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Race, Racism, and Discrimination: Bridging Problems, Methods, and Theory in Social Psychological Research*

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Scholars spanning the social sciences and humanities wrestle with the complex and often contested meanings of race, racism, and discrimination. In all of this enterprise, sociologists rightly retain a special claim to illuminating processes of group boundary maintenance, systems of racial inequality and supporting ideologies, and attendant patterns of intergroup behavior (Jackman 1994; Lamont 2000). Mainstream sociological research, however, has focused principally on the structural manifestations of race, racism, and discrimination, particularly as they characterize black-white relations (Wilson 1978). Sociologists have made signal contributions to the understanding of modern ghetto joblessness and poverty (Wilson 1996), of racial residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993), and of fundamental disparities in accumulated wealth (Oliver and Shapiro 1995). In some critical respects this work has expanded to include multiracial and multiethnic comparisons with respect to both key economic (Lichter and Oliver 2000; Smith 2001; Waldinger 1996) and residential outcomes (Charles 2001; Emerson, Yancey, and Chai 2001). To a surprising degree, however, the micro social processes necessarily embedded in these structural analyses are still largely unaddressed.

Yet the basic social processes invoked by the terms *race*, *racism*, and *discrimination* are quintessentially social psychological phenomena; sociologists ignore or downplay this basic insight at the discipline's peril. These concepts concern the meanings of social groupings and how those meanings come to guide patterns of relations among individuals recognized as members of particular groups.

They immediately entail the labeling and social learning of group categories, identity, feelings, beliefs, and related cognitive structures. These factors, in turn, are expressed in lines of interaction and behavior that flow from, reinforce and reconstitute, or come to transform those social categorizations. In addition, such categorizations have direct implications for the structure and basic conditions of social organization. That is, race,¹ racism,² and discrimination³ are also, and perhaps most fundamentally, bases and mechanisms of hierarchical differentiation that shape the ordering of social relations as well as the allocation of life experiences and life chances (Zuberi 2001a).

¹ We conceive of race, or more broadly ethnoracial distinctions, as historically contingent social constructions. These distinctions or categorizations will vary in configuration and salience over time (Collins 2001; Omi 2001) as well as by important intersections with age, class, gender, and sexuality (Cohen 1999). Similarly, the practices and policies of government play a major role in the understanding and social effects of these categories (Nobles 2000). Although such categorization may invoke consideration of physical and biological markers such as hair texture, skin tone and color, and other observable markers, neither these indicia nor deep primordial imperatives give ethnoracial categories their social significance.

² We conceive of racism as a set of institutional conditions of group inequality and an ideology of racial domination, in which the latter is characterized by a set of beliefs holding that the subordinate racial group is biologically or culturally inferior to the dominant racial group. These beliefs, in turn, are deployed to prescribe and legitimize society's discriminatory treatment of the subordinate group and to justify their lower status (See and Wilson 1989; Wilson 1973).

³ We think of discrimination as a "complex system of social relations" (Pettigrew and Taylor 1990:688) involving actions, subtle or overt, "that serve to limit the social, political, or economic opportunities of particular groups" (Fredrickson and Knobel 1982:31). Discrimination may be either direct or indirect, and may have both short- and long-term consequences (Pettigrew and Taylor 1990).

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For these reasons, sociologists and social psychologists of several stripes have devoted great energy to unraveling “the problem of race.”⁴ Yet broad and powerful general theories of race, racism, and discrimination still elude us (See and Wilson 1989; Winant 2000). Social psychologists, some argue, have been slow to examine how ethnoracial distinctions may influence what have been regarded as otherwise general social psychological processes (Hunt et al. 2000). Certainly the literature contains a number of distinct and vital clusters of intellectual activity: some focus on problems (e.g., minority status and performance in school), some on method (e.g., surveys of racial attitudes), and others on theory (e.g., status expectation states theory). One consequence is that the field is not so much balkanized as composed of several disparate, mutually insular intellectual communities.

