

## **(Dis)respecting versus (Dis)liking: Status and Interdependence Predict Ambivalent Stereotypes of Competence and Warmth**

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*As Allport (1954) implied, the content of stereotypes may be systematic, and specifically, ambivalent. We hypothesize two clusters of outgroups, one perceived as incompetent but warm (resulting in paternalistic prejudice) and one perceived as competent but not warm (resulting in envious prejudice). Perceived group status predicts perceived competence, and perceived competition predicts perceived (lack of) warmth. Two preliminary surveys support these hypotheses for 17 outgroups. In-depth analyses of prejudice toward particular outgroups support ambivalent prejudice: Paternalistic prejudice toward traditional women, as well as envious prejudice toward career women, results in ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Envious prejudice toward Asians results in perceived competence but perceived lack of social skills. Ambivalent content reflects systematic principles.*

In “Stereotypes in Our Culture,” chapter 12 of *The Nature of Prejudice*, Gordon Allport (1954) opens with an odd comparison:

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Why do so many people admire Abraham Lincoln? They may tell you it is because he was thrifty, hardworking, eager for knowledge, ambitious, devoted to the rights of the average man, and eminently successful in climbing the ladder of opportunity.

Why do so many people dislike the Jews? They may tell you it is because they are thrifty, hardworking, eager for knowledge, ambitious, devoted to the rights of the average man, and eminently successful in climbing the ladder of opportunity. (p. 184)

Later in the same chapter, Allport describes another odd pairing in a silent reading test for children:

Aladdin was the son of a poor tailor. He lived in Peking, the capital city of China. He was always idle and lazy and liked to play better than to work. What kind of a boy was he: Indian; Negro; Chinese; French; or Dutch?

The majority of the children in a class replied *Negro*. (p. 186)

Here is idle, lazy, playful Aladdin stereotyped as a “Negro,” but Lincolnesque hard work and ambition stereotyped Jews also. Allport made several significant points in his chapter on the content of stereotypes, but his contrast between stereotypes of Jews and Negroes, “the predominant forms” of prejudice (p. 194), is of primary interest here.

The distinctive images, Aladdin the Negro and Lincoln the Jew, reflect two portraits of stereotypes painted by Allport, based on contrasts drawn earlier by Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz (1950). The stereotype of African Americans at the time portrayed them as the psychoanalytic id (acting out unacceptable body impulses to be lazy, sexual, aggressive, dirty, playful), whereas the stereotype of Jewish Americans at the time portrayed them as the complementary superego (acting out more mental sins of pride and ambition). One might be attracted to various enactments of the id but never respect them, whereas one might respect enactments of the superego but never like them. Two differing outgroup stereotypes both occasion prejudice. While part of Allport’s point was that even seemingly positive stereotype contents can be twisted to support prejudice, he also made the point that 1950s stereotypes of Jews and Negroes formed a direct contrast, with the Jews in effect being viewed as competent but cold, and the Negroes being viewed as incompetent, but pleasure-loving, sensual, and in some sense, warm.

Two differing kinds of stereotyped groups drive our recent research. In this article, we briefly note some precedents for viewing outgroups as coming in two main flavors (a more extensive literature review appears in Fiske, Glick, Cuddy, & Xu, 1999). Then we present some preliminary data gathered to test our hypotheses about two major kinds of outgroups. In particular, we focus on two complementary images that recur across a variety of outgroups, namely, competent but cold, and incompetent but warm, and suggest that these two dimensions underlie many stereotypes. As a result, many stereotypes are more ambivalent than typically considered. Moreover, social structural variables predict which groups will be viewed as competent and which as warm (Glick & Fiske, 1999, in press; additional studies are presented in Fiske et al., 1999). Finally, we present brief case studies of particular ambivalent stereotypes directed toward women and Asians. What are

normally positive trait ascriptions can support (or even inflame) antipathy (e.g., toward clever Asians). Although our hypotheses may appear to fly in the face of halo effects, consistency pressures, and sheer hate-filled bigotry, the analysis seems to apply to most outgroups current in the United States, as well as to the Negroes and Jews described by Allport and his Freudian colleagues Bettelheim and Janowitz.

