

Spring 5-2017

The Role of Threat, Emotion, and Individual Difference Characteristics in Attitudes and Perceptions of Minority Groups

Aeleah Granger
University of Maine

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THE ROLE OF THREAT, EMOTION, AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE
CHARACTERISTICS IN ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF MINORITY
GROUPS

by

Aeleah M. Granger

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for a Degree with Honors
(Psychology)

The Honors College

University of Maine

May 2017

Advisory Committee

Jordan P. LaBouff, Associate Professor of Psychology and Honors

Shannon McCoy, Associate Professor of Psychology, Interim Director Rising
Tide

Thane Fremouw, Associate Professor of Psychology

Jennie Woodard, Adjunct instructor of History, Women's, Gender, and Sexuality
Studies and Honors

Amy Fried, Professor and Chair of Political Science

Abstract

A socio-functional approach to prejudice posits that different out-groups are perceived to pose different types of threats to group success by in-group members. These different types of threats include physical safety/security threats, economic threats, moral threats, etc. Within this framework, each type of threat elicits a different emotional response from in-group members. In the current pair of studies, we investigated the extent to which Arab Americans and Muslim Americans (Study 1), as well as deaf individuals and those with disabilities (Study 2) are attitudinally conflated into the same social category by measuring the emotional responses they elicit from participants, and subsequently, the type of threat they are perceived to pose to society. Results from indicate potential conflation between groups (i.e., Muslims and Arab Americans; Deaf individuals and individuals with disabilities). One reason why Americans may conflate outgroups could be because they have no intergroup contact. Individual difference characteristics such as social dominance orientation (SDO), right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), and religious fundamentalism (RF) also appear to influence attitudes toward different types of threat groups. The influence of subtle attitudes and biases, such as ambivalent prejudice and positive stereotyping are considered. Overall, the goal of this research is to explore the different emotional reactions elicited by outgroups that are perceived to be representative of different types of threat. With this, we hope to gain a better understanding of the affective nature of prejudice and the individual differences that may help predict these specific attitudes.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Section I.

History and Background

Prejudice refers to the preexisting attitudes toward a person or group of people. These attitudes can stem from group stereotypes as well as experiences with group members and tend to generalize across the group. Early theories of prejudice focused on the motivational factors rooted in evolutionary history by discussing the personal benefits gained from derogating some groups while favoring others (Fiske, 2000). Cognitive theories, such as social dominance theory, and the influence of right-wing authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism, focused on individual differences between people that may promote prejudice. These individual difference perspectives are rooted in evidence that different types of prejudice tend to co-occur, suggesting that there may be reliable personal differences in those who are high and low in prejudice (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Smith & Winter, 2002; Altemeyer et al., 1992). Context appears to play an important role as well. Rather than being isolated to certain areas or contexts, prejudice occurs all over the world but manifests in different ways due to social, historical, and cultural differences (Allport, 1954).

Groups often become separated in society as it is simply easier to relate to and interact with other people like oneself than people of different ethnic groups, social classes, or other group indicators. The diversity of humanity requires us to categorize people into groups to conserve mental resources, and we tend to separate into those who are similar in ethnicity, social class, and other identities. This categorization, however, may have negative implications for intergroup relations, including verbal rejection,

discrimination, and even physical attack (Allport, 1954). When category distinctions are salient, people more strongly identify with their ingroup and more strongly dissociate from outgroups. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In other words, people are motivated to favor their own groups over others when in conflict. Identifying with and promoting the positivity of one's own social group, as well as degrading outgroups works to establish a secure social identity, and by extension, a secure self-concept.

Contextual influences on prejudice are apparent in the social environment of the United States as well. For example, as laws and policies changed to become more inclusive and equal for minority members, it became socially unacceptable to express prejudice in blatant ways which lead to a decrease in overt prejudice (Bordens & Horowitz, 2013). Rather than reducing prejudice overall, however, this simply changed the expression of negative attitudes toward minority groups into subtler or implicit expressions (Nier & Gaertner, 2012). A study by McConnell and Leibold (2001) demonstrated that those who held more negative implicit attitudes toward Blacks were more likely to report more negative social interactions with a Black experimenter compared to a White experimenter. These more subtle attitudes hold implications for the treatment of minority groups in the real world. For example, even though antidiscrimination laws have reduced inequality in the workplace, a study by Pager and Western (2012) showed that Black and Latino job applicants were less likely to receive a callback or job offer than White applicants.

Foundational Theories of Prejudice

Early theories of prejudice helped to inform us about the influence of implicit biases on intergroup attitudes (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Katz & Hass 1988; Gaertner &

Dovidio, 1986). Aversive racism focused on the tension caused by not wanting to be prejudiced, but simultaneously holding unconscious biases (Fiske, 2000). Subtle discrimination allows for people to project their negative attitudes toward minority groups while maintaining a positive, non-prejudiced demeanor (Gaertner et al., 2000). So, though one may claim to support egalitarian principles, aversive racism suggests people may still express racism and discrimination in subtle and rationalizable ways. For example, when inadmissible evidence is presented in court, jurors will more likely perceive guilt in Black than in White defendants and are less likely to rate the incriminating evidence as important in their judgement of guilt for Black than for White defendants (Johnson, Whitestone, Jackson and Gatto, 1995).

The theory of modern racism focuses on policy beliefs that happen to disadvantage minorities. Those high in modern racism tend to have ideological excuses for their bias, veiling their prejudice with political beliefs that maintain or create inequalities (Fiske, 2000). For example, a modern racist might claim that prejudice and discrimination are no longer prevalent in society simply because prejudice now takes on more subtle forms than in the past when more overt forms of prejudice were more socially acceptable (McConahay et al., 1981; Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). Often, the perception of economic threats is what underlies feelings that minority groups push themselves into unwanted or unearned positions in society, showing too much force in the competition for resources. For example, those high in modern racism tend to be in opposition to policies that strive for racial equality, such as Affirmative Action (Awad et al., 2005).

Ambivalent prejudice relies on beliefs to explain attitudes toward stigmatized groups, focusing on two complementary views. Perceptions of warmth and competence often shape stereotypes - such as women are warm but not competent (Fiske et al., 2002). An ambivalent racist will not only score high in pro-minority attitudes (e.g. pity for traditionally disadvantaged minority members), but also in anti-minority sentiments (e.g. hostility toward oppositional minority members; Fiske, 2000). Benevolent sexism is one example of this as it reflects a paternalistic view that women should be treated as fragile and needing protection from men (Good & Rudman, 2010). This ambivalent prejudice tends to promote emotions that appear positive, but actually further marginalize the group, such as pity and envy. These emotional reactions are subtle and can usually be rationalized as attributable to something other than group membership (Fiske, 2012). Clearly there are many different and subtle ways that prejudice and discrimination remain prevalent in society. The question then becomes not only how these attitudes manifest, but how best to promote the reevaluation of harmful prejudgments.

Intergroup Threat Theory

It is important to remember that group membership can be vast, including defining characteristics such as religion, socioeconomic status (SES), sexuality, race, and others. While group membership seems to have positive effects on psychological health for members of the ingroup (e.g. self-esteem, belongingness, social support; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), it appears intergroup relations are often negative (Stephan et al., 2009). While group living promotes survival and success for humans, it comes with associated costs and risks. Living within and among groups of people means surrounding oneself with others who could potentially cause harm to oneself or the group (Cottrell &

Neuberg, 2005). To minimize this risk, humans are aware of people could potentially disservice the group by presenting threats to the group (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005).

In general, more successful groups tend to have higher levels of cooperation and reciprocity within the group. These groups tend to be highly attuned to threats to the social and political systems that create cooperation within the group and respond negatively to these threats and those who pose them (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). From an evolutionary perspective, high attention to threats is beneficial as it is better to perceive a threat when it is not present than to not perceive a threat when it is present (Stephan et al., 2009). However, in terms of intergroup relations, this predisposition to perceive threats may underlie prejudice toward a number of groups. Intergroup threat theory states that outgroups generally are perceived to pose either realistic threats (e.g. threats to one's physical safety or resources) or symbolic threats (e.g. threats to one's moral beliefs or values; Stephan et al., 2000).

Socio-functional Approach

The socio-functional approach to prejudice recognizes the different threats (i.e. symbolic and realistic) and theorizes that they result in different emotional responses (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). For example, African Americans are perceived to pose realistic threats, and Atheists are perceived to pose symbolic threats (Gervais et al., 2011a). These different threats result in different emotions – African Americans primarily elicit fear, and Atheists primarily elicit distrust. The affective result of prejudice that is directed toward the racial group “African American” is thereby distinct from the prejudice directed toward the value-violating group “Atheist” (Gervais et al., 2011a).

A 2005 study on prejudice toward different groups (e.g., African Americans, Christians, gay men; Cottrell & Neuberg) suggested that prejudice may elicit several emotional profiles depending on the group in question. These emotional responses often depend on the context of one's imagined or real interaction with an outgroup member. A subsequent study by Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) provided evidence that preferred characteristics of an outgroup member depend on the potential for reciprocal relationships. For example, characteristics such as intelligence and predictability were differentially considered important by participants depending on the context in which the target individual was presented (e.g. when reading about a potential fraternity member, intelligence and predictability were considered less important than for contexts where those traits may be more important, such as in a study group member; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2007).

Other research suggests that stereotypes influence emotional responses to groups as well as context. Research suggests that people view immorality as representative of Atheists, resulting in distrust toward the group (Gervais, 2014). Belief in God was also associated with distrust of atheists significantly more than with general dislike of atheists, indicating that disliking a group may miss the complexity of intergroup attitudes (Gervais et al., 2011a). A recent study by Cook et al. (2015) suggested that Atheists elicited greater disgust reactions than other groups who represent symbolic threats (e.g. homosexuals and Muslims). This effect was found to be stronger when participants were primed with value threats through a fabricated news story on moral decline (Cook et al., 2015).

Intergroup biases are complex, stemming from competition for resources and group categorization. This categorization results in cultural representations and stereotypes that influence attitudes toward outgroup members, often in the form of perceived threats. Social contexts further complicate intergroup attitudes depending on the realm of the imagined or real interaction (e.g. buying a coffee from an outgroup member versus hiring an outgroup member as a daycare worker; Gervais, 2011b). Though explicit bias is increasingly socially proscribed, implicit biases can still lead to specific negative emotions and are channeled in Aversive, Ambivalent, and Modern ways.