As a result, a key challenge for scholarship in this area is to reach beyond the boundaries of customary and specific research problems, methodologies, and theories. Theoretical advances often emerge from methodological innovations, especially those which bridge different methods of investigation. The domain of race, racism, and discrimination, for example, has taken important steps to address the influence of contextual variables such as group size and degree of economic inequality (Kinder and Mendelberg 1995; Quillian 1995) and to make use of hierarchical modeling (Quillian 1996; Taylor 1998), and of survey-based experiments (Bobo and Kluegel 1993; Kinder and Sanders 1990; Schuman and Bobo 1988; Sniderman and Carmines 1977), as well as linking in-depth interviews with surveys (Krysan 1999). Each of these steps has deepened our knowledge significantly.

⁴ A number of recent reviews from distinct traditions, covering far greater terrain than we may hope to address here, deserve note. Critical assessments of the survey-based literature can be found in Sears, Hetts et al. (2000), Bobo (2001), and Krysan (2000). Assessments of important strands in the experimental literature can be found in Banaji and Hardin (1996), Blair and Banaji (1996), Dovidio (2001), and Fazio and Olson (2003). Relevant qualitative studies are reviewed by Bonilla-Silva (2001), while Dawson and Cohen (2002) provide a cogent assessment of research on race in political science.

To further advance the impetus toward “bridging,” this special issue now unites three goals in seeking to increase social psychology’s understanding of processes of race, racism, and discrimination. One key goal of this volume has been to encourage bridges across major subareas, methods, and theories. The challenge of building more general theory will be met only insofar as studies across an array of “middle range” theories are brought into direct dialogue on the various problems, questions, and methods of analysis that typically distinguish and organize domains of social research.

A second goal has been to encourage work of multiethnic scope. More and more research is not only reaching beyond the black-white divide but also adopting a strategy of simultaneous and rich multigroup comparisons.

Our third goal is to highlight work that adopts a target-group or minority-group frame of reference. For too long, social psychological research has tended to assume that the views of those in minority or disadvantaged positions were derived entirely from, or simply a maladaptive response to, perspectives and impositions on the part of the dominant group.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES OF RACE IN MAJOR LIFE DOMAINS

Even though we lack broad, general theories specifying how race, racism, and discrimination operate, at least, fortunately, we possess major theoretical approaches in various domains of social life. Strong research literatures exist in these domains. The contributions to this special issue offer critical extensions of ideas on identity, schooling, and achievement processes; organizations, labor markets, and workplaces; interpersonal interaction across the color line; social structural and psychological theories of prejudice; and the social and political effects of the new immigration. We examine briefly each of these domains and discuss how the new research reported here helps to advance our knowledge.

Identity, Schooling, and Achievement Processes

Extensive research on schooling, performance, and achievement has shown that negative cultural stereotypes about racial and ethnic minorities can exert debilitating effects on minority youths' academic achievement. A classic in the field, Ogbu's (1986, 1992) oppositional culture theory, suggests that low expectations lead minority students to feel ambivalent about school and to disengage academically, in the belief that academic achievement is the sole purview of whites and that their own hard work will not deliver the expected rewards. Minority students then discourage their peers from succeeding academically, or "acting white," a finding that recently has been called into question (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998; Carter 2003; Cook and Ludwig 1997; Gould 1999; Lovaglia et al 1998).

Other research helps to explain why minority students who are *already* engaged still underperform in relation to their majority peers. Steele's (1997) pioneering work on stereotype threat has found that when negative stereotypes about a group are made salient, academic functioning among members of that group is impaired. Students who are already disengaged are not susceptible to stereotype threat because they have long since stopped trying. Indeed, Steele has shown that the effect of these stereotypes is most pernicious among those minority students with the deepest commitment to academic achievement and a strong motivation to achieve.

In this special issue, Oyserman and her colleagues build on these works, probing the relationship between racial and ethnic identity schemas and academic disengagement. This paper, which covers important new ground, helps to explain which students are best able to overcome the harmful effects of negative stereotyping and which students are most likely to succumb. Using three separate studies, Oyserman and colleagues test the theory across multiple racial and ethnic groups (African Americans, Latinos, American Indians, and Palestinian Israelis), in multiple settings (a low-income minority middle school, rural and reservation junior

high and high schools, and Palestinian Arab Israeli high schools), and with multiple methods (open-ended surveys and experimental manipulations).