### *Stereotype Contents*

The contrast we draw relies less on Freud and more on Asch: The twin dimensions of competence and warmth correspond to Solomon Asch's (1946) earliest research on person perception, which contrasted a competent person who was warm with a competent person who was cold. The impact of this classic manipulation depended on the contrast between warmth and competence; most traits on the list presented to participants reflected competence (intelligent, skillful, industrious, determined, practical, cautious), but only one trait reflected a more sociable dimension (the crucial warm vs. cold manipulation). Asch's point, like Allport's, was that the same terms can change meaning in different contexts; for Asch, the meaning of intelligence differed in a warm (wise) individual and in a cold (sly) individual. For Allport's bigots, the meaning of determined ambition differed in Lincoln (an ingroup icon) and in Jews (the stereotyped outgroup). We do not disagree with the meaning change phenomenon, but focus here instead on the two dimensions tapped by both Asch and Allport.

As Zanna and Hamilton (1977) observed, Asch's single trait representing the dimension of warmth carried more significant meaning because it was the only information on that crucial dimension. Two decades later, multidimensional scaling confirmed Asch's intuitive genius: The dimensions underlying traits most often used to describe other people—according to Rosenberg, Nelson, and Vivekanathan (1968)—array along the lines of competence (intellectual and task traits) and warmth (sociable and agreeable traits).

That these dimensions of person perception can be exported to the perception of groups was anticipated by Bettelheim, Janowitz, and Allport, as well as various dimensions applied to specific gender and racial stereotypes (see Fiske, 1998, pp. 377–381). Here, we combine these separate previous analyses. We will argue that stereotype content responds to principles, just as process does. Stereotyping research has focused primarily on the cognitive, motivational, and social processes that propel people's biases; the principles of stereotyping processes are understood better and better (for reviews, see Brewer & Brown, 1998; Fiske, 1998; Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Schadron, 1994; Macrae & Bodenhausen, in press). But not just process obeys systematic patterns or even laws. Content can prove systematic too. If stereotype content can be predicted, then its origins lie in social-historical circumstance, not biological essence.

*Social Structural Correlates of Content*

We argue that stereotypic content results from the structural relationships between groups. Earlier theories proposed that roles generate stereotypes. Donald Campbell (Campbell, 1967; LeVine & Campbell, 1972) suggested that racial stereotypes result from work roles: physical laborers (stereotyped as strong, stupid, pleasure-loving, improvident) resemble animals, and their evils are sins of the flesh; entrepreneurs (stereotyped as grasping, deceitful, clever, sophisticated, domineering) inhabit the sphere of commerce, with more materialistic evils. In parallel, subsequently, Alice Eagly (1987) suggested that gender stereotypes result from the roles of communal homebody and agentic breadwinner. As these roles shift, according to Eagly, gender stereotypes will too. The role analyses focus on characterizing behaviors that result from roles, hence their social kernel of truth.

The current effort focuses on the social structural level of analysis, not on individual role relationships. Rather than focusing on specific historical roles, we emphasize the structural relations between groups. In a series of articles (Glick & Fiske, 1999, in press), we have developed the argument that stereotypes emerge out of groups' relative status and out of their structural interdependence (i.e., whether the outgroup is viewed as being in a competitive or cooperative relation with one's own). First, status predicts perceived competence, and interdependence predicts perceived warmth. That is, one envies and respects high-status groups (e.g., rich people, Asians, Jews, businesswomen) for their competence, but one does not like them. And one disrespects low-status groups (e.g., housewives, people with disabilities, Latinos) for their incompetence, but one may like and patronize them, as they often fulfill roles that the dominant group wishes them to fulfill, creating a cooperative, though exploitative, relationship between the groups (cf. Jackman, 1994). Second, outgroups will cluster into two types: incompetent but warm, or competent but cold.

Third, the twin dimensions of liking and respect operate reciprocally; like a seesaw, groups tend to be high on one end or high on the other, but not usually both at once (for more detail, see Glick & Fiske, in press). The implication is ambivalence toward outgroups: Stereotypes tend to be positive on one dimension, competence or warmth, but not both. The only group typically viewed as both competent and warm is one's own; this follows from ingroup favoritism. Less obvious is the implication that few groups are both disliked and disrespected. Some human oddity prevails upon us to accord some social credit even to disrespected groups, whether it is the alleged religiosity of African Americans, family orientation of Latinos, sensitivity of women, or fortitude of the disabled.