Section II.

Individual Difference Correlates of Prejudice

Certain individual difference characteristics have been associated with prejudice toward several groups. Much literature exists on differences in Religious Fundamentalism (RF; Altemeyer et al., 1992), referring to a belief in one absolute religious text or teaching; Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Smith & Winter, 2002), or the belief that authorities should be followed and resisters punished; and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994), or the support of the existing societal hierarchies.

One study by Rowatt et al., (2005) suggested that both implicit and explicit positive attitudes toward Muslims were negatively correlated with RF, RWA, SDO, and anti-Arab racism. A subsequent study investigated the facets of RWA and their relationship with RF and attitudes toward Arab and African Americans (Johnson et al 2012a). RWA aggression surfaced as the strongest predictor for several outgroups over

multiple studies, such as African Americans, Arabs, and aboriginal Australians (Johnson et al., 2012a). Alongside this, RWA aggression was a better predictor of racism than RF. This makes sense when one considers that ethnic outgroups tend to be perceived as realistic or safety threats rather than symbolic, or value threats (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Johnson et al (2011) further attempted to understand the specific role of these individual difference characteristics in the relationship between religiousness and prejudice toward groups that represent a symbolic threat (e.g., homosexuals) and a realistic threat (e.g., African Americans). The findings of this study showed that RF better explained the relationship between religiosity and prejudice toward the value violating threat group, homosexuals, than did RWA. This stronger relationship makes sense since those who are high in RF hold rigid morals and values. Thus, when those values are perceived to be threatened by groups representing symbolic threats, RF is a stronger predictor of negative attitudes. RWA, however, provided a stronger explanation of the relationship between religiosity and prejudice toward the realistic threat group, African Americans (Johnson et al., 2011).

SDO is known to be correlated with prejudice toward many outgroups and studies suggest this is true for attitudes toward Muslims and Arab Americans specifically. Most of this research, however, focuses on its association with prejudice toward ethnic minorities (Sidanius et al., 1994; Reynolds et al., 2001; Rowatt et al., 2005; Sibley and Duckitt, 2008). Remember that SDO refers to one's support of existing social hierarchies (Pratto et al., 1994). Hence, with White people sitting at the top of the social hierarchy in the United States, it is not surprising that those high in SDO tend to hold more prejudiced

attitudes toward ethnic minorities. Based on the concept of SDO, we expect that those higher in SDO will hold more negative attitudes toward Muslims as they are not a part of the religious majority in the United States (i.e. Christianity). We were also curious if SDO would be more strongly correlated with certain emotional reactions over others and whether this would remain constant across different outgroups.

Intergroup Contact

One way to reduce the perceived threats between different groups is through intergroup contact. According to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, increasing exposure to different groups reduces negative attitudes. Though contact itself can reduce prejudice, certain conditions may lead to stronger effects and more positive outcomes. For example, intergroup contact in which people from different groups are working together collaboratively, rather than in competition, tends to be more effective at improving intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954). Individual difference characteristics appear to be influenced by intergroup contact, as well. In a longitudinal study by Dhont et al., (2014) contact with minority groups was associated with a reduction in SDO over time. This effect was even more pronounced when contact with the outgroup member was rated as higher in quality (Dhont et al., 2014).

Context may also play a role in effectiveness of intergroup contact. Analyses by Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) revealed that those who experienced contact with outgroup members in a "friend" context benefited most from the contact (i.e. reduced prejudice) when compared with "work" and "neighborhood" contexts. Generalization of these positive effects across all members of the outgroup may depend on the salience of group membership during the time of the contact. It is understood from social identity

theory that increased salience of group membership leads to ingroup assimilation and favoritism (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). On the contrary, complete decategorization of the outgroup member does not allow for generalization across all members of the outgroup. It appears most beneficial that categories be redefined (i.e., as non-threatening), rather than dissolved or ignored. The most effective contact is when ingroup and outgroup members become members of a superordinate group with which both can identify (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Though there are several conditions regarding what makes contact beneficial to intergroup relations, a large body of research suggests that there is much merit in communicating and interacting with those different from oneself (Allport, 1954; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Pettigrew, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Section III.

Prejudice Toward Specific Outgroups

Muslim and Arab Prejudice. Following the attacks of 9/11, there was a surge in hate crimes and prejudice toward Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim in the United States (North et al., 2014). Many people expressed being approached or accosted in their day-to-day lives (e.g., on airplanes, on their commute to work, in public stores). For example, in early March of 2017, a Sikh man was told to “go back to where [he] came from” and was shot in his own driveway (Al Jazeera, 2017). Further, feelings thermometer ratings were lowest for Muslims as compared to seven other religious groups (i.e., Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Evangelical Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Mormons, and Atheists; Pew Research, 2017). The increase in these negative attitudes and incidences of discrimination were attributed to the increased feelings of national threat following the terrorist attacks with downstream effects on both naturally born and

immigrated citizens of the United States (North et al., 2014). With an increase in attacks around the world by Islamic radicals, concern is rising for the safety and well-being of innocent Muslims who are as far removed from these attacks as their Christian counterparts. It is increasingly important to understand the prejudice and discrimination that these groups face in hopes of developing interventions that can improve communication and understanding between Muslims and other religious groups both in the United States and around the world.

One study by Brown et al. (2013) suggested that mere perceptions of Muslim identity may influence attitudes toward people. Researchers looked at cues of foreignness (i.e. complexion, dress, and name) and their impact on perceptions of one's religious beliefs (Brown et al., 2013). Surprisingly, complexion showed little influence despite other data suggesting that people associate a White complexion with American identity and other complexions with foreignness. Names were also manipulated to suggest either Western or Middle Eastern identity (i.e. Allen or Mohammed). Results showed that Western dress was perceived more positively and Middle Eastern dress more negatively regardless of name (Brown et al., 2013). However, "Mohammed" was never rated particularly positively regardless of dress, whereas "Allen" in Western dress was perceived more positively than "Allen" in Middle Eastern Dress. These findings suggest that perceptions of Muslims are largely related to cues of foreignness, such as name and dress, which were positively related to prejudice (Brown et al., 2013). This is unsurprising considering research that has shown an association between subtle prejudice, security and power values, and negative attitudes toward the wearing of the Islamic veil (Saroglou et al., 2009). This may have implications for the treatment of

Muslims or perceived Muslims based on identity visibility. For example, not only might people make assumptions about who is or is not Muslim based on appearance (e.g., skin color, clothing) or namesake and treat them accordingly with their beliefs about the group, but these groups are also more likely to stand out based on appearance, making them easier targets of prejudice than other outgroups, such as Atheists.

In another study of almost 200 Christian participants, higher perception of symbolic threat was associated with increased prejudice toward Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim. These attitudes were especially strong in participants high in authoritarianism and fundamentalism (Raiya et al., 2008). These findings not only suggested that Muslims are being perceived as a symbolic threat (i.e. threatening Christian's religious values), but that certain predictors may be useful in determining the characteristics that promote prejudice toward Muslims (Raiya et al., 2008).

Both implicit and explicit attitudes toward Muslims and Arab Americans have been associated with certain individual difference variables, including social dominance orientation, religious fundamentalism, and right-wing authoritarianism, such that as these characteristics become more prevalent, attitudes become more negative (Rowatt et al., 2005). Further, these patterns indicated that the relationships between these characteristics and attitudes toward Muslims and Arabs follow a similar pattern, suggesting that both groups are perceived to represent similar threats. One interpretation is that these groups are being conflated as one in the same, rather than two distinct groups or identities (i.e. religious group or ethnic group). These studies will investigate the extent to which each group is perceived as a realistic or symbolic threat based on the

emotions they elicit as well as the relationships between those perceived threats and individual difference characteristics.

Wirtz and Doosje (2015) investigated attitudes toward Muslims in the Netherlands, and incorporated both integrated threat theory and a socio-functional approach to prejudice in their work. Their findings generally supported the hypothesis that symbolic threat and negative stereotyping would predict prejudice and social distance from Muslims as a function of moral emotions, including disgust, anger, and pity. For example, negative emotional reactions were associated with prejudice toward Muslims and social distance (Wirtz & Doosje, 2015). Increased social distance is problematic when considering evidence that intergroup contact improves attitudes between different groups of people (e.g. Allport, 1954; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Deaf and Disability Stigma and Prejudice. As reviewed above, marginalization can manifest in several ways depending on the type of threat different groups are perceived to pose. Research on persons with disabilities suggests that people tend to hold more prejudiced attitudes toward these individuals and that this prejudice is often rooted in resource stress (the tension created when groups compete for limited resources). In the case of persons with disabilities, this resource strain comes from the perception that persons with disabilities have lower resource earning potential than their non-handicapped peers. As discussed above, people often react ambivalently or benevolently with pity or sympathy (Hazzard, 2001; Naemiratch & Manderson, 2009). Further, SDO tends to be higher in those with prejudice toward persons with disabilities (Akrami et al.,

2006). Recall that SDO refers to one's level of support for existing social hierarchies. Thus, this relationship may be influenced by beliefs that those with disabilities have less to offer to society, and thus, belong lower in the social hierarchy.

The Deaf Community faces similar attitudes. Though about 37.5 million of those 18 and older report at least some level of hearing loss (National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders, 2016), little research currently exists on perceptions and attitudes toward Deaf people. It is unclear whether society views Deaf people and people with disabilities as separate groups or adopts deafness as a subset of a larger disability group (Golos et al., 2012).

In the Deaf community, there is a clear distinction between capital "D" Deaf and lowercase "d" deaf. Namely, "Deaf" connotes an association with the cultural identity of deafness, while "deaf" tends to suggest a more medical or pathological view of deafness; a disability rather than a part of one's identity. For the purposes of this paper, capital "Deaf" will be used to reference culturally Deaf, and "deaf" will refer to the pathological view of deafness and the general deaf population.

Most deaf children are raised under a pathological perspective of deafness in America. A study by Golos et al. (2012) for example, analyzed children's books about deaf characters and found that in 93% of cases, a pathological viewpoint was taken (Golos et al., 2012). With this in mind, it is not surprising that deaf children often grow up in hearing households without sign language and are expected to overcome their deafness by enduring medical interventions such as surgery and intensive speech therapy (Holcomb, 2013).