Organizations, Labor Markets, and Workplaces

Another body of research examines the influence of race, racism, and discrimination in labor markets, workplaces, and organizations. Many studies have documented the disadvantaged position of blacks and other racial and ethnic minorities in the contemporary urban labor market (Waldinger 1996; Wilson 1996). The reason for this disadvantage, especially the significance of race, has been contested intensely. William Julius Wilson (1978) argued famously that the importance of race in determining blacks' life chances was declining relative to class. Similarly, economists and other social scientists have predicted that the demands of the competitive labor market would eliminate racial discrimination in the workplace (Evans and Kelley 1991; Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994).

Despite these assertions, numerous studies show that contemporary workplace discrimination remains a significant concern. Employers often express stereotypical views of blacks, rate black workers as having weaker hard and soft skills than white workers, and openly acknowledge their own use of discriminatory recruiting and screening procedures during the hiring process (Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Wilson 1996). As a result, employers hire blacks at far lower rates than whites, even with controls for differences in levels of education (Holzer 1996). Discrimination based on gender compounds issues of racial discrimination for women of color, who report experiencing "double jeopardy" (Suh 2000). Reports of discrimination do not appear to vary much by social class, although the frequency of such reports tends to increase with rising levels of education (Bobo and Suh 2000).

In this volume, Harlow concentrates on the familiar setting of the university, exploring the ways in which race influences professors' experiences in, and perceptions of, undergraduate classrooms. Her focus is not

on the content or impact of employers' stereotypes, but rather on how students' stereotypes of their professors affect the demands of the job. Using in-depth interviews with black and white faculty members, Harlow examines how racial stigma affects black professors' "emotion work." In particular she considers how students' assumptions about competency can create the need for additional impression management work or, conversely, emotional labor that shields professors' self-concepts from negative perceptions by students. Harlow pushes the analysis further, examining the ways in which double jeopardy influences black female professors' experiences and demands. Her research points to dynamics that may operate in many organizational settings or contexts where blacks (or members of other historically disadvantaged minority groups) occupy higher-status positions than consumers or other employees who belong to the dominant group.

Contact and Interpersonal Interactions

A third body of research has focused on the degree of contact and interpersonal or intimate relations between dominant- and subordinate-group members (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998). Fertile and powerfully cumulative work has examined, for instance, the individual-level (Meyer 2000) and social psychological processes involved in creating and maintaining patterns of racial residential segregation (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Charles 2003; Farley et al 1994; Quillian and Pager 2001). This research is especially noteworthy for its multiethnic scope (Charles 2000), its use of systematic experiments within surveys (Emerson et al 2001; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996), and its linking of open-ended responses or qualitative interviewing with traditional survey data (Krysan 2002a, 2002b; Krysan and Farley 2002).

Much attention has been given to the degree to which individuals are candid about their opinions on racial matters. Recent research has shown that whites' survey-based responses to attitudes about issues such as intermarriage, affirmative action, or the significance of discrimination in blacks' life chances sometimes may understate their

actual levels of prejudice (Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000). Furthermore, research dating back to the 1950s has demonstrated a race-of-interviewer effect: respondents adjust their responses on questions concerning race according to the interviewer's race (Hyman 1954). In part this may be the result of concerns about social desirability: individuals attempt to minimize tension during an interaction, and thereby avoid topics or responses that might offend another party (Hatchett and Schuman 1975). In day-to-day interactions, Cose (1993) suggested that black middle-class professionals were not always completely candid with whites about their rage regarding racism and discrimination because they understood that voicing those feelings would anger or alienate whites.

It is a mistake, however, to assume that the "truth" will be revealed only when respondents speak with a person of the same race. Research indicates that blacks may face opposing pressures to declare greater attachment to their racial group or support for race-based social policies when speaking with a black interviewer (Anderson, Silver, and Abramson 1988). Furthermore, the "mere presence" of a black interviewer may trigger the opposite effect, increasing whites' reported racial resentment or negative stereotypes (Devine 1989; Dovidio et al. 1997; Wittenbrink, Judd and Park 1997).

In this volume, Krysan and Couper use innovative experimental simulations to understand more clearly the mechanisms behind race-of-interviewer effects. By manipulating an interviewer's race in both a "live" and a "virtual" interview with black and white respondents, the authors can distinguish between (on one hand) effects on racial attitudes and social policy preferences that result from the "mere presence" of a member of a different racial group and (on the other) those which derive from the social interaction itself.