Several threads of research defend this perspective on ambivalent stereotypes resulting from structural relations between groups. Our preliminary studies of real groups examine the twin dimensions of competence and warmth, and show them to be negatively correlated for most groups; the data also yield the hypothesized two

primary types of outgroup. One type reflects envious prejudice (competent but cold), and the other paternalistic prejudice (incompetent but warm). Moreover, our in-depth work examines particular forms of ambivalent prejudice, primarily sexism, but also anti-Asian racism. Ambivalent sexism exemplifies paternalistic prejudice toward warm but incompetent (traditional) women, and anti-Asian sentiments exemplify envious prejudice toward a competent but not warm outgroup.

### Real Groups Survey 1: Trait Clusters

We surveyed students about society’s perceptions of social groups’ traits and structural relationships of status and interdependence. We hypothesized that the groups would fall into two primary clusters, both ambivalent, but in reciprocal directions, reflected by high perceived competence and low warmth or vice versa, but not both.

#### Data Collection

The first step was to ascertain perceptions of a variety of real social groups, to see whether they fall into the hypothesized two primary clusters. We constructed a survey naming 17 groups, designated by ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability, geography, and socioeconomic status (see Table 1). Participants rated these groups on 27 trait adjectives, reflecting positive and negative aspects of warmth and competence (see Table 1); these were derived from Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount’s study (1996) of communality (warmth) and agency (competence) in gender stereotypes.

Forty-two University of Massachusetts undergraduates, two-thirds female and mostly White, were recruited from a psychology methods class taken mostly by sophomores and juniors; most volunteers completed the questionnaires at home in about 30 min. Each participant read:

**Table 1.** Groups and Traits for Survey 1

Groups			
Disabled people	Blind people	Northerners	Businesswomen
Housewives	Latinos	Migrant workers	Gay men
Feminists	Retarded people	Welfare recipients	Jews
Rich people	Blacks	House cleaners	Southerners
Asians			
Traits			
Competent	Warm	Arrogant	Determined
Likable	Gullible	Industrious	Tolerant
Helpful	Confident	Gentle	Complaining
Spineless	Dictatorial	Intelligent	Irritable
Sincere	Competitive	Good-natured	Egotistical
Cold	Independent	Kind	Passive
Hostile	Whiny	Greedy	

We are researchers from the University of Massachusetts and we're interested in how different groups are considered in American society. We are *not* interested in your personal beliefs but in how you think they are viewed by others.

This instruction was designed to elicit cultural beliefs and to minimize social desirability concerns. Participants completed the two-page,  $17 \times 27$  grid, making each rating of "how you think these groups are viewed by society," on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). The first two questions asked, "How competent is this group, as viewed by society?" and "How likable is this group, as viewed by society?"; the 25 other traits followed in the order indicated in the table.

### Results

The most crucial test of our hypothesis treated each of the 17 groups as having 27 scores, one for each trait, averaged across all the participants. Reducing the data required comparable trait scales for each group. Seventeen separate factor analyses (one for each group) examined the 27 trait ratings for each group. Out of the first four factors, oblique rotation, we identified the one(s) on which competence and likability, respectively, loaded the highest (always above .4). *Competent* loaded on at least one factor for all 17 groups, and four other traits loaded consistently on the same competence factor for 11–13 of the groups: *intelligent*, *confident*, *competitive*, and *independent*. *Likable* likewise loaded on at least one factor for all 17 of the groups, and four other traits loaded consistently on the same warmth factor for 11–14 of the groups: *sincere*, *good-natured*, *warm*, and *tolerant*. Since these studies were conducted, several subsequent surveys (Fiske et al., 1999) have shown that warmth is a more stable trait and overall designation for this dimension, so we will refer to it as the warmth dimension here, reflecting one of the other primary traits loading on this dimension. (*Helpful* overlapped the warmth and competence factors, so it was excluded as not discriminating between the two.) The reliability of the two scales was calculated using the 17 groups as the units of analysis (i.e., as if they were "respondents" each with 10 scores); alphas were high, .90 for the five warmth items and .97 for the five competence items.