Though the existing research provides some insight into the attitudes that deaf people may face, our understanding is still spotty and uncertain. The goal of this research is to look more closely at attitudes toward deaf people and people with disabilities with an eye toward the similarities and differences in attitudes toward each of these groups. We will also investigate the relationship specifically between prejudice toward deaf people and individual difference characteristics. Because existing literature suggests some parallels between attitudes toward deaf people and people with disabilities, we expect that patterns in individual difference characteristics and prejudice will be similar between groups.

Aims and Goals of the Current Research

This research further investigates the affective manifestations of prejudice in the form of emotions and the influence of individual difference characteristics on intergroup bias. In these studies, we consider specific affective responses toward outgroups in hopes of better understanding how they influence the manifestation of prejudice and discrimination. Further, we aim to develop a further understanding of the role of individual differences in the way in which people approach, respond to, and form pre-judgements about outgroups. While exploratory in nature, these studies allow us to investigate several facets of prejudice at once and offers many opportunities to explore the correlations between attitudes, emotional reactions, and individual differences. More importantly, these studies aim to widen the scope of prejudice research to include often understudied groups of people. We begin our exploration with an observation of attitudes toward both Muslim and Arab Americans.

CHAPTER TWO

MUSLIM AND ARAB PREJUDICE - UNDERSTANDING EMOTIONS

Introduction

Today, Muslims are one of the world's fastest growing religions (Lipka & Hackett, 2015), and the Arab American population has been steadily increasing as well (Brown et al., 2012). Though these are separate groups, it is not uncommon to hear the words "Muslim" and "Arab" used interchangeably in the United States. Outgroup homogeneity refers to the tendency to view outgroup members as more similar than ingroup members (Judd & Park, 1988). Since it is not uncommon for these identities to intersect, people may begin to erase the line between them (Muslim as a religious identity and Arab as an ethnic identity). As of 2015, the Muslim population in the United States was estimated around 3.3 million, or about 1 percent of the population; this number is projected to double by the year 2050 (Mohamed, 2016). Following a similar trend, between 2000 and 2011 there was a 47% increase in the Arab American population (Brown et al., 2012). As these groups grow, prejudice toward them appears to be rising. In 2010 (Morales), about 43% of Americans reported negative attitudes toward Muslims. This was higher than prejudice toward any other major religious group, including Christians, Jews, and Buddhists. Consistent with this, Muslims are more likely to report having experienced discrimination compared to other religious groups (Gallup, 2016).

It could be that their increase in numbers represents a threat to the White, Christian majority. Intergroup threat theory would suggest that attitudes toward these groups are formed based on the type of threat the group is perceived to pose (i.e. realistic or symbolic). Most often, religious groups are deemed representative of symbolic threats

and ethnic groups of realistic threats (Gervais, 2011a; Gervais, 2011b; Johnson et al., 2011; Gervais, 2014). For example, literature shows that Atheists represent symbolic threats whereas African Americans represent realistic threats (Johnson et al., 2011). Based on this framework, we would expect that Muslims would represent symbolic threats and that Arab Americans would represent realistic threats. The socio-functional theory extends on intergroup threat theory and posits that different threat groups elicit different emotions (e.g. realistic threats elicit fear and anger, whereas symbolic threats elicit distrust and disgust).

Following this theory, Atheists have been shown to elicit distrust and African Americans fear (Gervais, 2011a; 2014). So we might expect that Muslims would elicit symbolic threat group emotions (such as distrust) and Arab Americans to elicit realistic threat group emotions (such as fear). However, many people associate Islam with terrorism and violence. A recent Pew study (2016) showed that when asked which religion(s) promoted violence, Islam was the most common answer. This, paired with the fact that about half of Americans reported thinking that at least some Muslims are anti-American, may suggest that Muslims may represent more than just symbolic threats. Additionally, a recent study conducted in Germany not only showed that Muslim prejudice was associated with symbolic and realistic threats, but also that perceptions specifically of terroristic threats (e.g. threats to physical safety and well-being) may account for anti-Islam sentiments (Uenal, 2016). Thus, we predict that attitudes toward Muslims may reflect perceptions of both symbolic and realistic or safety threats.

Individual differences may also influence attitudes toward Muslims and Arab Americans. For example, it could be that something about one's religious identity or

about the way in which they hold their beliefs changes how they feel toward outgroups. Religiosity, or the level of one's devotion to their religion, is associated with increased prejudice, especially toward symbolic threat groups, such as Atheists or homosexuals (Johnson et al, 2011; Gervais et al., 2011a). Similarly, social dominance orientation (SDO), right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), and religious fundamentalism (RF) are all associated with prejudice toward a number of outgroups as well (Sidanius et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2004; Reynolds et al., 2001; Dallago et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2011; Johnson et al., 2012). This makes sense since religiosity tends to be higher among those high in each of these characteristics (Johnson et al, 2011; Johnson et al., 2012). It appears, however, that certain characteristics may be better predictors of prejudice toward different types of threat groups. For example, RF more strongly influenced the link between religiosity and prejudice toward symbolic threat groups whereas RWA more strongly influenced of the relationship between religiosity and prejudice toward realistic threat groups (Johnson et al., 2011). Thus, understanding individual differences that may predict prejudice toward groups representative of different kinds of threats may offer insight into how to approach those negative attitudes in people high in these characteristics.

One way to promote positive intergroup attitudes is through contact. Intergroup contact theory suggests that increased positive contact with outgroups improves intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dhont et al., 2014). We were interested to see if this played a role in our study. For example, if patterns arose between intergroup contact and individual

difference characteristics, might this indicate that certain characteristics or strongly held beliefs may be more or less likely to promote prejudice?

We had several hypotheses going into this study. First, we hypothesized that people would show less feelings of warmth toward Muslims and Arab Americans than to comparison religious groups (i.e., Atheists) and racial groups (i.e., African Americans) respectively. Second, we expected that emotional responses toward Muslims and Arab Americans would mirror each other despite the theoretical framework that suggests people will respond differently toward religious and ethnic outgroups (i.e. responding to Muslims with distrust and disgust and Arab Americans with fear and anger). Finally, we expected that individual difference characteristics (SDO, RWA, and RF) and intergroup contact would help predict intergroup attitudes toward groups representative of each type of threat. We thought that RF would be more highly associated with prejudice toward Atheists and that SDO and RWA would not only better predict attitudes toward Arab Americans and African Americans, but also Muslims. We predicted that Muslims would be perceived as realistic threats and thus, have similar relationships with individual difference characteristics as Arab Americans.

Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited from introductory psychology courses at the University of Maine (n = 603; 401 female) in exchange for class credit. Participants' ages ranged between 18 and 48 years ($M = 19$, $SD = 2.99$). Data were collected via Qualtrics.

Materials and Procedure (see Appendix A for full measures)

This correlational study measured several constructs via self-report. Participants responded to these questions as a part of a larger participant-pool screening measure.

Attitudes. After consenting to participate, participants completed a feelings thermometer to measure general prejudice toward our groups of interest (i.e. Muslims, Arab Americans, Atheists, and African Americans; “Please rate how warm or cold you feel toward the following groups;” 0° coldest feelings, 50° neutral feelings, 100° warmest feelings), and Cottrell and Neuberg’s (2005) emotional measures for each group (e.g., “When I think about Muslims, I feel [fear, anger, distrust, disgust, envy, pity, guilt];” 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree). Finally, intergroup contact was measured (e.g., “How often would you say you interact with someone who is Muslim;” 1-Never, 5-All the time).

Individual Differences Characteristics. Social dominance orientation (SDO) was measured using Pratto et al. (1994) 16 item scale. SDO spotlights one’s personal investment in social hierarchies or the extent to which one supports the existing structures within society as good and necessary (Fiske, 2000). An example item from this scale is “This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were;” and is scored a 7-point scale (1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree; $\alpha = .91$). Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) taps into the belief that authority should be obeyed and that those who refuse should be reprimanded. This was assessed using Smith and Winter’s (2002) measure (e.g., “What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path;” 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree; $\alpha = .71$). Religious fundamentalism encompasses a strong set of beliefs that there is only one fundamental set of teachings about the deity. This was measured using a measure by

Altemeyer et al (1992; e.g., “When you get right down to it, there are basically only two kinds of people in the world: the Righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest, who will not;” -4-strongly disagree, 4-strongly agree; $\alpha = .93$).

Demographics. Demographics including age, gender, ethnic and religious identification were also measured.

Results

Our sample was predominantly White (93.2%) and young ($M = 19$, $SD = 2.99$). Because of this lack of diversity, ethnic and age differences were not included in our analyses. The only notable differences between men and women were in SDO and in feelings toward Muslims. Men reported significantly higher levels of SDO ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 1.12$) than did women ($M = 2.37$, $SD = .95$), $t(544) = 4.56$, $p < .001$, $d = .39$. Men also reported significantly colder feelings toward Muslims ($M = 50.21$, $SD = 30.56$) than did women ($M = 58.25$, $SD = 28.58$), $t(445) = -2.75$, $p = .006$, $d = .27$. No other significant differences emerged between men and women.

In general, people who were higher in prejudice toward one group tended to be higher in prejudice toward all four groups (Atheists, African Americans, Muslims, and Arab Americans; see Table 1). This relationship was strongest between Muslims and Arab Americans (see Figure 1). Feeling thermometer ratings for Atheists and African Americans fit expected patterns: Atheists received relatively low ratings ($M = 67.83$, $SD = 28.06$) and African Americans received relatively higher ratings ($M = 77.43$, $SD = 23.19$), $t(435) = 6.15$, $p < .001$, $d = .37$ (McConahay et al., 1981; Gaertner and Nier, 2012; Johnson et al., 2012; Gervais, 2014; Doane and Elliot, 2015). Participants tended to hold significantly colder feelings toward Muslims ($M = 55.50$, $SD = 29.66$) than Atheists,

$t(432) = 8.30, p < .001, d = .44$, and African Americans, $t(447) = 16.52, p < .001, d = .74$. Additionally, people felt significantly colder toward Arab Americans ($M = 62.20, SD = 27.97$) than Atheists, $t(423) = 3.85, p < .001, d = .20$ and African Americans, $t(440) = 13.01, p < .001, d = .59$.