Theories of Whites' Racial Attitudes

Despite whites' tendency to avoid making overtly racist statements (especially in the company of African Americans), it would certainly be a mistake to assume that whites' racial attitudes have not changed in the last

half-century (Schuman et al. 1997). Nonetheless, despite a marked increase in their support for formal racial equality, whites remain quite reluctant to support federal policies that would bring about these goals. For more than three decades, scholars belonging to three main schools of thought have proposed competing theories to explain this paradox (Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo 2000).

The first set of theories, at heart, are social-psychological; they all share the assumption that old-fashioned racism has not disappeared but rather has been replaced by a new and different brand of racism, variously called symbolic racism or racial resentment (Henry and Sears 2002; Sears, van Laar, et al. 1997), subtle versus blatant prejudice (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995), or other forms of racism (Feagin 2000). Proponents of these theories contend that whites' opposition to affirmative action or to voting for a black candidate is due largely to their negative stereotypes or affect regarding African Americans. Despite some disagreement about the exact content of this new racism, proponents of these theories tend to share the belief that it, like its old-fashioned counterpart, is transmitted from one generation to the next through early childhood socialization.

A second set of theories, called social-structural theories, differs from the first in that it takes competing group interests seriously. These theories, which include realistic group conflict theory (Key 1949; Levine and Campbell 1972) and sense of group position (Blumer 1958; Bobo 1999), generally maintain that individuals identify with their own racial or ethnic group, that group conflict emerges from competing interests, and that dominant groups develop and propagate ideologies that maintain and even legitimize their higher social status (Jackman and Muha 1984; Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo 2000). In these models, prejudice is not an irrational psychological disposition amenable to curing through proper socialization. Rather, prejudice emerges from competition and struggle over real or symbolic resources and privileges. Studies of key local electoral contests (Kaufman 1998), of the impact of group size on racial attitudes (Taylor 1998), of struggles

over immigration (McLaren 2003; Quillian 1995), and of Native American treaties (Bobo and Tuan forthcoming) have yielded strong empirical support for this theoretical reasoning.

Contributing to this debate, Hughes and Tuch attempt in this volume to adjudicate between social-psychological and social-structural theories of racial attitudes by using repeated cross-sections of national survey data to evaluate the incidence of gender differences in whites' racial attitudes and policy preferences. If prejudice is learned, the authors reason, and if it is in part a product of gender-specific socialization, rather than of competing group interests, then we might find significant differences in attitudes between white men and white women. To address this possibility, Hughes and Tuch conduct an extensive analysis of high quality national sample survey data. Where it is relevant to do so, they also can directly test the distinct gender socialization hypothesis. Their results differ in important ways from those reported in other recent work (Johnson and Marini 1998).

According to the third and final major theoretical stance, sometimes labeled principled politics, whites' opposition to liberal racial policies is rooted not in any new racism nor in competing group interest, but rather in race-neutral values and ideologies such as fairness or individualism (Sniderman and Carmines 1997). Although these ideologies certainly play a role—indeed, the debate usually centers on the significance or meaning of that role—empirical and experimental studies have linked whites' racial attitudes to opposition to a wide array of explicitly racial policies including busing (Bobo 1983), affirmative action (Bobo 2000; Oliver and Mendelberg 2000), bilingual education (Houvouras 2001; Huddy and Sears 1995), federal aid to blacks (Kinder and Mendelberg 1995), and residential integration (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Farley et al. 1994; Schuman and Bobo 1988). Racial attitudes also influence evaluations of political candidates in many contexts, not merely when candidates of different racial backgrounds compete (Callaghan and Terkildsen 2002). Racial attitudes even taint whites' preferences for policies that appear to be

racially neutral but have become racially tinged in public discourse (Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002), including approaches to fighting crime (Hurwitz and Peffley 1997; Johnson 2001; Mendelberg 1997) as well as welfare (Gilens 1999; Peffley, Hurwitz, and Sniderman 1997).