Noting that these scales involved only positive traits, we further examined the 27 original traits. Analyses indicated that the positive traits were homogeneous in their variance across groups; that is, no groups had significantly higher variance than others on the positive traits. However, the negative traits had significantly higher variance for some groups than others; that is, unlike the positive traits, the negative traits simply did not show a consistent degree of consensus across groups. Thus, using only the positive traits made sense, because homogeneity of variance across groups indicated similar degrees of consensus by participants as to society's view of the groups on the positive traits. In addition, the positive traits did not violate statistical assumptions mandating homogeneous variances. In retrospect, it is clear why some of the negative traits (e.g., spineless, dictatorial)

elicited less agreement than the positive traits (e.g., industrious, warm); they are both less frequent and more extreme. For these reasons, then, our subsequent analyses focused on the positive ends of the competence and warmth dimensions. Of course, negativity can (and does) come out in low ratings on positive traits, which people are more likely to do in social perception than to ascribe negative traits directly.

With reliable scales of perceived warmth and competence, we could test our hypotheses that the groups would fall into two clusters, one competent but cold, and the other incompetent but warm. The first test compared each group's competence and warmth scores by matched-pair *t*-tests, to see which groups were more warm than competent and which more competent than warm. As predicted, six groups were perceived to be significantly more competent than warm (from highest to lowest difference): rich people, feminists, businesswomen, Asians, Jews, and Northerners. Seven groups were perceived to be more warm than competent (from highest to lowest): retarded people, housewives, disabled people, blind people, house cleaners, migrant workers, and welfare recipients. Of the remaining four groups, those with nonsignificant differences, Latinos appeared in the predicted cluster, more warm than competent. Only Blacks, gay men, and Southerners appeared in an unpredicted cluster, more competent than warm, but the difference was small and inconsistent in other analyses; we will return to this point.

A second test approached the cluster hypothesis more directly. A cluster analysis used the relative locations of the groups in the two-dimensional space of competence by warmth; it attempted to find the smallest number of clusters that would group the groups closest to each other in this space. Subtracting the medians (3.18 and 3.16, respectively) from each group's competence and warmth score, we conducted a cluster analysis, which yielded two clusters. As Figure 1 indicates, one cluster centered on relative warmth (.10) and relative incompetence (-.77), including (from most central, outward): house cleaners, migrant workers, blind people, disabled people, Latinos, housewives, retarded people, and welfare recipients. Again, as Figure 1 indicates, the other group centered on relative coldness (-.10) and relative competence (.57), including (from most central): businesswomen, Jews, Asians, Northerners, gay men, Southerners, feminists, Blacks, and rich people. Fourteen out of seventeen groups fell into the predicted cluster, with welfare recipients being an outlier. However, parallel to one prior puzzling *t*-test result, note that Blacks fell between the two main clusters; hence the solution for their location is unstable. Examining agglomeration statistics, a two-cluster solution is the smallest number that best reflects the data; a three-cluster solution would place the three middle groups (gay men, Blacks, Southerners) separately, but would not provide as big an increment in variance explained. In the two-cluster solution, note that warmth differentiates between the clusters far less than perceived competence does. The discussion returns to these points.

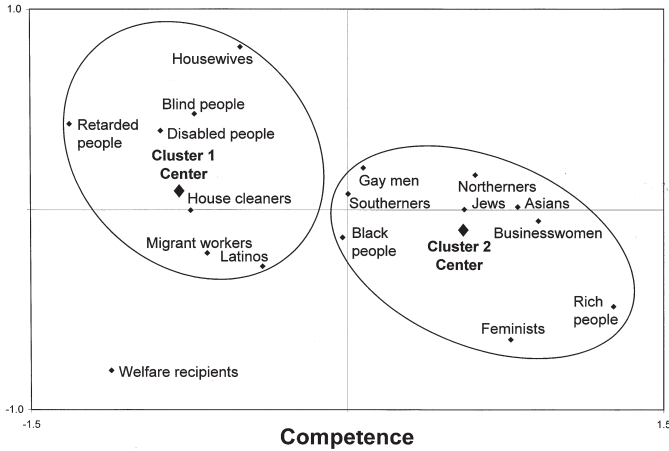


Fig. 1. Cluster analysis of 17 outgroups, arrayed on competence and warmth dimensions from Survey 1.

