitarian or nonprejudiced views, but rather in the emergence of subtle prejudice among the general public (Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). In contrast to blatant prejudice, subtle prejudice is less detectable and is characterized by covert, distant, and indirect behaviors that discriminate against a target outgroup (e.g., "If West Indians would only try harder they could be as well off as British people"; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997). Thus, subtle prejudice is characterized by rejecting members of marginalized groups for ostensibly nonprejudiced reasons (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Although both blatant and subtle prejudice expressions are equally discriminatory, subtle prejudice is particularly pernicious because it complies with social norms and is therefore less detectable (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). In addition, when presented with the dilemma between increasing or decreasing minority rights, subtly prejudiced individuals favor the status quo (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001), and rather than choosing to restrict or extend the rights of minority group members they remain in an intermediate position, which can be interpreted as a lack of bias.

Although subtle prejudice may appear to be a technique used to express negativity while remaining socially desirable, research suggests this type of prejudice goes far deeper than simple self-presentation (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), and actually prevents individuals from realizing that the attitudes they hold are discriminatory (Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Meertens & Pettigrew,

1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Individuals who express subtle prejudice have internalized the social norm that rejects blatant prejudice, yet are not completely egalitarian themselves, which explains the failure of traditional prejudice scales to measure these negative attitudes. This gap in the literature led researchers to not only expand the general definition of prejudice, but also more specified areas of prejudice, such as: racism (Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001), sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995), and sexual prejudice (Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Morrison, Morrison, & Franklin, 2009; Seelman, & Walls, 2010; Swim et al., 1999; Walls, 2008). Although these three related, yet distinct, forms of prejudice have been explored, the extant literature examining subtle sexual prejudice has been the least thorough (Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Morrison et al., 2009; Walls, 2008), with most research distinguishing between blatant and subtle sexual prejudice, but failing to explore the consequences of each.

Blatant sexual prejudice has traditionally been measured with scales that assess prejudice stemming from traditional moral and religious beliefs (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). The scales that have been most widely and successfully used to assess sexual prejudice over the past few decades are Herek's (1988) Attitudes toward Gay Men Scale (ATG) and Attitudes toward Lesbians Scale (ATL). However, several studies have used these scales to assess college and university samples and revealed that these populations appear to have impartial or nonprejudiced attitudes toward gay men and lesbians (Schellenberg, Hirt, & Sears, 1999; Simoni, 1996). Although this may lead to the assumption that sexual prejudice has disappeared from these populations, recent research suggests that the ATLG and similar scales examine a specific type

of sexual prejudice that college students may have been socialized to reject, such as moral and

religious objections to homosexuality (Morrison & Morrison, 2002).

These researchers argue that subtle prejudice is based on more abstract societal concerns,

and is reflected in the beliefs that gay men and lesbians make unnecessary calls to change the

status quo, prevent themselves from assimilating into mainstream culture by overstating the

significance of their sexuality, and that discriminatory behavior against the LGBT community is

a thing of the past (Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Morrison et al., 2009; Walls, 2008). In fact,

subtle sexual prejudice is particularly insidious because it is primarily based on seemingly

nonprejudiced reasoning, which makes its justifications increasingly difficult to combat. The

current research seeks to test whether subtle prejudice expressed by members of one's ingroup,

can be detected in individuals and whether such detection will have an impact on ingroup

identification.

The Current Work

The most current research with regard to social distancing and intergroup relations

focuses on the black sheep effect and outgroup discrimination, but does not examine the

relationship between the black sheep effect and prejudice expression. This is a significant gap in

the literature because assessing how individuals respond to the negative attitudes of others may

be beneficial in determining how best to confront this negativity before it escalates to

discriminatory acts. Thus, the present study examines the relationship between expressions of

subtle and blatant prejudice and the black sheep effect. Specifically, we examine whether blatant

and subtle expressions of prejudice by ingroup members are sufficient to impact the extent to

which individuals identify with their own group. Given that subtle prejudice is more ambiguous

than blatant prejudice, and past research has found that ambiguity makes discrimination more

justifiable (Johns et al., 2005), we expected that the type of sexual prejudice expression (i.e.,

blatant vs. subtle) would affect the extent to which individuals would socially distance from both

that individual and their own ingroup. Specifically, we predicted that individuals would socially

distance themselves more from their ingroup identity when an ingroup member expressed blatant

rather than subtle sexual prejudice. Similarly, we also expected individuals to distance

themselves more from an individual who expresses blatant sexual prejudice than one who

expresses subtle prejudice.

To this end, participants were randomly assigned to read one of two scenarios in which a

purported member of the individual's ingroup expressed attitudes that were either blatantly or

subtly prejudiced toward the LGBT community (see Appendix A). These scenarios were derived

from data collected from two pilot studies, and prior research (Morrison & Morrison, 2002).

Pilot Studies

The first pilot study focused primarily on gathering ecologically valid materials from the

community. Although past research has examined the definitions and validity of blatant and

subtle prejudice (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), the current research sought to find up-to-date

arguments that are used by individuals to support or combat prejudice and discrimination toward

the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered (LGBT) community. These arguments were

gathered from thirty-two participants (13 protesters and 19 supporters) recruited during the Gay

Alliance of Genesee Valley's annual pride celebration in Rochester, New York. Participants

completed a questionnaire that consisted of open ended responses, which allowed participants to

spontaneously state their views on LGBT issues (see Appendix B). These naturalistic responses

were then used to develop separate scenarios to manipulate both blatant vs. subtle prejudice (see

Appendix A).

The second pilot study focused on assessing the validity of the scenarios created from the responses in the initial study. Specifically, thirty participants were randomly assigned to read either the blatant or subtle prejudice scenario and then indicated the level of prejudice that they perceived to be expressed, via the Subtle and Blatant Sexual Prejudice Scale (modified from Morrison & Morrison, 2002, see Appendix C). In order to clarify that the participants' ratings reflected their perceptions, rather than their preexisting attitudes toward the LGBT population, they also completed the Attitudes toward Gay Men and Lesbians scale (Herek, 1988; see Appendix D). Results of the pilot study revealed that the blatant prejudice was detected more in the blatant prejudice condition ($M = 4.06$, $SD = .75$) than in the subtle prejudice condition ($M = 1.91$, $SD = .53$) even when preexisting attitudes were held constant, $F (1, 21) = 67.93$, $p < .01$. Additionally, subtle prejudice was detected in both the blatant prejudice condition ($M = 4.39$, $SD = .58$) and the subtle prejudice condition ($M = 4.19$, $SD = .30$) even when preexisting attitudes were held constant, $F (1, 21) = 1.14$, n.s.). These results demonstrate that blatant prejudice was highly detected in the blatant, but not in the subtle, prejudice scenario. This illustrates that subtle prejudice is not as highly related to traditional prejudice as blatant prejudice.