For attitudes about welfare and crime in particular, negative stereotypes of African Americans as lazy, welfare-dependent, or somehow culturally more prone than whites to violence play a prominent role in whites' opposition to these policies. Paradoxically, Brezina and Winder's article in this volume suggests that whites' negative cultural stereotypes of blacks are reinforced by blacks' lower socioeconomic status, the very circumstance that many liberal racial policies were designed to redress. The authors move on to reveal the social-psychological processes behind such circular reasoning, framing their approach with Ridgeway's (1991) "status construction theory." Using national survey data, they first demonstrate the link between whites' perception of blacks' low socioeconomic status and whites' belief that blacks have a poor work ethic; subsequently they illustrate how status generalization processes operate to influence even egalitarian-minded individuals. In doing so, Brezina and Winder extend an important line of thinking on how lay or popular ideas about broader social stratification processes influence the dynamics of ethnoracial relations (Hunt 1996; Kluegel 1990; Kluegel and Bobo 2001; Kluegel and Smith 1986).

The Effects and Dynamics of Immigration

American society is undergoing profound population changes due to rapid immigration and differential fertility rates (Zuberi 2001b). Research on the dynamics and effects of immigration on American society dates back, of course, to the earliest efforts by U.S. sociologists, including W.E.B. Du Bois's "The Philadelphia Negro" and much of the early Chicago School work by Robert Park and his peers. With Hispanics now the nation's largest ethnoracial minority, and in view of continued high rates of immigration from Asia, Latin America, and many other parts of the globe, sociologists and social psycholo-

gists have been hard at work studying contemporary patterns of identity formation and change, social adaptation, and the broader societal effects of this "new immigration."

Issues of identity (Alba 1990; Tuan 1999; Waters 1990) and of the host society's reaction to this new wave of immigrants have been a matter of particular concern. Studies have documented a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment (Sanchez 1997) and have linked racially motivated violence to the growth of the black, Asian, or Latino population (Green, Strolovitch, and Wong 1997; Pinderhughes 1993). Empirical studies have shown that perceptions of Asians', blacks', Latinos', and whites' intergroup competition for valued economic and political resources exist and are politically consequential, even if the absolute strength of such perceptions is generally only low to moderate (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Bobo and Johnson 2000; Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong 1998; Esses, Jackson, et al. 1999; McLaren 2003). Impressive case studies have emerged dissecting and interpreting instances of interethnic conflict including the 1992 Los Angeles riots (Baldassare 1994), the 1990 Red Apple boycott in Brooklyn (Kim 2000), and occurrences in various other settings (Morawska 2001). The potential for minority coalition formation and the obstacles to such formation also have attracted recent attention; some work suggests that the shared status as minorities could bridge different ethnoracial groups (Garcia 2000).

Another line of research has focused more explicitly on the new immigrants' experiences and on the ways in which they are being incorporated into American society. Early theories of immigrant assimilation, based on the experiences of European immigrants, assumed fairly rapid and concurrent processes of economic, political, and cultural assimilation. This "straight line" assimilation model assumed that over time, the immigrants' children and grandchildren would move up the economic ladder and would become more similar to mainstream Americans. The new immigrants' experiences, however, belie these now-dated assumptions. Research on current second-generation immigrants reveals a more complex process of "segmented assimilation"

(Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). More than the old immigrants, these new arrivals differ from one another in a variety of ways including educational background, skills, wealth, family structure, knowledge of English, and skin color. Also there are differences in the ways in which government policies treat various groups, in the native population's reactions to their arrival, and in the sizes of the immigrants' co-ethnic communities. All of these elements influence socioeconomic outcomes and determine how or even whether immigrants will be integrated into and accepted by the host society (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

One component of this literature on segmented assimilation focuses on identity formation and change, examining how the peculiar history of American race relations influences ethnoracial self-identification among new immigrants. Mary Waters (1999) shows how West Indian immigrants hold onto their ethnic national identity and resist adopting a black American identity in an effort to avoid a stigmatized social status and to stave off what they perceive to be downward mobility. Yet because they have few tangible ties to the West Indies and are immersed in a culture that is fixated on racial categorization and antiblack stereotypes, their children (especially those in poor and low-income families) adopt black racial identities more readily. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) examine how second-generation immigrants in south Florida and southern California come to self-identify; they find that many resist the pressures to identify in panethnic terms. Experiences of discrimination, they find, encourage these teens to cling to their national identity, whereas living in an inner-city area encourages panethnic identification.