A third approach to testing our two-clusters hypothesis examined the simple correlation between the warmth and competence scales, across the 17 groups. The two scales were negatively (though nonsignificantly) correlated,  $r = -.30$ , which, although not significant with an  $n$  of 17, was nontrivial in size. As indicated in Figure 1, the welfare recipients constituted the main group off the diagonal, that is, they were the only group substantially both disliked and disrespected. Removing the anomalous group of welfare recipients, the correlation goes to  $-.57$ ,  $p = .02$ , large in size and surprisingly significant with an  $n$  of only 16.

### Summary

Preliminary evidence thus indicates that the 17 groups tend to fall along a diagonal from relative competence and coldness to relative incompetence and warmth, clustering roughly around high on one dimension but low on the other. The clearest evidence for this comes from the matched-pair  $t$ -tests, showing 13 of 17 groups to differ significantly and three others to tend in the predicted direction. Overall, then, any given group is likely to be perceived as more warm than it is competent, or vice versa. The cluster analysis suggest that our two-cluster hypothesis fits the data, again with most groups (16 out of 17) fitting our hypotheses. This pattern also leads to a substantially negative correlation between warmth and competence.

The data are least clear for Blacks, gay men, and Southernners, who fall in the middle on both dimensions. Logically, they could be truly neutral as groups. More likely, the overall rating of each of these groups reflects the average of two extremes. For example, overall ratings of women might combine the warm but

incompetent subgroup (housewife) with the cold but competent subgroups (feminists, businesswomen), canceling out the differences. If the case for the three middling groups runs parallel, this suggests separately testing perceptions of subgroups: middle-class Blacks, militant gay men, and Southern politicians might be seen as competent but not warm, whereas poor Blacks, feminine gay men, and rural Southerners might be tolerated but disrespected. If participants spontaneously use these subgroups, they might more neatly reflect our hypothesized clusters. When averaged together, these putative subgroups tend to muddy the obtained effects. Disentangling this point is a task for future research; subsequent data tend to support the subgrouping explanation of the ambiguous results for Blacks as generic whole group (see Fiske et al., 1999).

### **Real Groups Survey 2: Social Structural Correlates of Relative Warmth and Competence**

Having found preliminary evidence for the first hypothesis, that many outgroups cluster into warm but incompetent or cold but competent overall groupings, a second study turned to social structural correlates of the two clusters on perceived warmth and competence. That is, we hypothesized that societal status would predict perceived competence, whereas the degree of cooperation or competition—the nature of interdependence—would predict perceived warmth (with perceived cooperation leading to perceived warmth and perceived competition leading to perceived lack of warmth).

Forty-three University of Massachusetts at Amherst undergraduates, two-thirds female and mostly White, participated under the same circumstances as in Study 1. The questionnaire contained the same lead-in, scale, format, and 17 groups; only the items differed. The first two items measured perceived competence and likability, as before. The remaining 15 items were designed to measure status and positive or negative interdependence (see Table 2).

First, we compared the Study 1 and 2 samples, to be sure they rated each of the groups similarly on each of the only two overlapping items, competence and likability. That is, we wanted to verify the reliability of those two crucial ratings in the two separate samples. The correlation between the ratings of groups in Study 1 and Study 2 was .99 for competence and .95 for likability, both significant. Independent-sample *t*-tests comparing ratings between samples showed no significant differences on competence for any group, and none on likability for 13 of 17 groups; the four obtained differences were small and uninterpretable.

Next, 17 factor analyses revealed comparable dimensions on the measures for each group: as predicted, oblique rotations revealed three factors consistently across the groups. “Achieving prestigious jobs” loaded on at least one factor for all 17 groups, and three items consistently loaded with it across 13–17 of the groups: economically successful, independent, and well-educated; however, because

**Table 2.** Social Structural Correlates Items on Survey 2

Items
How competent is this group?
How likable is this group?
How high-status is this group? <sup>a</sup>
People like me are in cooperative relationships with members of this group to achieve common goals. <sup>b</sup>
Has this group influenced popular culture? <sup>b</sup>
If members of this group get special breaks (such as preference in hiring decision), this is likely to make things more difficult for me. <sup>c</sup>
How successful have members of this group been at gaining positions of power? <sup>a</sup>
Cooperative relations with members of this group are necessary to fulfill goals that are important to me. <sup>b</sup>
How independent is this group? <sup>a</sup>
How economically successful have members of this group been? <sup>a</sup>
People like me rely on members of this group to help us achieve important goals. <sup>b</sup>
How prestigious are the jobs typically achieved by members of this group? <sup>a</sup>
The more power members of this group have, the less power people like me are likely to have. <sup>c</sup>
It would be difficult for people like me to achieve all of our goals in life without help from members of this group. <sup>b</sup>
Members of this group are in competition with people like me for jobs. <sup>c</sup>
How well-educated are members of this group? <sup>a</sup>
Resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from resources of people like me. <sup>c</sup>