Method

Participants

The participants were 49 undergraduate students who participated in return for partial course credit. Due to the fact that the study focused on examining reactions to prejudice against an outgroup, data from participants who indicated that they identify with a sexual orientation other than heterosexual, were removed from the sample (n = 7). Thus, a total of 42 undergraduates participated in the current research.

Instruments

        Blatant vs. Subtle Prejudice Manipulation. Two scenarios involving attitudes toward the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community were created to manipulate subtle and blatant expressions of prejudice (see Appendix A). In the first scenario, the attitudes expressed suggested that the person in the scenario was blatantly prejudiced against members of the LGBT community. A second scenario suggested that the person was subtly prejudiced against members of the LGBT community.

        Collective Self-Esteem. Participants' initial level of identification with their social group was assed using a modified version of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; see Appendix E). This questionnaire typically assesses how identified individuals feel with their ingroup (Johns et al., 2005). The measure consists of four subscales: membership (e.g., "I am a worthy member of the social group I belong to"), private (e.g., "In general, I'm glad to be a member of the social group that I belong to"), public (e.g., "Overall, my social group is considered good by others"), and identity (e.g., "The social group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am"). As in past research (Johns, et al., 2005), the scores on these four subscales were aggregated to create one measure of group identification (α=.73). The membership, private, public, and identity subscales included 4 items each, measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) rating scale, with higher scores indicating higher perceptions of similarity between each group. This scale was used to ensure that participants were initially identified with their social group. All participants who participated in the current study had an aggregated score of 4.63/7 or higher, which indicated relatively high identification with their social group.

Distancing Motivation. An adapted version of the Distancing Motivation Scale (Johns et al., 2005; see Appendix F) was used to assess both the degree that participants desired to distance from their ingroup and the ingroup member. This 6-item scale contained two subscales which assessed the motivation to distance from the individual (e.g., "If this opinion was expressed I would want to be completely unassociated with the person who expressed this opinion") as well as the motivation to distance from the social group (e.g., If this opinion was expressed in my social group, I would want to disappear from the situation). The individual (α=.90) and social group (α=.91) subscales included 3 items each, measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 9 (*strongly agree)* rating scale. Participants' task was to indicate the extent that they agreed with each statement, with higher scores indicating greater distancing motivation.

Inclusion of Self in Other. The degree to which participants included the person who expressed the attitude about the LGBT community into their self concept was measured via an adapted version of the Inclusion of Self in Other scale (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997; see Appendix G). This scale consists of seven pairs of overlapping circles of increasing degrees of overlap. Participants indicated how close they felt to the ingroup member by selecting the pair of overlapping circles that best represented this relationship. Increased overlap between the circles indicated greater feelings of inclusion.

Perceived Self-Other Similarity. Participant's attributions of similarity between themselves and various groups were assessed via an adapted version of Oveis and colleagues (2010) Perceived Self-Other Similarity scale (see Appendix H). This measure consisted of 23 items that represented various groups (e.g., my Social Group here at the College at Brockport, females, terrorists). These items were measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree)*

rating scale, with higher scores indicating greater similarity. This scale was utilized as a measure of social distancing from the individual and their social group.

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men. The ATLG scale (Herek, 1988; see Appendix D) was utilized to assess participants' general attitudes and prejudice toward gay men and lesbians. These attitudes were measured via an 8-item measure which included two subscales: Attitudes Toward Gay Men (e.g., "Male homosexuality is a perversion") and Attitudes Toward Lesbian Women (e.g., "Sex between two women is just plain wrong"). These items were measured on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating more negative attitudes (α=.84). Participants' task was to indicate the extent to which they agreed with each statement.

Filler Questionnaires. An adapted version of the "Big-Five" theory of personality (Costa & McRae, 1997; see Appendix I) and Snyder and Fromkin's (1977) Need for Uniqueness Scale (see Appendix J) were used to distract participants from the true focus of the current study. The data collected from these questionnaires were not used in the data analysis.

Procedure

Participants completed the Collective Self Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) in a prescreening session to assess their identification with their personal social group at the College at Brockport. This measure was completed prior to data collection to assess individual's initial level of identification with their social group. Of the 168 participants prescreened, 49 completed the current study. These participants were randomly assigned to read one of two scenarios (i.e., blatant prejudice or subtle prejudice). Following the scenarios, all participants completed the Distancing Motivation scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), the Big-Five Personality Inventory (Costa & McRae, 1997), the Inclusion of the Self in Other scale (Wright et al., 1997), the Need

for Uniqueness Scale (Snyder & Fromkin, 1977), and the Perceived Self-Other Similarity scale (Oveis et al., 2010). Finally, participants then completed the Attitudes toward Gay Men and Lesbians scale (Herek, 1988) and answered some demographic items (see Appendix K). Following the experiment, participants were debriefed and given an opportunity to ask the experimenter questions.

Results

Relationships between Individual Distancing Motivation, Group Distancing Motivation, Inclusion of Other in Self Scale, Perceived Similarity to Person and Perceived Similarity to Social Group

A correlation matrix was computed to examine the relationships between individual distancing motivation, group distancing motivation, inclusion of other in the self, perceived similarity to person, and perceived similarity to social group. As depicted in Table 1(at end of document), the desire to distance from the individual was positively related to group distancing motivation. Additionally, the inclusion of the ingroup member into the individuals' sense of self was positively related to perceived similarity to the person and negatively related to individual and group distancing motivation. Finally, perceptions of similarity to the person expressing prejudiced attitudes were negatively related to individual and group distancing motivation. However, perceived similarity to one's social group was unrelated to the other variables.