In this volume, Sears and colleagues tackle these difficult issues of identity formation and change among the "new immigrants," with a focus on Latino and Asian youths attending a leading public university. These youths, the authors argue, represent the future elites and therefore deserve special consideration. Using an impressive six-wave longitudinal survey of Asian, black, Latino, and white students at the University of California at Los Angeles, the authors

probe the content, salience, determinants, and mutability of Asian and Latino students' ethnoracial self identification. In these patterns they search for indications about how these groups ultimately will be incorporated into America's racial order.

CONCLUSIONS

Sociologists have done much to examine the material economic and political consequences of socially recognized membership in particular ethnoracial categories. In themselves, however, such differences do not explain how people develop such categorizations and identities, how they imbue ethnoracial groups with meaning, or when and how they draw on salient identities, beliefs, and feelings in any particular context or setting. Nor does the existence of a set of institutional conditions or outcomes explain when a pattern of racialized social interaction may be enacted routinely, challenged openly, or transformed profoundly. It is precisely in answer to these types of questions and at these points that the social psychology of race, racism, and discrimination becomes an indispensable element of any complete sociological analysis.

In the most general sense, the articles in this issue exemplify the core ambition of social psychological research on race. They explore how society and social structural conditions create individuals possessing particular types of ethnoracial identities, beliefs, attitudes, value orientations, and the like. At the same time, they show how individuals possessing racialized psychological attributes and outlooks then interact and behave in ways that variously instantiate and reinforce, or challenge and transform, extant social structures of race.⁵

For example, in Brezina and Winder's work on perceived economic disadvantage and how such perceptions translate into neg-

⁵ In one of the more cogent definitions of the core problem for social psychology, Dorwin Carwright maintained that social psychology is concerned with "how society influences the cognition, motivation, development, and behavior of individuals and, in turn, is influenced by them" (1979:91). This conceptualization of the field is embraced effectively by James House (1977, 1981), Melvin Kohn (1989), and Ralph Turner (1988), among many others.

ative personality stereotypes about blacks, the authors illustrate the flow from social structural conditions to individual perceptions, and then to a pattern of negative racial attitudes and beliefs. That is, this work can be read as showing principally how social structure shapes individual makeup. Similarly, Oyserman and colleagues show how the possession of more elaborate racial self-schemas may more effectively equip members of disadvantaged groups to achieve high levels of academic performance: their work can be read as showing principally how individual makeup shapes social structure. The former example illustrates how individual psychological makeup and processes reinforce racial hierarchy and disadvantage; the latter demonstrates how individual psychological makeup and processes may transform existing racial hierarchy and disadvantage.

The articles presented here also exemplify three significant lines of development for the future of research in this area. First, some of the work springs from or directly engages a target-group or minority-group perspective. Studies of the nature and dynamics of prejudice, long the core of social psychological research on race, racism, and discrimination, have focused overwhelmingly on how dominant-group members view and treat members of a subordinate or minority group. Insofar as subordinate-group members mattered, it was largely as persons damaged by the views and conditions created by members of the dominant group (hence the Clark and Clark dolls studies and an abundance of work seeking racial differences in self-esteem).⁶

Now, however, we increasingly see work coming from minority perspectives that point to modes of adaptation and understanding "from below." These perspectives are not merely reactive and indicative of damage inflicted by systems of racial hierarchy. Such adaptations involve the potentially positive and transforming effects of the search for positive social identity and progressive social

change (Lee 2002). Harlow's research on the emotional management of race in the college classroom illustrates such processes directly. Oyserman and colleagues' research on racial-ethnic self-schemas explores even more explicitly patterns of creative target-group response to prevalent negative racial stereotypes.