Note. See text for final scale items, based on factor analyses.

<sup>a</sup> Status items. <sup>b</sup> Positive interdependence items. <sup>c</sup> Negative interdependence items.

“independent” was one of the traits on the competence scale, we eliminated it from this scale, making a three-item scale of *status*. Next, “this group’s special breaks making difficulty for people like me” loaded on at least one factor for all 17 groups. For a three-item scale of *competition* (negative interdependence), two items loaded with it, on all 17 of the groups: “resources that go to this group take away from people like me” and “the more power they have, the less people like me have.” Finally, “cooperative relations being necessary to fulfill goals” loaded on at least one factor for all 17 groups; three items consistently loaded with it, across 16–17 of the groups: “difficult to achieve our goals without their help,” “relying on them for important goals,” and “being in a cooperative relationship to achieve common goals.” Although we had hypothesized a symmetrical, cooperative form of positive interdependence, the just-noted items that loaded together carried more a note of *asymmetrical dependence*, not pure mutuality. This may be the fault of the items, or it may reflect participant perceptions. In any case, the factor analyses resulted in three social structural scales, which had high alpha reliabilities, respectively: a four-item scale of status, .98; a three-item scale of threat or competition, .95; and a four-item scale of asymmetrical dependence, .97.

With scales for the social structural correlates available, analysis finally could address social structural relationships to the traits of competence and likability (recall that these were single items in this study). As hypothesized, the status scale correlated with competence,  $r(15) = .95, p < .001$ . This analysis operated at the level of the groups, each carrying an average status and an average competence rating; as such it capitalized on the stability obtained by averaging across participants. Also as hypothesized, the competition scale negatively correlated with the likability item,  $r(15) = -.59, p < .01$  (also a group-level analysis). For the third scale, our original prediction had been that positive interdependence, cooperation, would predict likability, but the obtained scale reflected asymmetrical dependence of the perceiver's group on the outgroup, so the original prediction may not apply. In keeping with the obtained scale's note of necessary and difficult reliance, the correlation between asymmetrical dependence and likability was slightly negative,  $r = -.17$ , although nonsignificant. Perceived negative interdependence predicted likability, though perceived asymmetrical dependence did not.

To summarize, these initial data are consistent with the idea that social status predicts perceived competence, and intergroup competition predicts perceived lack of warmth. Of course, being correlational data, they are also consistent with the possibility that perceived competence predicts perceived status, or that actual group competence predicts social status, and similarly for lack of warmth and competition. The preliminary and correlational data are thus subject to alternative explanations. Nonetheless, they are at least consistent with the liking-respecting dichotomy, and have been supported in our subsequent studies, including experimental ones that argue for the causal direction hypothesized here (Fiske et al., 1999).

### **In-Depth Examination of One Group: Ambivalence Toward Women**

Not only are perceived competence and warmth negatively correlated *across* groups, as a result perhaps of perceived status and competition, but the same ambivalence should surface *within* detailed analyses of individual groups. That is, if groups in general are stereotyped ambivalently (competent but not warm, or warm but incompetent), then an in-depth analysis of any one of these groups should reveal these ambivalent dimensions in more detail. Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the theory of ambivalent sexism, which accounts for the contrasting perceptions of the warm but incompetent woman, who fits traditional subgroups (housewife, sexy chick), and the competent but not warm woman, who fits nontraditional subgroups (career woman, feminist/athlete/lesbian). The cross-cultural generalizability of these subgroups is impressive (e.g., Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Chia, Moore, Lam, Chuang, & Cheng, 1994; Kirchler, 1992). Glick and Fiske hypothesized that sexism comprises ambivalence, not just antipathy and hostility. Early indications came from Eagly and Mladinic's (1989) contention that attitudes

toward women in general are positive. Closer examination indicates that the generic (traditional) woman is liked, certainly, but not respected, which led us to hypothesize that sexism was more complicated than sheer antipathy.