Relationships between Prejudice Expression and Social Distancing from the Ingroup and the Prejudiced Individual

Perceptions of similarity to ingroup. In order to assess the relationship between prejudice expression and perceptions of similarity to the individual's social group, a One-Way

ANOVA was computed. Consistent with predictions, results revealed that individuals exposed to subtle sexual prejudice perceived greater similarity to their social group ($M = 5.82$, $SD = 1.05$) than did individuals exposed to blatant sexual prejudice ($M = 4.95$, $SD = 1.73$), $F (1, 40) = 3.94$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .09$, (see Figure 1 at end of document).

Motivation to distance from ingroup. A One-Way ANOVA was used to directly examine the relationship between prejudice expression and motivation to distance from one's social group. Consistent with predictions, results revealed that individuals exposed to blatant sexual prejudice exhibited higher motivation to distance from their own social group ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 2.04$) than did those individuals exposed to subtle sexual prejudice ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.66$), $F (1, 40) = 4.94$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .11$, (see Figure 2 at end of document).

Perceptions of similarity to prejudiced individual. In order to assess the relationship between the type of prejudice expressed and the perceptions of similarity to the individual expressing attitudes, a One-Way ANOVA was computed. Results revealed that individuals exposed to subtle sexual prejudice perceived greater similarity to the ingroup member ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.40$) than did those exposed to blatant sexual prejudice ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.20$), $F (1, 40) = 8.31$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .17$, (see Figure 3 at end of document).

Inclusion of other into self. The relationship between the type of prejudice expressed and the extent to which individuals identify with the prejudiced individual was assessed via a One-Way ANOVA. Consistent with predictions, results revealed that individuals exposed to subtle sexual prejudice included the ingroup member into their identity to a greater extent ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.33$) than did individuals exposed to blatant sexual prejudice ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.05$), $F (1, 40) = 4.41$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .10$, (see Figure 4 at end of document).

Motivation to distance from individual. A One-Way ANOVA was conducted to examine the predicted relationship between the type of prejudice expressed and motivation to distance from the prejudiced individual. Results revealed a marginal trend suggesting that individuals exposed to blatant sexual prejudice exhibited higher motivation to distance from the individual expressing these attitudes ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 2.75$) than did those individuals exposed to subtle sexual prejudice ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.25$), $F(1, 40) = 3.43$, $p < .10$, $\eta^2 = .08$, (see Figure 5 at end of document).

Discussion

Although the existing research on group identity and intergroup relations has explored the role that group identity plays in reactions to discriminatory acts toward marginalized outgroups (Johns et al., 2005), the role that it plays in reactions to other forms of negativity have, thus far, remained unexamined. One goal of this study was to extend this research by assessing whether blatant or subtle expressions of prejudice are sufficient to elicit distancing behaviors. Given that these other forms of negativity often accompany or precede physical acts of discrimination (Cowan, Heiple, Marquez, Khatchadourian, & McNevin, 2005), investigating the relationship between group identification and other forms of negativity is extremely relevant to fully understanding intergroup relations.

Results revealed that exposure to blatant sexual prejudice was related to greater social distancing from ingroup identity than the exposure to subtle sexual prejudice. In fact, this pattern of social distancing was evidenced through two separate measures of ingroup identification (i.e., perceived similarity and distancing motivation). Consistent with this pattern, exposure to blatant sexual prejudice was related to decreased perceptions of similarity to one's social ingroup and increased motivation to distance from one's ingroup than similar exposure to subtle prejudice.

Additionally, results revealed that individuals socially distance themselves more from an ingroup member when that member expresses blatant sexual prejudice rather than subtle prejudice. Consistent with this relationship, exposure to blatant sexual prejudice was related to decreased perceptions of similarity to an ingroup member, lower inclusion of the ingroup member into perception of self, and a marginal increase in motivation to distance from that member than similar exposure to subtle sexual prejudice.

Future Directions and Limitations

Overall, the current data suggest that individuals are more likely to distance from their ingroup when expressions of sexual prejudice are blatant rather than subtle. The fact that there is greater social distancing for blatant as opposed to subtle prejudice is consistent with past research that suggests that subtle prejudice is justified through the use of social norms and is often overlooked (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Although blatant prejudice is obviously harmful, subtle prejudice may be seen as more insidious than blatant, because it allows for continued harm for marginalized groups without the social consequences that follow overt expressions of prejudice.

Additionally, subtle sexual prejudice can have detrimental effects on intergroup relations. Specifically, Cowan and her colleagues (2005) found that subtle sexual prejudice (modern heterosexism) was associated with approval of hate crimes and minimization of the harm of hate speech toward gay men and lesbians. Although these relationships may be attributable to the overlap between blatant and subtle sexual prejudice, these findings indicate that subtle sexual prejudice may contribute to hate speech when it is ambiguous or abstract in its phrasing. The current research leaves open the question of why subtle leads to less social distancing than blatant prejudice. Since subtle prejudice may be normatively less offensive or less noticeable

than blatant prejudice, these findings also illustrate the consequences that subtle prejudice may have for the LGBT community. Therefore, future research might investigate methods to increase awareness of subtle prejudice. This awareness and the recognition of the potential harm that subtle prejudice can pose to marginalized groups are important as methods are developed to confront this insidious form of prejudice.

For instance, if individuals perceive themselves to share group membership with another, they expect to agree with other group members on issues relevant to their shared group identity and are also motivated to reach an agreement on those issues (Haslam & Wilson, 2000). Due to the fact that group norms and beliefs have been shown to be more predictive of prejudice in members of a group than personal beliefs (Haslam & Wilson, 2000), raising awareness of the harm posed by subtle prejudice may lead to social distancing or confronting behavior toward individuals expressing prejudice. Specifically, past research has shown that making others aware of existing social norms against prejudice leads to a decrease in individual prejudice expression (Monteith, Deneen, & Tooman, 1996). Therefore, future research might examine ways to activate personal and social prejudice norms in order to decrease blatant and subtle prejudice expression.