On average, levels of each individual difference characteristic were relatively low, falling below the midpoint of our scale (SDO: $M = 2.51, SD = 1.03$; RWA: $M = 3.52, SD = 1.06$; RF: $M = 3.09, SD = 1.32$). As expected RF was a strong predictor of general prejudice toward Atheists, $r(432) = -.46, p < .01$, those who were more religiously fundamentalist tended to have stronger negative attitudes toward Atheists. Those who were more social dominance oriented, however tended to have stronger negative attitudes toward African Americans, Arab Americans, and Muslims (African Americans: $r(424) = -.22, p < .01$; Arab Americans: $r(407) = -.43, p < .01$; Muslims: $r(421) = -.45, p < .01$). RWA was moderately associated with prejudice toward each group as well (see Table 1). As expected, SDO was a stronger predictor of Muslim prejudice than RF, $z(425) = -4.40, p < .01$.

For our analyses, we focused on the emotional responses related to symbolic and realistic threats: realistic threat, fear and anger; symbolic threat, distrust and disgust. Participants expressed relatively low levels of emotional reactions (see Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4). Emotional responses toward African Americans were as expected; consistent with Cottrell and Neuberg's findings (2005), ratings for pity, guilt, and fear were highest (pity: $M = 2.16, SD = 1.52$; guilt: $M = 2.04, SD = 1.47$; fear: $M = 1.95, SD = 1.34$). Mean ratings for Atheists were also consistent with previous findings with high levels of pity, disgust, anger, and distrust (pity: $M = 2.38, SD = 1.62$; disgust: $M = 2.17,$

SD = 1.44; anger: $M = 2.16$, $SD = 1.40$; distrust: $M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.40$; Gervais, 2011a; 2014).

Muslims were the most feared and distrusted group ($M_{\text{fear}} = 2.57$, $SD = 1.67$; $M_{\text{distrust}} = 2.73$, $SD = 1.82$) followed by Arab Americans ($M_{\text{fear}} = 2.40$, $SD = 1.55$; $M_{\text{distrust}} = 2.52$, $SD = 1.66$), $t(546) = 3.44$, $p < .005$, $d = .11$, or distrust, $t(545) = 4.29$, $p < .001$, $d = .12$. These emotional reactions toward Muslims were reliably stronger than Atheist fear ($M = 2.06$, $SD = 1.33$), $t(551) = 7.45$, $p < .001$, $d = .34$, Atheist distrust ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.40$), $t(545) = 7.88$, $p < .001$, $d = .36$, African American fear ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 1.34$), $t(552) = 9.75$, $p < .001$, $d = .41$, and African American distrust ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 1.33$), $t(551) = 12.04$, $p < .001$, $d = .50$. Emotional reactions toward Arab Americans were also stronger than Atheist fear, $t(550) = 5.37$, $p < .001$, $d = .24$, Atheist distrust, $t(544) = 5.43$, $p < .001$, $d = .25$, African American fear, $t(551) = 8.04$, $p < .001$, $d = .31$, and African American distrust, $t(549) = 10.33$, $p < .001$, $d = .39$, (see Figure 2). Muslims were also rated the highest for both anger ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 1.68$) and disgust ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.53$), followed by Atheists (Anger: $M = 2.16$, $SD = 1.40$; Disgust: $M = 2.17$, $SD = 1.44$), Arab Americans (Anger: $M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.46$; Disgust: $M = 2.09$, $SD = 1.39$), and African Americans (Anger: $M = 1.69$, $SD = 1.13$; Disgust: $M = 1.70$, $SD = 1.16$; see Figure 2).

Relationships between fear, anger, distrust, and disgust toward Muslims and Atheists (i.e., religious groups that might be value threatening) were compared with emotional reactions toward Muslims and Arab Americans (i.e., a religious and ethnic group that might be realistically threatening). Relationships between emotional reactions to Muslims and Arab Americans were significantly stronger than relationships between

emotional reactions to Muslims and Atheists (see Table 3.1). These results suggest that Muslims and Arab Americans represent both value and realistic threats as they elicit emotional responses of both fear (realistic) and distrust (symbolic). Correlations between these emotional reactions toward Muslims and African Americans were also compared, showing that this perception is unique to Arab Americans, and does not appear to generalize across other ethnic minority groups (see Table 3.2).

Multiple regressions predicting prejudice were run for each group. As expected, RF accounted for more of the variance in prejudice toward Atheists when controlling for SDO and RWA. SDO accounted for most of the variance in prejudice toward Arab Americans, African Americans, and Muslims when controlling for RWA and RF. The strength of these relationships should be interpreted with caution, however, due to the associations between each of these characteristics (see Table 1). Regression models indicated that RF accounted for about 22% of the variance in prejudice toward Atheists, which remained strong even when including RWA and SDO in the model, $\beta = -.41$, $t(389) = -8.34$, $p < .001$; see Table 4.1. SDO was also a significant predictor, but was weaker and accounted for less variance than did RF, $\beta = -.10$, $t(389) = -2.08$, $p = .037$. SDO was the only significant predictor of prejudice toward African Americans, $\beta = -.25$, $t(388) = -4.57$, $p < .001$; see Table 4.2. SDO was the strongest predictor for both Muslims, $\beta = -.37$, $t(385) = -7.24$, $p < .001$; see Table 4.3, and Arab Americans, $\beta = -.34$, $t(374) = -6.77$, $p < .001$; see Table 4.4. RWA also accounted for a significant portion of variance in attitudes toward Muslims, $\beta = -.16$, $t(385) = -3.08$, $p < .002$; see Table 4.3, and Arab Americans, $\beta = -.19$, $t(374) = -3.69$, $p < .001$; see Table 4.4. When accounting

for variance in SDO and RWA, RF fell out of the models for attitudes toward Muslims and Arab Americans; see Tables 4.3 and 4.4.

Increased intergroup contact was moderately associated with more positive attitudes toward all four outgroups (Atheist: $r(429) = .43, p > .01$; African American: $r(431) = .29, p > .01$; Muslim: $r(424) = .28, p > .01$; Arab American: $r(402) = .36, p > .01$). Higher levels of SDO and RWA were associated with lower levels of intergroup contact for Atheists (SDO: $r(517) = -.19, p > .01$; RWA: $r(533) = .33, p < .01$), Muslims (SDO: $r(517) = -.17, p > .01$; RWA: $r(532) = -.11, p > .05$), and Arab American (SDO: $r(512) = -.09, p > .05$; RWA: $r(525) = -.14, p > .01$). Higher RF was also associated with less intergroup contact for Atheists, $r(528) = -.24, p < .01$. The only association for African Americans was between RF and intergroup contact, $r(531) = .09, p < .05$.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations (feelings thermometer, RF, RWA, and SDO).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M	SD
1. Atheist	-							67.83	28.06
2. African American	.38	-						77.43	23.19
3. Muslim	.46	.53	-					55.50	29.66
4. Arab American	.49	.62	.88	-				62.20	27.97
5. RF	-.46	<i>[-.02]</i>	-.18	-.20	-			3.09	1.32
6. RWA	-.30	-.12	-.31	-.35	-.37	-		3.52	1.07
7. SDO	-.25	-.22	-.45	-.43	-.30	-.35	-	2.51	1.03

Almost all correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 520$.
 Italicized correlations were significant, $p < .05$.
 Insignificant correlations are bracketed.

Figure 1. Mean rating of warmth toward Atheists, Muslims, African Americans, and Arab Americans. Participants felt significantly colder toward Muslims and Arab Americans than toward Atheists and African Americans.



n = 520

Table 2.1. Descriptive statistics and correlations (fear reactions toward outgroups).

Fear	1	2	3	4	M	SD
1. Atheist	-				2.06	1.33
2. Muslim	.44	-			2.57	1.67
3. African American	.38	.54	-		1.95	1.34
4. Arab American	.46	.76	.58	-	2.40	1.55

All correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 555$.

Table 2.2. Descriptive statistics and correlations (anger reactions toward outgroups).

Anger	1	2	3	4	M	SD
1. Atheist	-				2.16	1.40
2. Muslim	.48	-			2.37	1.68
3. African American	.48	.54	-		1.69	1.13
4. Arab American	.52	.75	.57	-	2.14	1.46

All correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 555$.

Table 2.3. Descriptive statistics and correlations (distrust reactions toward outgroups).

Distrust	1	2	3	4	M	SD
1. Atheist	-				2.14	1.40
2. Muslim	.43	-			2.73	1.82
3. African American	.43	.51	-		1.93	1.33
4. Arab American	.45	.77	.56	-	2.52	1.66