Second, some of the work included in this issue builds new types of theoretical and methodological bridges; this encouraging trend is long overdue. Thus, for example, Harlow's in-depth interviews with white and black faculty members is not merely a problem-focused study of race in the college classroom. It is also a theoretically rich deployment of Goffmanian stigma theory, of Arlie Hochschild's ideas about emotional labor, and especially of Strykerian symbolic interactionism and identity theory. Thus Harlow's work not only builds on other innovative descriptive and typologizing efforts to understand processes of discrimination (e.g., Bobo and Suh 2000; Feagin 1991), but also provides the theoretical concepts and logic necessary for higher levels of generalization. The same theoretical reach can be seen in the work of Brezina and Winder, which effectively links survey-based research on the sources of racial stereotypes to theories of status construction (which were derived largely from laboratory experiments on task-oriented small groups). These authors take a further step: they specify some of the work still needed to more directly test the mechanisms of status generalization at work in moving from perceived economic disadvantage to a belief in stereotyped negative traits.

Similarly, Krysan and Couper offer innovative methodological and theoretical insight in work that they might have pursued merely as a narrow question: how to accurately measure racial attitudes with new computer technologies. By treating the survey interview as a social interaction, they show more than the advantages and disadvantages of different technologies for asking race-related questions. They also simulate and experimentally manipulate cross-racial interaction, and measure a large battery of racial attitudes. With these data they not only show when and why the interviewer's race matters in personal versus computer-based interviews; in addi-

⁶ For an excellent history of scholarship in this vein, see Daryl Scott's important assessment of social scientific and policy approaches to the African American experience (Scott 1997). In particular, Scott shows how the assumption of psychological damage has undermined antiracist thinking and truly equalitarian social policy.

tion, they actually help to specify contemporary tension points in black-white relations (e.g., beliefs about the prevalence of racial discrimination). This finding appears to represent a major change from earlier eras in the study of black-white relations, when the very goals of integration and nondiscrimination would have been the most sensitive topics dividing whites and blacks, not whether significant racial discrimination still existed.

Third, in some of the work in this special issue, the authors conduct multiple ethnora- cial group comparisons or help to clarify how race meshes with critical intersectional issues of class and of gender. The work of Oyserman and colleagues and of Sears and colleagues moves well beyond the black-white divide. Oyserman and colleagues offer analyses based on experiments with black, Latino, American Indian, and Palestinian Israeli youths; the research is even cross-national. Sears and colleagues address a provocative question: whether recent Asian and Latino immigrants are likely to follow the "straight-line assimilation" model or a more racialized minority model of integration into American society. Their work shows both the salience and the political character of ethnic identities in a large longitudinal study of youths at a highly selective public university. Yet it also reveals that these identities are not transformed by the college experience into highly politicized attachment to panethnic or quasi-racial groups. Instead, although ethnic identity does not break down over the college years for Asian or Latino youths, it remains centered strongly on national ancestry groups rather than on homogenizing panethnic categories. Though their data are more limited, Sears and colleagues also contrast the Asian and Latino cases to that of the African American experience, in which a continuing encounter with discrimination and negative stereotyping by the dominant group and culture encourages the persistence of what they call "black exceptionalism."

In regard to the intersection of race with other major bases of social division, Hughes and Tuch apply the group position theory of racial prejudice (Blumer 1958; Bobo 1999) to the question of gender differences in whites' racial attitudes toward blacks. On the basis of an extensive examination of national data,

they find only a few occasions on which gender affects racial attitudes; even these specific cases usually are quite limited in magnitude. Their work obviously does not preclude the possibility of more substantial gendering of the expression of racial attitudes, given other types of outcome measures or other contexts of group relations. For example, we possess both qualitative evidence (Kennelly 1999; Wilson 1996) and more quantitative confirmation (Bobo and Johnson 2000) that whites stereotype black men and black women in different ways: black men often are seen as less reliable, more aggressive, more threatening, and more involved with crime and drugs. On the intersection of race and class, Brezina and Winder show how ideas about group socioeconomic attainment influence the development of racial stereotypes.

Our understanding of the dynamics of race, racism, and discrimination is enriched by studies that aim to bridge otherwise insular intellectual communities defined by narrowly focused problems, single methodologies, or particular theories of the middle range. The research reported in this issue, by engaging in multigroup and cross-national comparisons, using mixed or multiple-method research designs, and taking seriously a target-group/minority-group perspective, points us toward important new advances. We are most likely to make large strides toward formulating well-specified general theory in race, racism, and discrimination when research strategies aimed at building these types of bridges continue and flourish.

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