Operario and Fiske (2001) investigated a related avenue of research by examining factors that play a role in the perception of subtle prejudice within minority groups. This research indicated that highly-identified minority group members were more adept at detecting expressions of subtle prejudice than were low-identified minorities. Due to the fact that most majority group members have a low identification with minority groups, this may explain why majority members often fail to detect subtle prejudice in their own and others' prejudiced expressions. Future research may seek to develop techniques that increase majority identification

with minority groups and examine the resulting ingroup social distancing that occurs as a result of subtle prejudice expression.

The results from the present study may also be relevant to recent research on the effectiveness of confrontation. Specifically, Czopp and colleagues (2006) demonstrated that confronting prejudice in interpersonal situations can effectively reduce subsequent prejudice expressions. However, a majority group member who confronts prejudice may be more likely to reduce future prejudice expression through confrontation than a marginalized group member, because targets of prejudice are often perceived as complainers (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Future research might examine whether this trend is relevant to both blatant and subtle prejudice expressions, or if the effectiveness of confrontation among targets and nontargets differs based on the type of prejudice confronted. Similarly, research could examine whether individuals are less likely to confront subtle rather than blatant prejudice. Additionally, social distancing from one's ingroup could indicate greater perceived closeness with marginalized groups. Thus, future research might explore whether distancing from an ingroup leads to greater identification with the marginalized group, and subsequent increases in confrontation.

Several intriguing questions remain in regard to the relationship between exposure to prejudice and group identity. For instance, the current study only examined the impact of subtle and blatant prejudice expressions toward one minority group and it is possible that subtle racial prejudice may be perceived as more offensive than is subtle sexual prejudice, because normatively it is viewed as less socially acceptable (Cowan & Hodge, 1996; Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, & Snyder, 2006). Thus, individuals may equally distance from blatant and subtle racial prejudice. Additionally, the current study did not control for the initial prejudice level (i.e., subtle, blatant, or nonprejudiced) of participants. Future research should examine whether

individuals who are subtly, blatantly or nonprejudiced themselves will be more or less likely to socially distance differently from expressions of subtle and blatant prejudice.

The current study is also limited because of its utilization of prejudice transcripts, rather than actual expressions of blatant and subtle prejudice. Although Robinson and Clore (2001) demonstrated that individual self-reports of hypothetical reactions are highly comparable to actual reactions, future research may wish to employ methodology that examines the degree of social distancing in response to actual expressions of prejudice.

Conclusion

Despite the extensive research examining the impact of modern racism and modern sexism, research examining subtle sexual prejudice has, up until recently, been relatively sparse (Cowan et al., 2005). In fact, most of the research examining subtle sexual prejudice does not move beyond the distinction between blatant and subtle sexual prejudice. The current research represents an important step toward understanding the impact that the expression of blatant and subtle prejudice can have on ingroup identification. Specifically, this research suggests that exposure to blatant sexual prejudice was related to greater distancing from the ingroup and members of that ingroup, than was exposure to subtle sexual prejudice. As a result, this research suggests that improving relations between heterosexuals and the LGBT community may not only entail finding ways to involve both groups in positive interactions, but also on understanding how distancing from one's prejudiced social group may impact feelings and behaviors toward minority groups.

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Footnotes

1. We also analyzed the data with initial prejudice attitudes (ATLG) and initial group identification (CSE) serving as covariates within the ANOVA. The pattern of results on our primary measures was very consistent, although there was variability in the strength of relationships.

Table 1

Correlations between Individual DM, Group DM, IOS Scale, PS Person, and PS Social Group (N = 42)

Measure	Group DM	IOS Scale	Sim_Person	Sim_Social Group
Individual DM	.830**	-.527**	-.517**	-.185
Group DM		-.557**	-.579**	-.119
IOS Scale			.654**	.057
PS Person				.071

Note. Individual DM = motivation to distance from the individual; Group DM = motivation to distance from the social group; IOS Scale = inclusion of the person who expressed prejudice in the self; Sim_Person = perceived similarity to the person who expressed prejudiced attitudes; Sim_Social Group = perceived similarity to the social group.
**p* < .01.

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Relationship between prejudice expression and perceptions of similarity to social group.

Figure 2. Relationship between prejudice expression and motivation to distance from social group.

Figure 3. Relationship between the type of prejudice expressed and the perceptions of similarity to the individual expressing prejudice.

Figure 4. Relationship between the type of prejudice expressed and the amount of identification with the individual expressing prejudice.

