



Intergroup biases: a focus on stereotype content

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Impressions of others, including societal groups, systematically array along two dimensions, warmth (trustworthiness/friendliness) and competence. Social structures of competition and status respectively predict these usually orthogonal dimensions. Prejudiced emotions (pride, pity, contempt, and envy) target each quadrant, and distinct discriminatory behavioral tendencies result. The Stereotype Content Model (SCM) patterns generalize across time (20th century), culture (every populated continent), level of analysis (targets from individuals to subtypes to groups to nations), and measures (from neural to self-report to societal indicators). Future directions include individual differences in endorsement of these cultural stereotypes and how perceivers view combinations across the SCM space.

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Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences 2015, **3**:45–50

This review comes from a themed issue on **Social behavior**

Edited by **Molly J Crockett** and **Amy Cuddy**

For a complete overview see the [Issue](#) and the [Editorial](#)

Available online 28th January 2015

doi:[10.1016/j.cobeha.2015.01.010](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cobeha.2015.01.010)

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The earliest social psychology of stereotypes documented their content ([1], and then replicated and extended by [2*,3,4]). With few exceptions, the rest of the 20th century focused on processes of stereotyping (e.g., social categorization, [5,6]). At the outset of the 21st century, the Stereotype Content Model identified two systematic dimensions of stereotyping ([7**]; see Figure 1): warmth and competence.

Precedents for these two dimensions include decades of impression formation research (see [7**,8**), for reviews), especially Asch's [9] foundational research using a competent person who was either warm or cold and Abele and Wojciszke's (e.g., [10,11]) more modern identification of communality/morality (warmth) and agency/competence as two orthogonal dimensions, accounting for as much as 80% of the variance in impressions.

The distinctive SCM contribution, identifying mixed stereotypes high on one dimension but low on the other, also has precedents and parallels: ambivalent sexism (dumb-but-nice vs. competent but cold; [12]), doddering-but-dear old-age stereotypes [13,14*], smart-but-not-social anti-Asian stereotypes [15].

Overview

The Stereotype Content Model (SCM) is a simple framework (BIAS Map: 16; SCM: 7, 8, 17):

Social Structure → Stereotypes → Emotional Prejudices → Discriminatory Tendencies

Stereotypes

This overview starts with the warmth x competence stereotype space. Early work [7**,17] hypothesized and found that (a) Perceived competence and warmth differentiate group stereotypes; and (b) Many stereotypes include mixed ascriptions of competence and warmth. Generally replications support these findings in more recent American convenience samples [2*,18**) and in representative samples [16**].

Warmth reflects the other's intent, so it is primary and arguably judged faster [19]. Competence reflects the others ability to enact that intent, so it is secondary and judged more slowly. The most valid traits reflecting warmth include seeming trustworthy and friendly, plus sociable and well intentioned. Competence includes seeming capable and skilled. Moreover, validity also increases because the four warmth-by-competence clusters also differ on the other hypothesized variables: perceived social structure, emotional prejudices, and discriminatory behavioral tendencies.

Social structure

Given evidence of the warmth-by-competence space, SCM research has tested for their respective antecedents: (a) Status predicts perceived competence, while (b) interdependence (competition/cooperation) predicts stereotypic warmth. The status-competence correlations are surprisingly robust, usually over $r = .80$, and generalizing across cultures (average $r = .90$, range = .74–.99, all p 's < .001; [20**]). Status is measured as economic success and prestigious job, so evidently the belief in meritocracy is widespread. The status-competence correlation persists across stable and unstable status systems [21].

The cooperation-warmth (and competition-cold) correlations have been more uneven until lately. In early data, perceived competition did correlate negatively with

Figure 1

	Low Competence	High Competence
High Warmth	older, disabled <i>Pity</i>	ingroup, allies, reference groups <i>Pride</i>
Low Warmth	poor, homeless, immigrants <i>Disgust</i>	rich, professionals <i>Envy</i>

Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences

Stereotype content model, typical outgroup locations.

perceived warmth, $r = -11-.68$), consistent but small effects (averaging $-.32$), sometimes not significant [20**]. Closer examination has refined these predictions [18**]. Warmth most appropriately includes both sociability and trustworthiness/morality, as in the earliest SCM studies, and consistently with the close relationship between trustworthiness and friendliness. Competition predicts most robustly when it includes not only economic resources but also values.

Emotional prejudices

Whereas the preceding hypotheses — structure (interdependence, status) → stereotype (warmth, competence) — predict main effects, the stereotype → emotional prejudice hypotheses predict interactions. Each quadrant's warmth-by-competence combination predicts distinctive emotions:

- High warmth, high competence, the combination that includes the society's prototypic ingroups, such as the middle class, elicits pride and admiration.
- Low warmth, low competence, the quadrant that contains societal outcasts, such as homeless people, elicits contempt and disgust.
- Low warmth, but high competence, the mixed combination that includes successful outsiders, such as rich people, elicits envy and jealousy.
- High warmth, but low competence, the mixed quadrant includes benign subordinates, such as old or disabled people, elicits pity and sympathy.

The predictions derive from social theories of emotion, and a variety of SCM studies confirm them [7**,16**]. Moreover, individual groups located in each quadrant provide case studies of specific emotional dynamics of (e.g.) disgust or envy (see below).

Discriminatory behavioral tendencies (the BIAS Map)

The Behavior from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS) Map extends the SCM to distinctive discriminatory

tendencies [16**]. Predictions from stereotype dimensions are main effects. Because the warmth dimension is primary, it predicts active reactions, both positive (high warmth predicts helping and protecting) and negative (low warmth predicts attacking and fighting). Because the competence dimension is secondary, it predicts more passive reactions, both positive (associating) and negative (neglecting).

The behavioral combinations, as reported by participants, are informative about varieties of discrimination. The high-high pride groups of course elicit both helping and associating. The low-low groups elicit both active harm and passive neglect, behavior characteristically directed toward homeless people.

The mixture of passive association and active harm describes reactions toward outsider entrepreneurs, whose businesses the majority may patronize in peace and stability, but the envied are also the targets of mass attacks under social breakdown. The mixture of active help but passive neglect describes institutionalizing pitied outgroups.

Between intergroup stereotypes and affect, the emotional prejudices more strongly and immediately predict behavior ([16**]; see also [22] for a meta-analysis regarding racial biases).

Validity

Convergent and divergent validity: overlap and distinctiveness

Several parallel models are nonetheless distinct from the SCM. One comprehensive model of generic attitudinal dimensions, the Semantic Differential, identifies evaluation, potency, and activity as key [23]. In social cognition, the last two dimensions collapse together, so one might assume that evaluation-by-potency/activity would be redundant with warmth-by-competence. However, these dimension operate at 45-degree angle to the SCM space [24]. Evaluation runs from the low-low quadrant to the

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