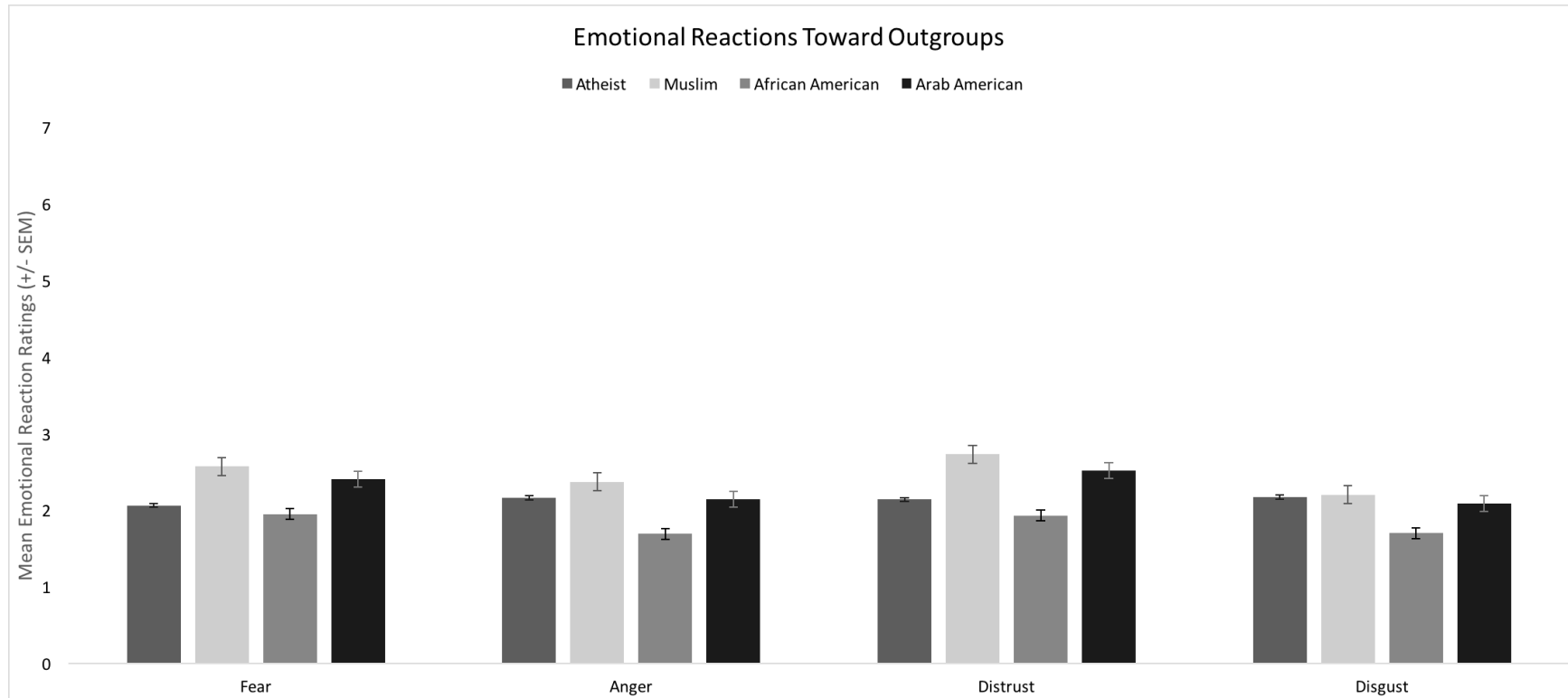
All correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 555$.

Table 2.4. Descriptive statistics and correlations (disgust reactions toward outgroups).

Disgust	1	2	3	4	M	SD
1. Atheist	-				2.17	1.44
2. Muslim	.50	-			2.20	1.53
3. African American	.47	.54	-		1.70	1.16
4. Arab American	.51	.79	.59	-	2.09	1.39

All correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 555$.

Figure 2. Mean rating of fear, anger, distrust, and disgust toward outgroups. Fear and distrust were the strongest emotional reactions toward Muslims and Arab Americans.



n = 555.

Table 3.1 Correlations and Fisher's Z-score.

Emotion	Muslim-Arab American	Muslim-Atheist	Z-Score
Fear	.76	.44	8.71
Anger	.75	.48	7.48
Distrust	.77	.43	9.31
Disgust	.79	.50	8.67
			Mz = 8.54

All correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 555$.

Table 3.2 Correlations and Fisher's Z-score.

Emotion	Muslim-African American	Muslim-Atheist	Z-Score
Fear	.54	.44	2.19
Anger	.54	.48	1.35
Distrust	.51	.43	1.71
Disgust	.54	.50	.91
			Mz = 1.54

All correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 555$.

Table 4.1 Multiple Regression Predicting Atheist Prejudice

Step	β	t	p	R^2	Sig. F Change
Step 1				.22	.000**
RF	-.47	-10.39	.000**		
Step 2				.23	.011*
RF	-.42	-8.67	.000**		
RWA	-.12	-2.56	.011*		
Step 3				.24	.038*
RF	-.41	-8.34	.000**		
RWA	-.09	-1.80	.072		
SDO	-.10	-2.08	.038*		

Note. RF = Religious Fundamentalism; RWA = Right-wing Authoritarianism; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation.
 $p < .01$, $n = 389$.

Table 4.2 Multiple Regression Predicting African American Prejudice

Step	β	t	p	R^2	Sig. F Change
Step 1				.00	.830
RF	-.01	-.22	.830		
Step 2				.01	.087
RF	.03	.46	.644		
RWA	-.09	-1.72	.087		
Step 3				.06	.000**
RF	.06	1.18	.238		
RWA	-.01	-.24	.814		
SDO	-.25	-4.57	.000**		

Note. RF = Religious Fundamentalism; RWA = Right-wing Authoritarianism; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation.
 $p < .01$, $n = 388$.

Table 4.3 Multiple Regression Predicting Muslim Prejudice

Step	β	t	p	R^2	Sig. F Change
Step 1				.03	.001**
RF	-.17	-3.31	.001*		
Step 2				.09	.000**
RF	-.06	-1.06	.291		
RWA	-.28	-5.25	.000**		
Step 3				.20	.000**
RF	.01	.14	.892		
RWA	-.16	-3.08	.002*		
SDO	-.37	-7.24	.000**		

Note. RF = Religious Fundamentalism; RWA = Right-wing Authoritarianism; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation.
 $p < .01$, $n = 385$.

Table 4.4 Multiple Regression Predicting Arab Americans Prejudice

Step	β	t	p	R^2	Sig. F Change
Step 1				.04	.000**
RF	-.19	-3.71	.000**		
Step 2				.11	.000**
RF	-.07	-1.37	.171		
RWA	-.30	-5.66	.000**		
Step 3				.20	.000**
RF	-.02	-.33	.739		
RWA	-.19	-3.69	.000**		
SDO	-.34	-6.77	.000**		

Note. RF = Religious Fundamentalism; RWA = Right-wing Authoritarianism; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation.
 $p < .01$, $n = 374$.

Discussion

In the current study, we investigated whether Muslims and Arab Americans faced similar types of negative evaluations (i.e., emotions elicited by threat). Consistent with our hypothesis, participants reported more negative attitudes toward Muslims and Arabs than Atheists and African Americans. Also consistent with our hypothesis, emotional reactions toward Muslims and Arab Americans were strongly related, such that people who felt fear, anger, distrust, or disgust toward Muslims were likely to feel these emotions toward Arab Americans, as well – more than towards other groups. These data suggest that there were few differences in people’s threat-based emotional reactions toward Muslims and Arab Americans. This is inconsistent with integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), which suggests that fear is one of the emotional responses stemming from realistic threat perception whereas distrust stems from perceptions of symbolic threat. Specifically, realistic threats are generally thought of as represented by ethnic groups while symbolic threats are thought of as representative of value violating, or religious groups.

The current results suggest that specific emotional reactions toward different types of outgroups (i.e. realistic threat and symbolic threat) may be quite nuanced. Specifically, it appears Muslims are not being perceived as uniquely symbolic threats, as participants reported relatively high levels of fear - suggesting that Muslims were also being perceived as a realistic threat. The distrust response, however, does suggest that, consistent with integrated threat theory, Muslims are perceived to pose a symbolic threat as well. Conversely, though Arab Americans were perceived as realistic threats based on fear responses, it appears they were not perceived as uniquely realistic threats, as the

distrust response suggests the perception of symbolic threats as well. This overlap in threat perception between religious and ethnic outgroups are likely influenced by society's stereotypes of Muslims and Arab Americans. For example, Muslims are likely perceived as realistic threats due to the inaccurate association between Islam and terrorism. Arab Americans, on the other hand, are likely perceived as symbolic threats due to the inaccurate stereotype that all Arabs are also Muslim. Thus, it appears that social perceptions of these groups are more important than the functional role or category in which they fit (i.e. racial versus religious group). In other words, the type of threat they are perceived to pose may be more important than whether or not the group is religious or ethnic in nature.

Consistent with past literature (Reynolds et al., 2001; Rowatt et al., 2005; Johnson et al., 2011; 2012; Ho et al., 2015), we also found that those who were high in social dominance orientation (SDO), right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), and religious fundamentalism (RF) held more prejudiced attitudes toward outgroups. Consistent with our hypothesis, we found a strong relationship between prejudice toward Muslims and SDO, such that as SDO increased, prejudice increased. Further, RF was more highly associated with prejudice toward Atheists, consistent with previous literature. Thus, we took the strong association between Muslim prejudice and SDO, rather than RF, as a further suggestion that Muslims may be perceived as realistic as well as symbolic threats.

The present study sheds light on the prejudice faced by Muslims and Arab Americans. Many past studies have investigated attitudes and emotional reactions toward Atheists and African Americans (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; 2007; Cook et al., 2015; Gervais et al., 2011a; 2014; Johnson et al; 2012), but few exist that examine relationships

between Muslim and Arab American prejudice, specifically. Due to the correlational nature of this study, more research is necessary to truly understand the implications of the emotional reactions toward Muslims and Arab Americans. In study two, we employ the same methodology to examine emotional reactions toward Deaf people and those who have disabilities, two other groups that are often conflated by society.

CHAPTER THREE
AFFECTIVE REACTIONS TOWARD THE DEAF AND THOSE WITH
DISABILITIES

Introduction

Stigmatization can manifest in several ways depending on the group in question. According to intergroup threat theory, described above, different outgroups are perceived to pose different types of threats. Research on persons with disabilities suggests that they are perceived to pose resource threats; for example, threatening the group by placing excess burden on limited resources to which they are considered unable to contribute or reciprocate (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Another group that may face similar stigmatization are the Deaf. Currently, little research examines the stigmatization of Deaf individuals and people with disabilities.

In general, studies have found that participants express prejudice toward people with disabilities in both modern (subtle) and classical (blatant) ways (Akrami et al., 2006). This perception of persons with disabilities as broken or unable often leads to responses of pity or sympathy (Hazzard, 2001; Naemiratch & Manderson, 2009). Though these responses are seemingly benevolent and well-intended, the negative effects of being stigmatized based on one's group membership are still present. For example, research suggests that benevolent sexism where women are viewed as fragile and in need of protection can lead to perceptions of lower competency in women that can decrease hireability ratings for female job applicants (Good & Rudman, 2010).

Attitudes toward people with disabilities are also associated with individual differences like social dominance orientation (SDO), such that those higher in SDO also

tend to hold more negative attitudes toward people with disabilities (Akrami et al., 2006). SDO refers to one's level of support for existing social hierarchies. Thus, the relationship between prejudice toward persons with disabilities and SDO may be influenced by beliefs that those with disabilities have less to offer to society, and so, belong lower in the social hierarchy.