Figure 5. Relationship between the type of prejudice expressed and motivation to distance from the individual expressing prejudice.
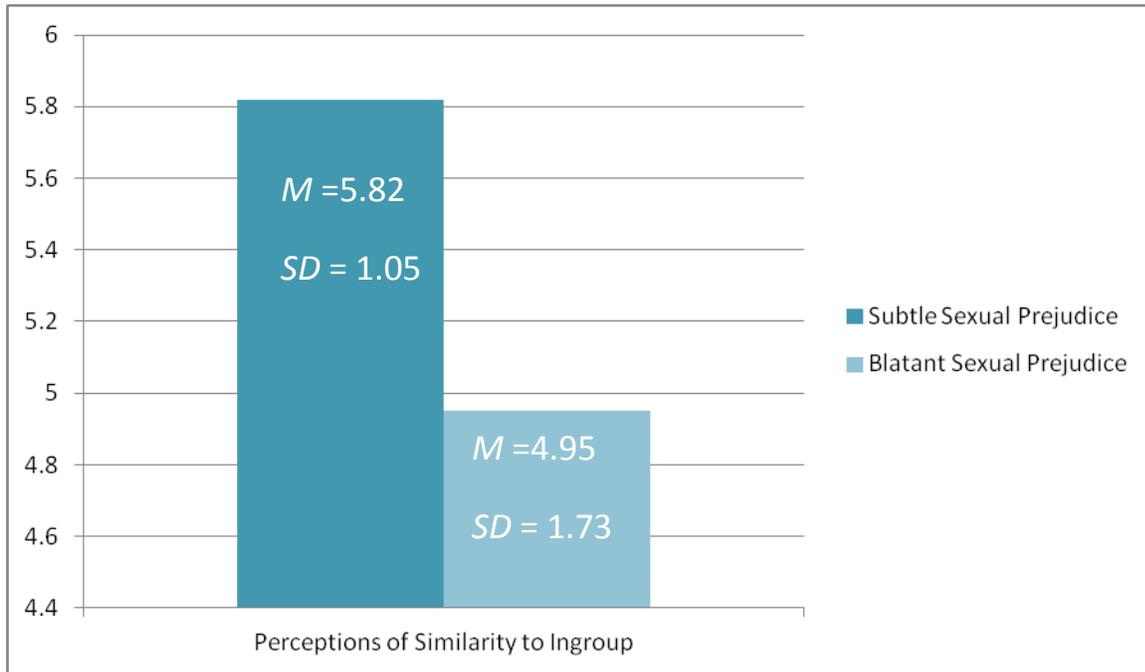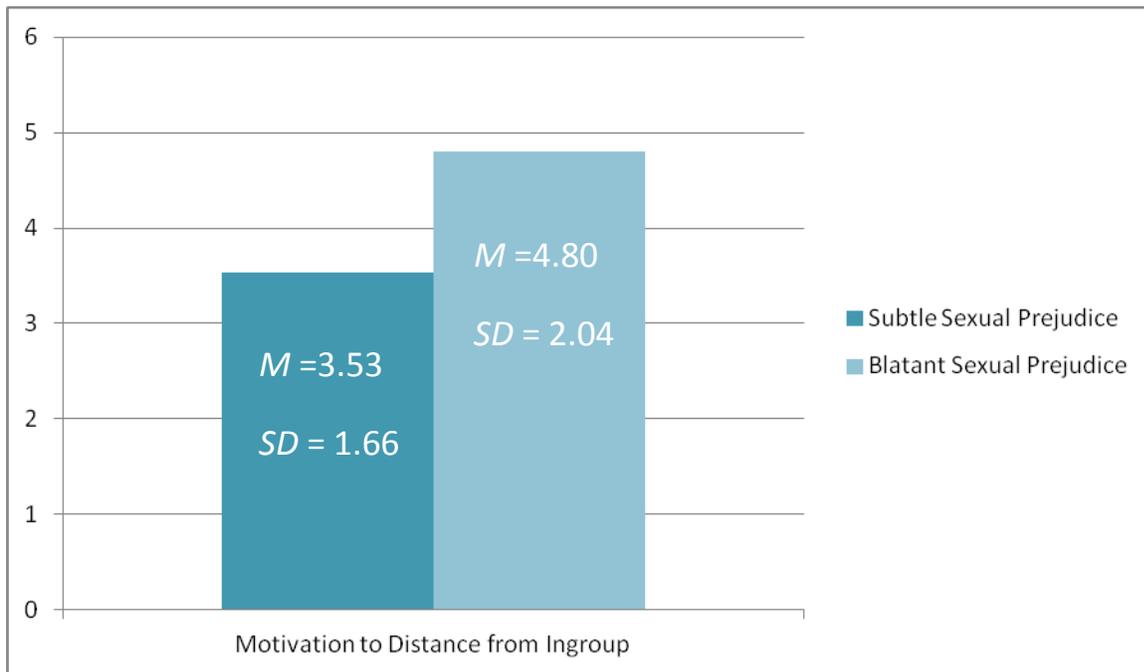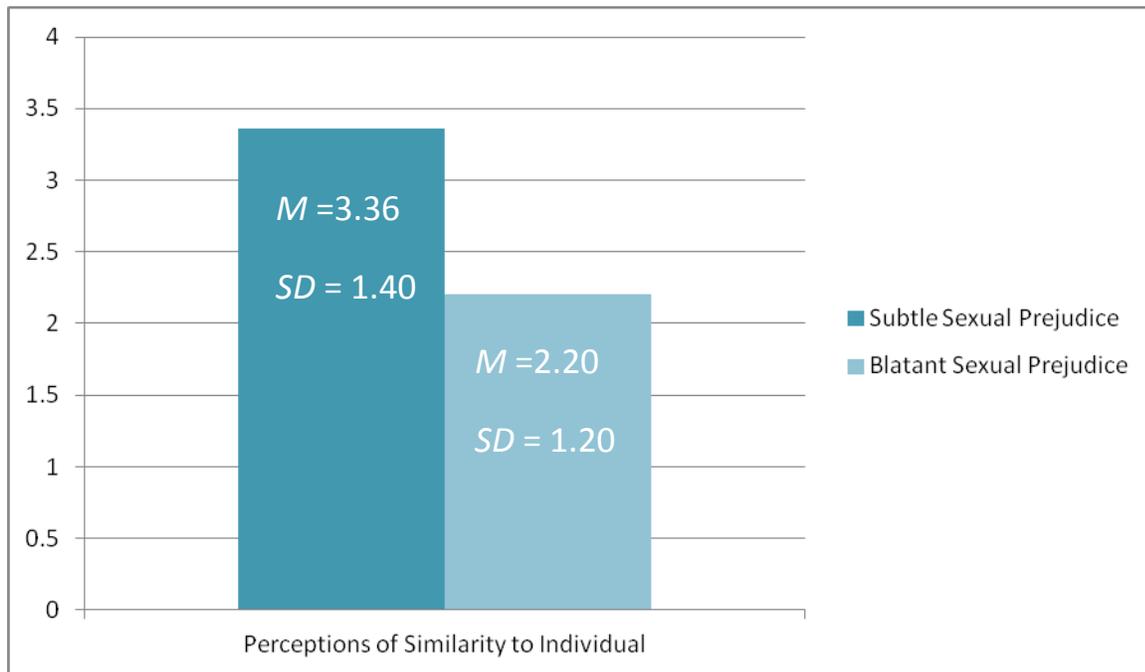
Figure 1