Examining the structural relations between men and women, we suggested three dimensions of sexism, each including both a hostile side and benevolent side. The power dimension encompasses both a hostile side, dominative paternalism, and a "benevolent" side, protective paternalism. Under sexist ideology, women receive special privileges, as long as they stay in line. The gender identity dimension encompasses both hostile, competitive relations (women should not compete with men's roles) and benevolent, complementary relations (women and men have their separate and mutually supportive spheres). Under sexist ideology, men and women have prescribed roles, not gender-blind roles. Finally, heterosexuality implicates both genuine intimacy seeking and intense hostility toward women as sexual gatekeepers. Both assume that heterosexuality is the only option and that men and women are simply incomplete without each other.

We constructed and validated the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), finding evidence for two main factors, hostile and benevolent sexism, with the latter broken down into the three predicted subscales of paternalism, gender complementarity, and intimacy seeking. (Hostility, where it surfaces, appears more unidimensional.) The hostile and benevolent dimensions are uncorrelated in adult men, indicating true ambivalence in the sexist end of the group at whom the scale was targeted. For women and college men, the two subscales are moderately correlated, indicating that the sexists among them have a less nuanced ideology, a point understandable since the scale was based on sexist adult men's mixed motivations toward women.

Hostile sexism predicts negative attitudes and stereotypes toward nontraditional women, whereas benevolent sexism predicts positive attitudes and stereotypes toward traditional women (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997). Moreover, data collected from translations in close to a dozen countries indicate robust generalizability of the scale, its two separate dimensions, which differentially predict positive and negative trait ascriptions to women, as well as country averages that correlate with United Nations' indices of gender inequality (Glick et al., 1999).

The scale was built on the same social structural considerations as our general theory of ambivalent stereotypes. Here we draw on a distinction made by Guttentag and Secord (1983). Men's overall structural power gives them, as a group, high status, which presupposes men's competence as a group. These sexist ascriptions are tapped by the ASI power dimension and gender identity dimension. Women's dyadic power (in relationships) gives them, as a group, positive interdependence with men, which presupposes women's social skills. These sexist ascriptions are tapped by the ASI heterosexuality dimension and gender identity dimension.

These considerations are reflected in the Study 1 and 2 surveys, in which traditional women (housewives) fall into the low-status, warm but incompetent cluster, closest to people with disabilities. And nontraditional women (businesswomen and feminists), who challenge men's structural power and stereotypically forfeit women's dyadic power, fall into the high-status, competent but not warm cluster (MacDonald & Zanna, 1998).

### **In-Depth Examination of One Group: Ambivalence Toward Asian Americans**

Examining ambivalent sexism reveals subtypes that exemplify the poles of disrespected but liked, and disliked but respected. Most prejudice research (sexism, racism) has focused on the disrespected outgroups (who we now claim are still valued on another dimension). Less research has focused recently on respected (but disliked) outgroups, although much early prejudice research had started with anti-Semitism. The modern equivalent on the American scene is prejudice against Asian Americans, the "model minority." According to our analysis and our survey data, Asians are viewed as competent, due to perceived educational and economic status. This model minority stereotype ignores of course the variability in Asian immigration histories and the disenfranchised Asian groups in the United States. Moreover, the model minority designation tends to gloss over the envy, threat, and resentment inherent in the perceived competence, which is not the object of grateful admiration.

Ambivalence emerges in another respect, the warmth dimension. Asians are perceived to lack social skills, not to be fun, and not to interact much with others. The low warmth, according to our logic, stems from a perceived competitive relationship between prejudiced Whites and Asians.

Recently, Lin and Fiske (1998) have developed an Anti-Asian American Prejudice Scale (AAAPS). The scale encompasses 25 items along two correlated dimensions of (excessive) competence and (lack of) sociability. With adequate reliability, the AAAPS correlates with social distance measures, including number of Asian acquaintances and close friends on campus, as well as potential roommates. It also correlates with number of Asian writers read during leisure time and with interest in Asian American Studies. Finally, scores on the AAAPS correlate with overestimating the percentage of Asian Americans on campus; both low- and high-prejudice subjects (16% and 24%, respectively) overestimated the actual percentage (7%).