The Deaf may also suffer from a similar form of stigmatization. Though about 37.5 million of those 18 and older report at least some level of hearing loss (National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders, 2016), little research currently exists on the stigma deaf people face. In the past, the deaf were marginalized, commonly referred to as “deaf and dumb” due to their struggle communicating in a hearing world. For most deaf individuals, this communication barrier begins in the home. Approximately 90% of deaf people are born to hearing parents who do not know American Sign Language (Sheppard et al., 2010). Those who were born deaf or lost their hearing as infants, often experience little-to-no language input during critical language acquisition periods in early development, further exacerbating this communication barrier.

Since most Deaf children are born to hearing parents, an oral approach to communication is often utilized in the home. Further, society is predominantly hearing oriented, which may lead to the expectation that Deaf children need to acquire and use speech to be successful. Most children learn much of their first language through natural exposure - hearing their family speaking to one another and giving verbal cues, something that Deaf children often miss out on (Hindley et al., 1994; Strong, 2007). It is suggested that the lack of exposure to a language of any kind (i.e. verbal or visual) leads

to a poorer theory of mind among Deaf children (Sessa & Sutherland, 2013). This lack of a reliable communication method may have implications for the mental health of Deaf people, including increased emotional problems, low self-esteem, and behavioral issues. For example, a study conducted in Australia showed that 39 percent of Deaf or hard of hearing children experienced mental health problems, compared to just 14 percent of hearing children (Brown & Cornes, 2014). The early age at which mental health problems seem to develop in Deaf and hard of hearing children suggests that by secondary school, these children are at an increased risk of mental health problems compared to their hearing counterparts.

These negative effects may be further complicated by the different perspectives of deafness. The pathological view of deafness, described with a lowercase “d,” refers to those who either view the deafness of others or themselves as a disability; whereas the cultural view of deafness, described with a capital “D,” refers to one’s identification with the Deaf culture, community, and identity (Golos et al., 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, many people are unaware of this distinction. In a study that analyzed the illustrations of children’s books with deaf characters, references to the pathological view of deaf people comprised 93 percent of cases while the cultural perspective of Deaf was referenced in only 7 percent of cases (Golos et al., 2012). This could minimize the potential importance of one’s deafness to their social identity, life experiences, and worldview.

As far as we know, a socio-functional approach to prejudice has not been used to investigate attitudes toward Deaf individuals or persons with disabilities. Recall that the socio-functional approach to prejudice suggests that the expression of negative attitudes

may depend on the context or group in question (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; 2007). For example, people may feel certain emotions, such as fear, toward a stigmatized group such as African Americans; or distrust toward Atheists (Gervais, 2011a; 2014). As mentioned above, existing research suggests that people feel pity toward persons with disabilities (Hazzard, 2001; Naemiratch & Manderson, 2009). Further, it appears most society views deafness from a pathological viewpoint, much in the way that disabilities are often viewed. Thus, we predict that most people will assume a pathological viewpoint, and respond to deaf people in the same way as persons with disabilities (i.e. pity). We will explore whether differences in attitudes toward deaf people arise as a function of one's perspective of deafness (i.e. cultural versus pathological).

Based on what we know about SDO and its relation to prejudice toward persons with disabilities, and the fact that those higher in RWA tend to hold more prejudiced attitudes, we expect that those higher in SDO and RWA will hold more negative attitudes toward each group (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). We also predicted that those who reported more contact with members of each group would hold less prejudiced attitudes, on average ((Allport, 1954; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dhont et al., 2014). By observing response patterns toward people with disabilities and Deaf people, we hope to further understand the perception of Deaf people and persons with disabilities in the United States.

Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited from introductory psychology courses at the University of Maine (n = 840; 88.57% Caucasian; 63.45% female;) in exchange for class credit. Participants' ages ranged between 18 and 45 years ($M = 19$, $SD = 2.11$). Data were collected via Qualtrics.

Materials (see Appendix B for full measures)

This correlational study measured several constructs via self-report. Participants responded to these questions as a part of a larger participant-pool screening measure.

Attitudes. After consenting to participate, a feeling thermometer was used to assess general warmth toward groups ("Please rate how warm or cold you feel toward the following groups;" 0° coldest feelings, 50° neutral feelings, 100° warmest feelings). A seven item Likert scale of emotional measures was also included (e.g., "When I think about people with deafness, I feel fear;" 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree; Cottrell and Neuberg, 2005). The Attitudes Toward Persons with Disabilities measure (ATPD; Katz et al, 1988; e.g., "Parents of children with disabilities should be less strict than other parents;" 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree), and an adapted version of the ATPD to measure attitudes toward Deaf people was also included (e.g., "Parents of Deaf children should be less strict than other parents;" 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree). A measure of the tendency to take a pathological versus a cultural viewpoint of deafness was developed (e.g., "Deafness is just like any other physical impairment;" "Deafness is an important social identity for people who are Deaf;" 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree). Finally, intergroup contact was measured (e.g., "How often would you say you interact with someone who is Deaf;" 1-Never, 5-All the time).

Individual Difference Characteristics. Social dominance orientation (SDO) and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) were measured (Pratto et al., 1994; Smith & Winter, 2002; Altemeyer et al., 1992). SDO focuses on one's support of existing social hierarchies (Fiske, 2000; "This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were") and is scored a 7-point scale (1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree; $\alpha = .91$). RWA measures the belief that authority should be obeyed and that those who refuse should face consequences (e.g., "What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path;" 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree; $\alpha = .71$).

Demographics. Demographic measures included age, gender, and ethnic identification.

Results

In general, negative attitudes toward Deaf people and people with disabilities were relatively low (Deaf: $M = 3.02$, $SD = .69$; Disability: $M = 3.34$, $SD = .58$) and feeling thermometer ratings were high (Deaf: $M = 85.94$, $SD = 16.84$; Disability: $M = 82.32$, $SD = 18.65$). Consistent with our hypothesis, we found that those who hold more negative attitudes toward people with disabilities tend to hold more negative attitudes toward Deaf people, as well, $r(860) = .68$, $p < .01$. Patterns of emotional reactions toward each group were also similar; pity was rated highest (Deaf: $M = 2.69$, $SD = 2.03$; Disability: $M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.95$), followed by guilt (Deaf: $M = 1.99$, $SD = 1.57$; Disability: $M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.75$) and anxiety (Deaf: $M = 1.81$, $SD = 1.38$; Disability: $M = 2.33$, $SD = 1.66$; see Figure 3). Those who felt pity toward Deaf people were also more likely to feel pity toward those with disabilities, $r(860) = .52$, $p < .01$, suggesting that

people are responding the same way emotionally to people with disabilities and Deaf people (see Table 5). Correlations between groups were also moderately strong for guilt, $r(860) = .67, p < .01$, and anxiety, $r(860) = .57, p < .01$. We expected that those who took a pathological perspective of deafness would respond to deaf people the same way that they respond to persons with disabilities on thermometer ratings, emotional reactions, and on the original and adapted version of the ATPD. Due to a lack of reliability in our cultural-pathological view of deafness measure, we were unable to observe whether participants took one perspective over the other or if any of our variables were influenced by this.

Individual difference characteristics, including SDO ($M = 3.33, SD = .55$) and RWA ($M = 3.62, SD = 1.14$), also played a moderate role in predicting attitudes toward Deaf people and people with disabilities. Increased SDO was associated with more negative attitudes toward both Deaf people, $r(832) = .33, p < .01$, and those with disabilities, $r(831) = .26, p < .01$. Correlations between RWA and attitudes toward were also similar for Deaf people, $r(833) = .24, p < .01$, and people with disabilities, $r(832) = .21, p < .01$ (see Table 6). Intergroup contact was observed as a correlate of decreased prejudice toward both groups (Disability: $r(833) = -.17, p < .01$; Deaf: $r(818) = -.20, p < .01$), such that as reports of contact increased, negative attitudes decreased. Levels of intergroup contact were low for both Deaf people ($M = 1.94, SD = .93$) and people with disabilities ($M = 2.97, SD = .95$) which may have played a role in the relatively weak relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes. Thus, we urge caution when interpreting the influence of intergroup contact on attitudes toward these groups.

Figure 3. Emotional reactions toward Deaf people and people with disabilities. Pity toward both deaf people and persons with disabilities was significantly stronger than guilt or anxiety.

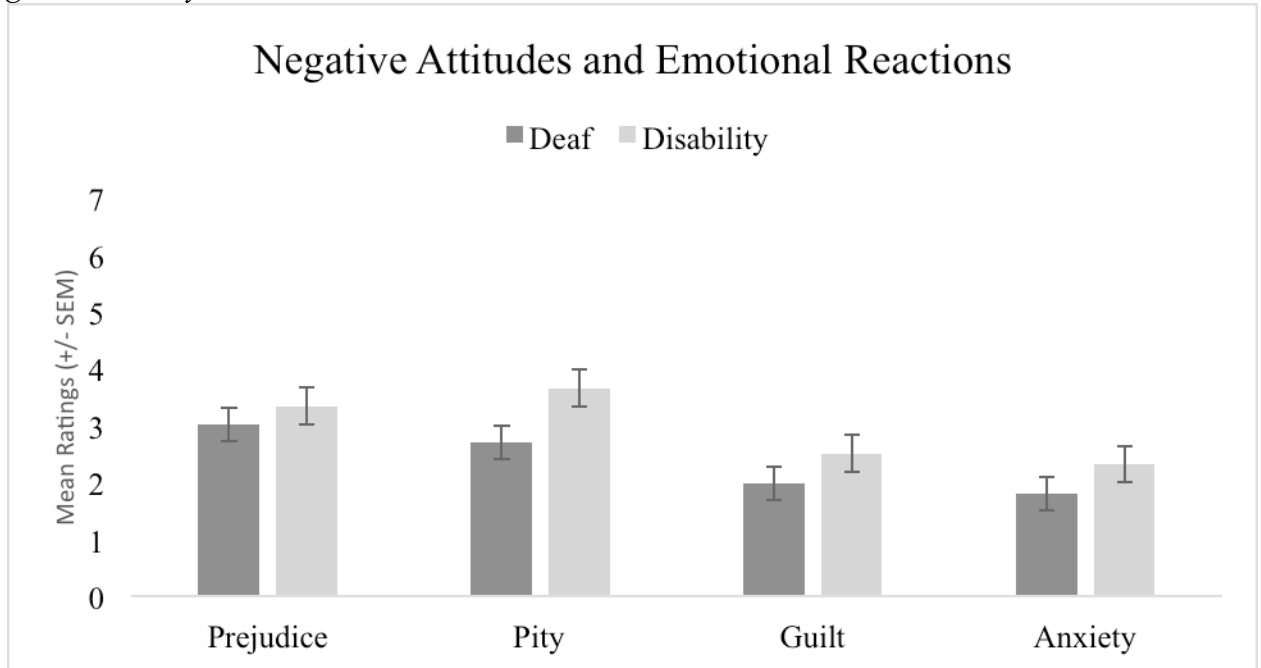


Table 5. Prejudice and emotional reactions toward Deaf people and people with disabilities.