Perceptions of Similarity to Ingroup

Figure 2

M =4.80

SD = 2.04

M =3.53

SD = 1.66

■ Subtle Sexual Prejudice

■ Blatant Sexual Prejudice

Motivation to Distance from Ingroup

Figure 3

- Subtle Sexual Prejudice
- Blatant Sexual Prejudice

M =3.36

SD = 1.40

M =2.20

SD = 1.20

Perceptions of Similarity to Individual

Figure 4

M =3.18

SD = 1.33

M =2.40

SD = 1.05

Subtle Sexual Prejudice

Blatant Sexual Prejudice

Inclusion of Other into Self

Figure 5

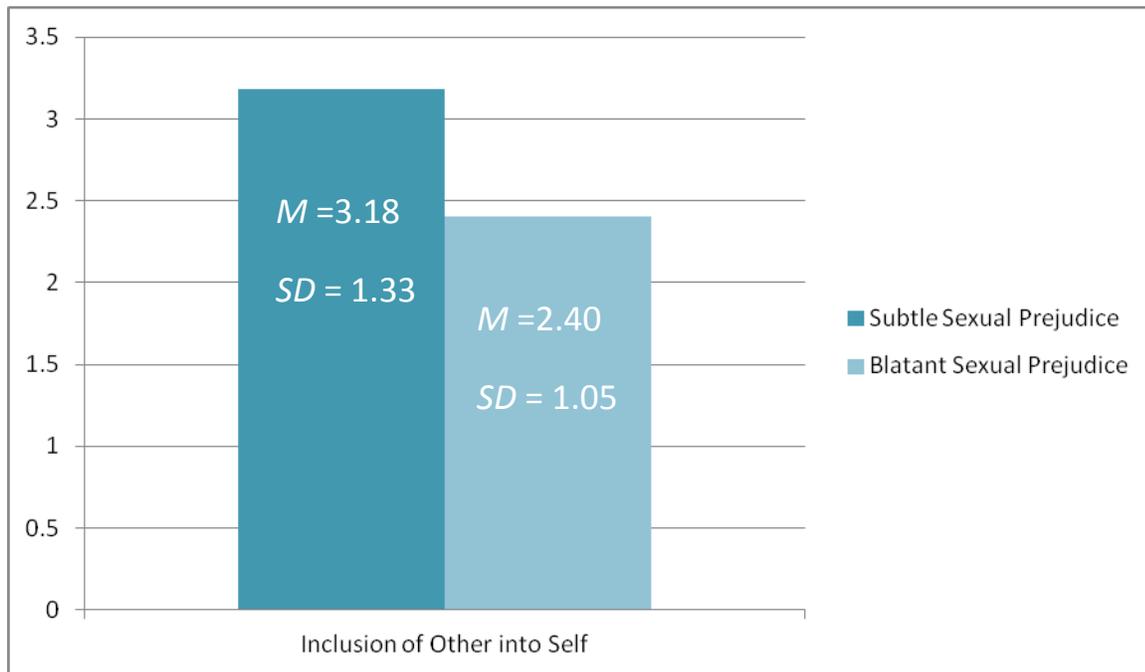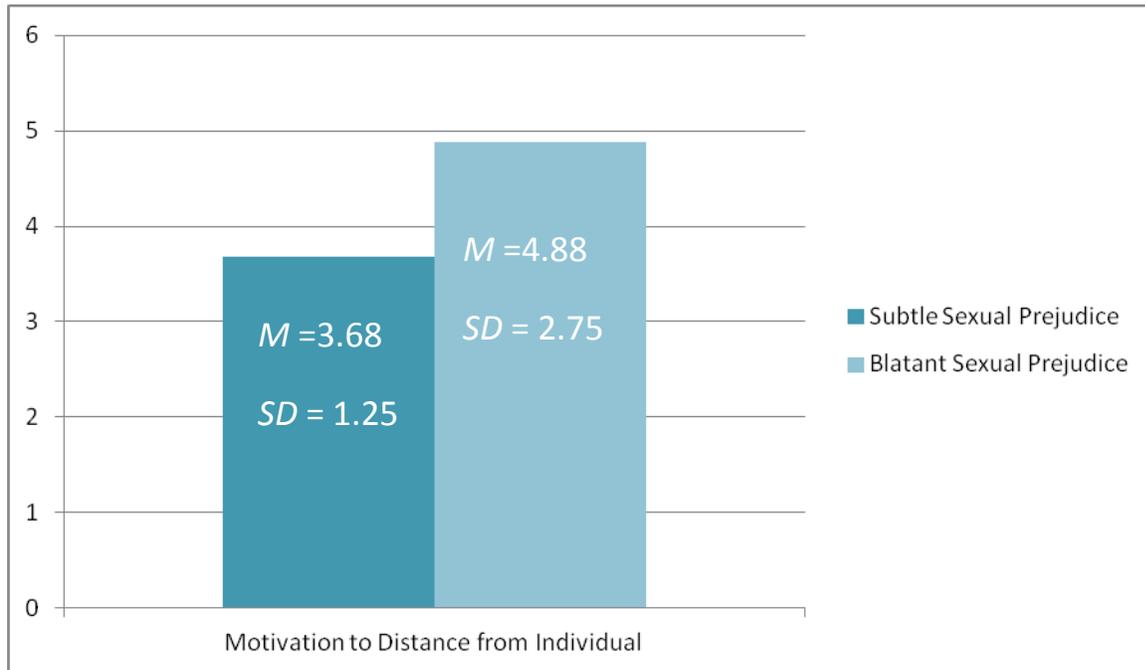**Appendix A**

Blatant and Subtle Prejudice Transcripts

Instructions: Take a moment to imagine your social group here at The College at Brockport. In a moment, you will read a transcript that expresses an opinion about a certain group. Please imagine that this opinion comes from a student in your social group. Please carefully read this transcript in order to gain an overall perspective of the opinions expressed by this person. You will then be asked to answer several questionnaires.

Subtle Prejudice:

I believe that the LGBT community often pushes themselves into areas where they should not. For instance, I do support same-sex civil unions, but the push by the LGBT community to attain marital rights is taking things too far. They seem to be trying to redefine the meaning of marriage, which even heterosexuals are not entitled to do. I do not believe in discrimination against gay men and lesbians, but I reject the premise of an LGBT community because it communicates that they want to be separate from, rather than a part of our culture. Anyway, I think that discrimination based on sexual orientation is a thing of the past. The LGBT community pushes their agenda more strongly than the straight community. Heterosexuals do not have pride celebrations, parades, or festivals celebrating out sexuality, and I believe that the LGBT community would encounter fewer problems if they were not so outspoken in their opinions. I do not believe in discrimination against the LGBT community, but we should not be required to give them minority status because of their sexual behavior.