For present purposes, the scale suggests that an in-depth analysis of Asian stereotypes places Asians squarely in the respected but disliked cluster, allowing a more nuanced assessment of anti-Asian prejudice than otherwise possible.

## Conclusion

Preliminary evidence indicates two primary clusters of outgroups, on two negatively correlated dimensions. Both the surveys of groups and the in-depth analyses of sexism and anti-Asian prejudice bear out this hypothesized structure. In addition, pilot work on another group, people who are blind, suggests a similar type of ambivalence, in which they are viewed as incompetent, incapable, and low status, but at the same time as friendly, deep, and philosophical (McGroarty & Fiske, 1996).

Several limitations inhere in this preliminary work that form the base for our research trajectory. First, one might argue that the groups were arbitrarily selected to maximize fit with our model. Surveys of student perceptions of salient outgroups, however, indicate that our first list captures most of them. Subsequent work will examine some of those omitted in this first pass (e.g., blue-collar workers). As a variation, one might argue that by including female subgroups, we built in a selected group. The subgroups, though, preceded this analysis, and they are robust across cultures. And the two-cluster structure holds without them. Stereotypes of some groups clearly operate at a subgroup level, and women, as omnipresent, not segregated, constitute a plausible candidate for this subgroup level of analysis.

A more subtle question arises with regard to the fit of Black Americans as an outgroup in this analysis. Stereotypes of Blacks have changed from the days when Hacker (1951) compared them to stereotypes of women: childlike and incompetent, but harmless (see also Katz & Braly, 1933). Three stereotypic subgroups of Black Americans may have emerged since that time: the militant Black political actors (demanding more respect and proving less warm, through intergroup threat) and the significant Black middle class (perhaps also respected but threatening as perceived competition), in addition to the stereotype of the hostile, criminal Black male (perhaps respected on a different dimension, but clearly disliked); these subgroups all demand more investigation, a task to which our ongoing research is now turning.

Notably, the ambivalent racism analysis of Katz and Hass (1988) can be reinterpreted in our terms. They argue that racist Whites perceive Blacks as violating the work ethic by being lazy and stupid; we suggest that this anti-Black sentiment reflects perceived social status, leading to perceived incompetence. Racist Whites simultaneously perceive Blacks as disadvantaged, deserving sympathy and aid, reflecting egalitarian values, under which view Blacks are credited with harmless virtues, such as athletic ability, musical talent, style, and spirituality. We suggest that these sentiments are not truly “pro”-Black, but paternalistic, “benevolent racism,” analogous to benevolent sexism. The perceived dependence of the outgroup grants them some social value, adding up to ambivalence. (This ambivalence differs from that of aversive racism [Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998] and symbolic racism [McConahay, 1983; Sears, 1998; Sears & Kinder, 1971], in which racists are ambivalent about their own racism, not about the outgroup itself.)

Another limitation may arise from our use of positive trait words to describe the stereotypes, omitting the negative ones initially nominated by other work. In our experience, participants are reluctant to report any cultural stereotypes (let alone personal ones), but they are slightly less unwilling and will report greater or lesser applicability of positive terms to outgroups. Moreover, the fit of these survey data to both our in-depth analyses of women and Asians is encouraging. Also supportive of our results are data on national stereotypes reported by Phalet and Poppe (1997) and by Alexander, Brewer, and Herrmann (1999). We would also suggest that Allport's analysis contrasting 1950s stereotypes of Negroes and Jews supports our fundamental distinction.

Finally, note that our preliminary samples, limited to students, and our preliminary methods, limited to surveys, suggest casting a broader net, again several projects in the making (Fiske et al., 1999). Nevertheless, this work so far fits the hypothesis of two primary clusters of outgroups, reflecting warm but incompetent or competent but cold. Potentially, these views themselves result from perceived status and competition between groups.

The larger theoretical point is that content may respond to principles, just as process does. Allport suggested as much, nearly 50 years ago. The larger practical point is that if stereotypes result from the social-historical position of groups, then their content is not intrinsic to those groups, but a function of transitory context, a mere stage in the development of (perhaps) a more just society, a goal Gordon Allport promoted in his life and work.

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