	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Prejudice	-	.11	.16	.17
2. Pity	.19	-	.45	.38
3. Guilt	.21	.35	-	.41
4. Anxiety	.26	.25	.43	-

All correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 860$.

Correlations for Deaf targets below the diagonal; Correlations for persons with disabilities above the diagonal.

Table 6. Individual difference characteristics, prejudice toward Deaf people and people with disabilities, and contact with Deaf people and with disabilities.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	M	SD
1. SDO	-						3.32	.55
2. RWA	.35	-					3.61	1.15
Prejudice								
3. Deaf	.32	.23	-				3.01	.69
4. Disability	.25	.21	.68	-			3.34	.58
Contact								
5. Deaf	ns	ns	-.20	-.13	-		1.94	.93

6. Disability	ns	ns	-.11	-.17	.22	-	2.97	.95
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Most correlations were significant, $p < .01$, $n = 860$.

Discussion

Results indicated relatively positive responses toward both Deaf individuals and persons with disabilities on measures of attitudes and feeling thermometers. This may indicate that attitudes toward deaf people and people with disabilities have become more positive than in previous years. Another explanation may be that these more positive ratings are a result of social proscription, or the transition of prejudice from explicit to implicit. For example, many laws are in place protecting the rights of those with disabilities (e.g., Americans with Disabilities Act, Individuals with Disabilities Education Act; U.S. Department of Justice, 2009), thus, admitting to biases based on one’s physical or mental abilities is not only frowned upon, but it can have legal repercussions.

Results showed that prejudice and emotional reactions toward Deaf individuals and people with disabilities were associated. This may suggest that people are assuming a more pathological view of deafness, perceiving it as a disability, and thus, responding to members of this group in much the same way as persons with disabilities. Additionally, participants responded most strongly with pity toward both groups. As reviewed above, pity is associated with ambivalent prejudice as well as threats to reciprocity in which the target individual (i.e. the deaf person or person with disabilities) is unable to reciprocate social resources due to no fault of their own (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Thus, these results may suggest that both groups are perceived as victims of their pathological "disabilities" and perhaps that leads to explicit positive endorsement of that group in the form of positive stereotyping.

Positive stereotyping is a form of prejudice that encompasses positive assumptions of people based on their social group membership. Though they may appear positive, these stereotypes still lead to depersonalization (i.e., the feeling of being regarded as a member of your social group rather than as an individual), and have negative impacts on cognitive and emotional functioning (Czopp et al., 2015). Further, evidence suggests that those who endorse positive stereotypes often endorse negative stereotypes as well (Kay et al., 2013). This may be an important consideration in prejudice research with groups that are more socially proscribed such as African Americans and people with disabilities, as it is more socially acceptable to positively stereotype groups than to negatively stereotype groups (Mae & Carlston, 2005).

As expected, SDO and RWA both moderately predicted prejudice toward each group. This is not surprising as both constructs refer to rigid beliefs about social structure. As such, because SDO is associated with increased prejudice, it stands to reason that Deaf people and persons with disabilities are perceived as low status groups. The higher incidence of pity may further help to explain this low societal standing as these groups likely fall low in the social hierarchy because of the perception of them as unable to reciprocate social resources.

These results are consistent with intergroup contact theory as participants who reported more contact with each group also reported lower levels of prejudice (Allport, 1954; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Pettigrew, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Though there are many facets of intergroup contact that can lead to improved intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Brown & Hewstone, 2005) in this study, we only explored the surface level association between reported contact and prejudiced attitudes by asking participants in a single item how much prior contact they had with each group.

Though this study offers budding insight into the stigma faced by deaf people and persons with disabilities, certain limitations should be acknowledged and addressed in future investigations. Based on past research (Golos et al., 2012), we expected that most participants assumed a pathological perspective on deafness. Unfortunately, a lack of reliability in our cultural-pathological perspective measure did not allow for further investigation on the ways in which people perceive deafness and deaf individuals. This lack of reliability may have occurred for a number of reasons. First and foremost, it is likely that most people do not even consider deafness as an important part of one's cultural identity. It is also possible that we ourselves have an inaccurate view of what a Deaf identity truly consists of, and thus, we may not have been measuring the construct we aimed to measure. Future studies geared toward developing a reliable measure of the pathological-cultural perspectives of deafness would be beneficial in understanding how these groups are being perceived by society, and how these perceptions may influence attitudes toward deaf people.

Further, emotional responses indicate people may be perceiving both deaf individuals and persons with disabilities from pathological viewpoints, rather than distinguishing Deaf people as their own group with their own culture and identity. Based on this, it may be more beneficial to focus on the perception of stigma that deaf people face. In other words, it may be better to consider deaf individuals' perceptions of the stigma their group faces and determine the mental health effects of that stigma. Given that many deaf children show more emotional health problems earlier on than their hearing counterparts (Brown & Cornes, 2014), it is worth determining how much of this difference may be influenced by stigma-consciousness and self-stigma.

In conclusion, this study provides what we know to be some of the earliest investigations of general attitudes and affective responses toward Deaf individuals as well as providing more evidence on the affective responses toward persons with disabilities. Though people tend to report relatively positive attitudes toward both groups, they are most likely to respond with pity, a form of positive stereotyping that may still have negative impacts on the recipients. Further, people appear to respond emotionally the same way toward both Deaf people and persons with disabilities, suggesting that people may not perceive these groups as distinct from one another. This research provides a base from which future work can build to create a deeper understanding not only of the stigma that these groups face, but also the consequences of said stigma on one's social identity and mental health.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Both current studies investigated emotional reactions to several outgroups, including Muslims, Arab Americans, Deaf people, and people with disabilities. These emotional responses were used to infer the type of threat that each group was perceived to pose (i.e., realistic or symbolic threat; Stephan et al., 2009). Because symbolic threats have most commonly been seen as representative of religious outgroups, and realistic threats of ethnic outgroups, (Gervais, 2011a; Gervais, 2011b; Johnson et al., 2011; Gervais, 2014), one might expect that Muslims would be perceived as symbolic threats and Arab Americans of realistic threats. Study one, however, revealed a more convoluted picture in which Muslims and Arab Americans elicited both fear and distrust from participants, suggesting that both groups were being perceived as symbolic and realistic threats.

Patterns of prejudice and individual difference characteristics further supported this finding. For example, had Muslims been perceived uniquely as symbolic threats, we would have expected RF to better account for variations in prejudice, as RF refers to rigid religious beliefs. Instead, the role of SDO, a construct related to the endorsement of societal hierarchies, was a stronger predictor of prejudiced attitudes toward Muslims than RF, a construct related to the endorsement of rigid religious beliefs. This suggests that the threats Muslims are perceived to pose are based more on threats to hierarchical status than to differences in values and beliefs. This is inconsistent with the implication of Johnson et al. (2011) that RF is a better predictor of attitudes toward traditionally value-

violating groups, such as religious groups, due to the rigid nature of fundamentalist beliefs.

The influence of SDO on attitudes toward Arab Americans is consistent with the extant theoretical underpinnings of SDO (Pratto et al., 1995) in which endorse social hierarchies – our participants are primarily members of the White majority that make up the top of this hierarchy. This may suggest that the relationship between Muslim prejudice and SDO is a function of associating Islam with Arabic descent. This aligns with previous research suggesting that perceptions of Muslim identity by way of name, dress, and complexion, are sufficient to influence attitudes toward people (Brown et al., 2013). Thus, if someone sees someone of Arabic descent, they may assume that the person is also a Muslim, resulting in group conflation.

In study two, emotional responses toward deaf individuals and persons with disabilities were also strongly related. The pity reaction in particular suggests perceptions of reciprocity threats, a type of realistic threat that is based on the perception of low competence of outgroup members. Consistent with these findings, past research suggests that people often react to reciprocity threats with pity or sympathy (Hazzard, 2001; Naemiratch & Manderson, 2009). Since intergroup biases often stem from competition for resources within society, deaf people and people with disabilities may be perceived to strain collective resources by free-riding.

The strong relationship between pity toward deaf individuals and persons with disabilities further suggests that people respond emotionally the same way toward both groups, and thus, may not distinguish deaf people and people with disabilities as belonging to two separate groups. Additionally, these emotional reactions and the

consequent perception of low competence among deaf people and people with disabilities suggests that people take a pathological viewpoint, focusing on what these groups are unable to do, rather than what they contribute to society. This is consistent with research that suggests that deaf children are most often exposed to a pathological view of deafness (Golos et al., 2012). More evidence for this perspective was seen in the relationships between SDO and negative attitudes toward Deaf people and people with disabilities. Based on the definition of SDO, these relationships were likely influenced by beliefs that these groups have less to offer to society, and thus, belong lower in the social hierarchy.

As negative attitudes on the basis of ethnicity or ability become more socially proscribed, people become motivated to appear unprejudiced (Plant & Devine, 1998). Still, unconscious biases exist, creating tension between groups (Fiske, 2000). People may be further motivated to hide their biases due to threat of legal repercussions. Many laws now exist to help protect minority groups (e.g., Affirmative Action, Americans with Disabilities Act). Thus, prejudice became more implicit, or unconscious. These unconscious biases often appear benevolent and well-intentioned, often manifesting in pity and guilt (Fiske, 2000; Hazzard, 2001; Naemiratch & Manderson, 2009; Fiske, 2012).

Emotional reactions to outgroups may be influenced by evaluations of warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2002). Though we did not directly measure perceptions of warmth and competence, it would appear that traditionally “warmer” and “incompetent” groups, such as African Americans and persons with disabilities, most strongly elicited feelings of pity and guilt. Thus, it may be that warmer and more competent groups tend to

elicit more seemingly benevolent emotions (i.e., pity and guilt), while colder groups tend to elicit more blatantly negative emotions (i.e., distrust and fear).