Blatant Prejudice:

The LGBT community makes me feel sick to the stomach because of the way that they are swaying our country. I am saddened that America has developed such a profane disregard for morality and I believe that the LGBT community has been a major contributor to this change. I cannot fathom supporting a group of people who practice such an unnatural relationship. They have made a vile choice to live their lives in contrast to convention and it is shocking to think that they want support for this choice. They not only live this moral perversion, but they are after the children of the next generation in order to spread their message and to convert them to their lifestyle. The LGBT community has been deceived into thinking that this is an acceptable way to live their lives, which makes me feel very concerned for my children and grandchildren's future. I believe the LGBT community moralizes wicked behavior among other things, and I can only hope that future generations can move beyond the belief that it is acceptable to be homosexual.

Appendix B

Free Response Pride Parade Questionnaire:

1. As an individual present at the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender (LGBT) pride parade today, with which of the following do you identify most:
   1. Supporter
   2. Casual Observer
   3. Protester
   4. Other ⸺⸺⸺

2. How does this parade make you feel?

3. How do you feel about the LGBT community?

4. What specific message are you trying to get across to your audience?

5. How strongly do you feel about your message? Why?

6. What is your main motivation for being present today?

7. Why or why don't you support the LGBT community?

8. If you were to have a debate with someone who disagreed with your opinions about the LGBT community, what would you say? Why?

Appendix C

Subtle and Blatant Sexual Prejudice Scale

*Instructions: For each of the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you believe **the person** described in the scenario would agree with these statements.*

Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. _____ I would be very bothered if my child adopted children with a gay man or lesbian partner.

2. _____ I would not mind if a suitably qualified gay man or lesbian was appointed as my boss. (*)

3. _____ Many gay men and lesbians use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.

4. _____ Gay men and lesbians seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.

5. _____ I would not mind if a gay man or lesbian joined my close family by marriage. (*)

6. _____ I believe that gay men and lesbians choose to their sexual preference and are responsible for any discrimination they receive.

7. _____ Gay men and lesbians do not have all the rights they need. (*)

8. _____ The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.

9. _____ If a homosexual person came onto my friend, I think that my friend should hit the person

10. _____ It is acceptable to make derogatory remarks like "faggot" or "queer" to people I suspect are gay.

11. _____ Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.

12. ____ Gay men and lesbians still need to protest for equal rights. (*)

13. ____ I believe that gay people deserve to be ridiculed.

14. ____ It is okay to make jokes about gay people

15. ____ Gay men and lesbians should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.

16. ____ If gay men and lesbians want to be treated like everyone else, they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.

17. ____ It is justifiable to damage property of gay persons, such as "keying" their cars

18. ____ Given enough provocation, it is okay to hit a gay person

19. ____ Gay men and lesbians who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage. (*)

20. ____ Gay men and lesbians should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.

21. ____ When I feel frustrated because of a gay person, I am justified in letting my irritation show

22. ____ It is acceptable to make rude gestures to gay people.

23. ____ In today's tough economic times, American's tax dollars shouldn't be used to support gay men and lesbians' organizations.

24. ____ Gay men and lesbians have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

Appendix D

Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians (ATGL)

*Instructions: For each of the following statements, please indicate the extent to which **you** agree or disagree with the statement according the scale shown*

1 = Not at All
2 = Somewhat
3 = Moderately
4 = Very Much
5 = Extremely

Attitudes Toward Gay Men (ATG)

1. ____ Sex between two men is just plain wrong.
2. ____ I think that male homosexuals are disgusting.
3. ____ Male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in men.
4. ____ Male homosexuality is a perversion.

Attitudes Toward Lesbians (ATL)

1. ____ Sex between two women is just plain wrong.
2. ____ I think that female homosexuals are disgusting.
3. ____ Female homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in women.
4. ____ Female homosexuality is a perversion.

Appendix E

Collective Self-Esteem Scale
(Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)

Instructions: Please try to imagine the main social group that you are a part of here at The College at Brockport. Please answer the following questionnaire with this social group in mind.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Disagree Somewhat
4 = Neutral
5 = Agree Somewhat
6= Agree
7= Strongly Agree

(*) indicates an item that is reverse-scored.

Membership

I am a worthy member of the social group I belong to.
I feel I don't have much to offer to the social group I belong to. (*)
I am a cooperative participant in the social group I belong to.
I often feel I'm a useless member of my social group. (*)

Private

I often regret that I belong to the social group that I do. (*)
In general, I'm glad to be a member of the social group that I belong to.
Overall, I often feel that the social group that I am a member of is not worthwhile. (*)
I feel good about the social group I belong to.

Public

Overall, my social group is considered good by others.
Most people consider my social group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other social groups. (*)
In general, others respect the social group that I am a member of.
In general, others think that the social group I am member of is unworthy. (*)

Identity

Overall, my group membership has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (*)
The social group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
The social group I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a persona I am. (*)
In general, belonging to this social group is an important part of my self-image.

Appendix F

Distancing Motivation
Johns, Schmader, and Lickel, 2005

Instructions: For each of the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you agree with these statements.

 Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Distance from Individual:

1. If this opinion was expressed I would want to be completely unassociated with the person who expressed this opinion.

2. After hearing this opinion, I would not want to be associated in any way with the member of my social group who expressed this opinion.

3. I wish that the other person (who expressed their opinion) was not a part of my social group.

Distance from Social Group:

4. If this was expressed within my group, I would not want to be a part of this social group.

5. If this opinion was expressed in my social group, I would want to disappear from the situation.

6. If this opinion was expressed within my social group, I would reconsider my membership in this social circle.

Appendix G

Inclusion of Self in Other Scale (IOS)
Wright, Aron, Mclaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997)

Instructions: Please select the pair of circles that best represent how close you feel to the person who expressed this opinion in your social group. Please pick the numbered pair that best represents this relationship.
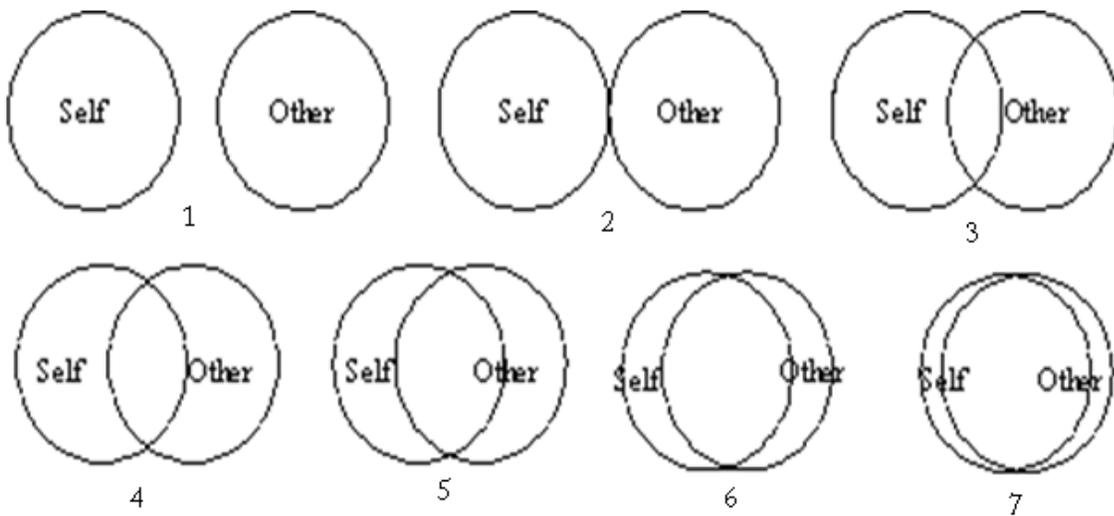
Appendix H

Perceived Self-Other Similarity
Oveis, Horberg, & Keltner's (2010)

Instructions: For each of the following groups, please indicate the extent to which you believe that you and the group are similar.

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

  1   2   3   4   5   6   7

1. Young adults
2. Americans
3. Males
4. The Person who expressed the opinion about the LGBT community
5. Republicans
6. Small children
7. Elderly people
8. Religious fundamentalists
9. Convicted felons
10. Farm animals
11. The College at Brockport undergraduates
12. Peace activists
13. People in general
14. Members of sororities or fraternities
15. Orphaned children
16. Democrats
17. My Social Group here at the College at Brockport
18. Females
19. Terrorists
20. Corporate lawyers
21. Homeless people
22. Procrastinators
23. The College at Brockport psychology majors

Appendix I
Big-Five Personality
Costa & McRae 1997

Instructions: Please rate on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 being "strongly disagree" and 7 being "strongly agree") how well these personality traits reflect you.

1. Introverted ___

2. Sloppy___

3. Cold___

4. Nervous___

5. Unintellectual ___

6. Talkative ___

7. Careful___

8. Warm___

9. Relaxed___

10. Intellectual___

11. Timid___

12. Negligent___

13. Unkind___

14. Emotional___

15. Unimaginative___

16. Bold___

17. Conscientious___

18. Kind___

21. Unadventurous___

22. Impractical___

23. Uncooperative___

24. Uncreative___

25. Assertive___

26. Practical___

27. Cooperative___

28. Creative___

29. Careless___

30. Distrustful___

31. Thorough___

32. Trustful___

19. Unemotional___

20. Imaginative___

Appendix J

Need for Uniqueness Scale
Snyder & Fromkin, 1977

Directions: The following statements concern your perceptions about yourself in a variety of situations. Your task is to indicate the strength of your agreement with each statement, utilizing a scale in which 1 denotes strong disagreement, 5 denotes strong agreement, and 2, 3, 4 represent intermediate judgments. In the blank preceding each statement, place a number from 1 to 5 from the following scale.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongest disagreement				Strongest agreement

There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, so select the number that most closely reflects you on each statement. Take your time and consider each statement carefully.

___ 1. When I am in a group of strangers, I am not reluctant to express my opinion publicly.

___ 2. I find that criticism affects my self-esteem

___ 3. I sometimes hesitate to use my own ideas for fear they might be impractical.

___ 4. I think society should let reason lead it to new customs and throw aside old habits or mere traditions.

___ 5. People frequently succeed in changing my mind.

___ 6. I find it sometimes amusing to upset the dignity of teachers, judges, and "cultured" people.

___ 7. I like wearing a uniform because it makes me proud to be a member of the organization it represents.

___ 8. People have sometimes called me "stuck-up."

___ 9. Others' disagreements make me uncomfortable.

___ 10. I do not always need to live by the rules and standards of society.

___ 11. I am unable to express my feelings if they result in undesirable consequences.

___ 12. Being a success in one's career means making a contribution that no one else has made.

___ 13. It bothers me if people think I am being too unconventional.

___ 14. I always try to follow rules.

___ 15. If I disagree with a superior on his or her views, I usually do not keep it to myself.

___ 16. I speak up in meetings in order to oppose those whom I feel are wrong.

___ 17. Feeling "different" in a crowd of people makes me feel uncomfortable.

___ 18. If I must die, let it be an unusual death rather than an ordinary death in bed.

___ 19. I would rather be just like everyone else than be called a "freak."

___ 20. I must admit I find it hard to work under strict rules and regulations.

___ 21. I would rather be known for always trying new ideas than for employing well-trusted methods.

___ 22. It is better always to agree with the opinions of others than to be considered a disagreeable person.

___ 23. I do not like to say unusual things to people.

___ 24. I tend to express my opinions publicly, regardless of what others say.

___ 25. As a rule, I strongly defend my own opinions.

___ 26. I do not like to go my own way.

___ 27. When I am with a group of people, I agree with their ideas so that no arguments will arise.

___ 28. I tend to keep quiet in the presence of persons of higher rank, experience, etc.

___ 29. I have been quite independent and free from family rule.

___ 30. Whenever I take part in group activities, I am somewhat of a nonconformist.

___ 31. In most things in life, I believe in playing it safe rather than taking a gamble.

___ 32. It is better to break rules than always to conform with an impersonal society.

Appendix K

Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your gender? (circle one)
   1. Male   4. Transgender

   2. Female   5. Prefer not to answer

   3. Intersexed

2. Which sexual orientation do you identify with? (circle one)

   1. Heterosexual   4. Bisexual

   2. Gay   5. Prefer not to answer

   3. Lesbian   6. Other_____

3. What percentage of your friends are part of the LGBT community?

4. Please describe the social group here at Brockport that you imagined.