Emotional evaluations also informed the type of threat that each outgroup was perceived to pose. As society becomes more diverse, perceptions of threat from outgroup members' increases in both symbolic and realistic ways. Though some research would suggest that Muslims, a religious group, would be perceived as symbolic threats (Raiya et al., 2008; Gervais, 2011a; Gervais, 2011b; Johnson et al., 2011; Gervais, 2014), our results suggested that they may be perceived as realistic threats as well. As groups become divided by these threats, group salience may increase and lead to overgeneralizations and stereotyping that put more strain on intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

While the findings of the current studies offer much explorative insight into attitudes toward groups not commonly investigated in prejudice research, the correlational nature of these studies does pose some limitations. It is unclear whether any cause-and-effect relationships would emerge between emotional reactions, prejudice, and individual difference characteristics. For example, we are unable to determine whether higher SDO was a driving force of prejudiced attitudes, such that being higher in SDO causes people to hold more prejudice toward outgroups. Further, our sample was not very representative as it consisted mainly of White college students and may not truly reflect the attitudes of the United States population as a whole.

Perhaps our biggest limitation was the use of explicit measures of prejudice and emotional responses. In general, self-reports of negative attitudes and emotions were low. Social desirability refers to the tendency to appear non-prejudiced. As laws and policies

have shifted to create more equality for minorities, it has become less socially acceptable to report having negative attitudes based on group membership (McConahay et al., 1981, McConahay, 1986). Thus, asking someone to report their own negative feelings toward outgroups may not paint a clear picture of intergroup attitudes. For this reason, the use of measures of modern prejudice, implicit measures like the IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998; Greenwald et al., 2003), or physiological measures like startle reflex (Amodio et al., 2003) would be ideal to gain deeper understanding of the underlying emotions and attitudes toward outgroups.

Context is another important consideration as it plays a clear role in attitude formation. Our study consisted of self-report answers to general questions, rather than employing intergroup contact between group members in a setting controlled for type of interaction (e.g., constructive, hostile, neutral). In the future, it would be beneficial to either have participants interact or imagine interacting with members of the outgroup, as research suggests that simply imagining an interaction with a member of an outgroup can influence intergroup attitudes (Crisp & Turner, 2009). The context of the interaction can also influence attitudes depending on the scenario or task at hand. For example, having contact with outgroup members in a “friend” context may be better at reducing negative attitudes as compared with a “work” context (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997). Further, contact in which people work together in collaborative ways is more effective for reducing prejudiced attitudes as this can lead people to redefine their group categories into a superordinate group to which both members belong (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Overall, these studies suggest that people may conflate Muslims and Arab Americans, and may do the same with deaf people and people with disabilities.

Perceptions of threat appear to underlie this perception of homogeneity of outgroups by society. As is true of any correlational study, results should be considered as a precursor to further experimental investigations that would allow for the control and manipulation of variables such as individual difference characteristics, context, and contact. Still, the implications that the current research holds for perceptions of and subsequent discrimination toward each of these groups are important and suggest that Muslims and Arab Americans, as well as deaf individuals and persons with disabilities, may face similar prejudice and discrimination in the real world because of the complexity of the threats they are perceived to represent and the subsequent emotions they elicit.

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APPENDIX A: MEASURES AND MATERIALS

Study One: Muslim and Arab Prejudice – Understanding Our Emotions

On the below feelings thermometer, please rate between 0 and 100 how cold or warm you feel toward each group with 0 being coldest and 100 being warmest.

- _____ Atheist
- _____ Muslim
- _____ Christian
- _____ Arab-Americans
- _____ African-Americans

When I think about Atheists, I feel...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Fear	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disgust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Envy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Guilt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distrust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How often would you say you interact with someone who is Atheist (e.g., friends, family, co-workers, community members....)

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- All of the Time

When I think about Muslims, I feel...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Fear	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disgust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Envy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Guilt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distrust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Frequency of Intergroup Contact - How often would you say you interact with someone who is Muslim (e.g., friends, family, co-workers, community members....)

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- All of the Time

When I think about African-Americans, I feel...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Fear	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disgust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Envy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Guilt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distrust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Frequency of Intergroup Contact - How often would you say you interact with someone who is African-American (e.g., friends, family, co-workers, community members...)

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- All of the Time

When I think about Arab-Americans, I feel...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Fear	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disgust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Envy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Guilt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distrust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Frequency of Intergroup Contact - How often would you say you interact with someone who is Arab-American (e.g., friends, family, co-workers, community members...)

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- All of the Time

Social Dominance Orientation:

Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.

Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor
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Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Neutral	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly
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Oppose	Oppose	Oppose		Favor	Favor	Favor
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No one group should dominate in society.

Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor
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Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.

Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor
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Group equality should not be our primary goal.

Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor
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It is unjust to try to make groups equal.

Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor
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We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor
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We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.

Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor
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Right-wing Authoritarianism:

Show how much you agree or disagree with each statement below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

Obedience and respect are the most important things kids should learn.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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People should be made to show respect for America's traditions.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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			Disagree			
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We must crack down on troublemakers to save our moral standards and keep law and order.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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Religious Fundamentalism:

Show how much you agree or disagree with each statement below by selecting on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

Everything in our sacred writing is absolutely true without question

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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Our sacred writing should never be doubted, even when scientific or historical evidence outright disagrees with it

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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The sacred writing is NOT really the words of God, but the words of man

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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The truths of the sacred writing will never be outdated but will always apply equally well to all generations

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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The sacred writing is the only one that is true above all holy books or sacred texts of other religions

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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APPENDIX B: MEASURES AND MATERIALS

Study Two: Deaf or Disabled? A Study of Prejudice and Stigma Toward Deaf

People and Persons with Disabilities

When I think about people with disabilities, I feel...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Fear	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disgust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Envy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Guilt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distrust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anxiety	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Frequency of Intergroup Contact - How often would you say you interact with someone with disabilities (e.g., friends, family, co-workers, community members....)

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- All of the Time

On the below feelings thermometer, please rate between 0 and 100 how cold or warm you feel toward each group with 0 being coldest and 100 being warmest.

_____ People with disabilities

Mark each statement according to how much you agree or disagree with it.

Parents of children with disabilities should be less strict than other parents.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

Persons with physical disabilities are just as intelligent as non- disabled ones.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

People with disabilities are usually easier to get along with than other people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Most people with disabilities feel sorry for themselves.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with disabilities are often the same as anyone else.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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There should not be special schools for children with disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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It would be best for persons with disabilities to live and work in special communities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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It is up to the government to take care of persons with disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Most people with disabilities worry a great deal.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with disabilities should not be expected to meet the same standards as people without disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with disabilities are as happy as people without disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with severe disabilities are no harder to get along with than those with minor disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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It is almost impossible for a person with a disability to lead a normal life.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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You should not expect too much from people with disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with disabilities tend to keep to themselves much of the time.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with disabilities are more easily upset than people without disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with disabilities cannot have a normal social life.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Most people with disabilities feel that they are not as good as other people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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You have to be careful how you act when you are with people with disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with disabilities are often grouchy.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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When I think about people with deafness, I feel...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Fear	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Disgust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Envy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Guilt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distrust	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anxiety	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Frequency of Intergroup Contact - How often would you say you interact with someone with deafness (e.g., friends, family, co-workers, community members....)

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Often
- All of the Time

On the below feelings thermometer, please rate between 0 and 100 how cold or warm you feel toward each group with 0 being coldest and 100 being warmest.

_____ People with deafness

Mark each statement according to how much you agree or disagree with it.

Parents of Deaf children should be less strict than other parents.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

Deaf people are just as intelligent as non- disabled ones.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

Deaf people are usually easier to get along with than other people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree

Most Deaf people feel sorry for themselves.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with deafness are often the same as anyone else.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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There should not be special schools for Deaf children.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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It would be best for persons with deafness to live and work in special communities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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It is up to the government to take care of persons with deafness.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Most Deaf people worry a great deal.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Deaf people should not be expected to meet the same standards as hearing people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with deafness are as happy as people without deafness.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Severely Deaf people are no harder to get along with than mildly Deaf people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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It is almost impossible for a Deaf person to lead a normal life.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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You should not expect too much from Deaf people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with deafness tend to keep to themselves much of the time.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Deaf people are more easily upset than people without disabilities.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with deafness cannot have a normal social life.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Most people with deafness feel that they are not as good as other people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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You have to be careful how you act when you are with Deaf people.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People with deafness are often grouchy.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Mark each statement according to how much you agree or disagree with it.

Deafness is just like any other physical impairment.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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			Disagree			
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Deafness is an important social identity for people who are Deaf.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Deafness is a disability.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Deaf culture has unique perspectives to contribute to society.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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The Deaf community contributes positively to society in a number of ways.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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People who are deaf are not as capable as others in day-to-day life.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
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Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting the degree to which you oppose to the degree to which you favor on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Group dominance is a poor principle.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Group equality should be our ideal.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Group equality should not be our primary goal.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

It is unjust to try to make groups equal.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

No one group should dominate in society.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Some groups of people must be kept in their place.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

We should not push for group equality.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.

- Strongly Oppose
- Somewhat Oppose
- Slightly Oppose
- Neutral
- Slightly Favor
- Somewhat Favor
- Strongly Favor

Right-wing Authoritarianism:

Show how much you agree or disagree with each statement below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

Obedience and respect are the most important things kids should learn.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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People should be made to show respect for America's traditions.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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We must crack down on troublemakers to save our moral standards and keep law and order.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Aeleah Granger was a part of the Honors College as well as the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences as a psychology major and dance minor. Within the psychology department, Aeleah has served in several research labs on campus, conducting several studies as primary investigator and holding the role of Psi Chi Vice President for two years. Additionally, Aeleah has worked as a teaching assistant for an online introductory psychology course as well as a current events course in the honors college. Outside of academia, Aeleah can often be found in the dance studio, choreographing and performing dances in the style of contemporary, hip-hop, and ballet. Aeleah plans to take a year off to work before continuing her education in social and cognitive psychology. She is excited for what the future holds and cannot wait to get started on her next research endeavor.