

Gender and Race Discrimination:
The Interactive Nature of Disadvantage

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While many parts of the world made great strides in reducing racial, ethnic and gender discrimination during the 1960's and 1970's, a casual glance across the globe quickly reveals that the scourges of ethnic and gender intolerance are far from having been eliminated. Despite intense and almost desperate efforts to eliminate ethnic intolerance and discrimination, ethnic intolerance appears to be every bit as bad at the close of the 20th century as it was at the beginning of this century. Why are ethnic, racial and gender discrimination so difficult to eliminate and what can we do to hasten their demise?

Traditional approaches to the study of prejudice and discrimination within social psychology and sociology have viewed sexism and racism largely within the same broad conceptual framework and essentially as different manifestations of the same underlying phenomenon. In contrast, we will argue that while these two forms of discrimination are clearly related, they are also qualitatively and dynamically distinct. Using social dominance theory as our conceptual frame of reference, we suggest that one cannot hope to eradicate ethnic or gender prejudice until we have a better understanding of exactly how these two social phenomena are both similar to and different from one another.

Social dominance theory (SDT) begins with the observation that human societies are structured as group-based social hierarchies, with dominant groups enjoying a disproportionate amount of positive social value (e.g., wealth, power, and status) while subordinate groups suffer from a disproportionate amount of negative social value (e.g., poverty, stigmatization, and imprisonment; see Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993, 1999). SD theorists argue that group-based social hierarchies can be classified into three distinct categories: a) an *age-system*, in which adults and middle-age people have disproportionate social power over children and younger adults,¹ b) a *patriarchal-system* in which males have disproportionate social and political power compared to females, and c) an *arbitrary-set* system. The arbitrary-set system is composed of socially constructed and salient group categories related to

dimensions such as race, ethnicity, caste, clan, social class, state, nation, religious sect, region, or any other socially relevant distinctions which the human imagination is capable of constructing. While there are a number of similarities in the structural and functional characteristics of the patriarchal and arbitrary-set systems of social stratification, each system is functionally unique and plays a different role in the overall construction and maintenance of group-based social hierarchy.

The Distinctions Between Patriarchal and Arbitrary-set Hierarchies

There are at least five important differences between patriarchal and arbitrary-set hierarchy. First, most obviously and perhaps most importantly, unlike different categories of the arbitrary-set system, males and females are completely co-dependent. For example, while it is possible for European Americans to continue in the complete absence of African Americans, and vice versa, it is obviously not possible for one sex to exist without the other, at least not yet. This complete co-dependence of males and females and their inherent unity of long-term interest sets limits on the depth and severity of intersexual conflict.

Secondly, and related to the first point, patriarchy and arbitrary-set hierarchy differ in the nature and depth of the emotional/sexual attachment between dominant and subordinate categories. The emotional/sexual contact between men and women is substantially more positive than the emotional/sexual attachment between dominant and subordinate arbitrary-sets. Many feminists characterize patriarchy as primarily a misogynist project driven by male hatred of and contempt for women (e. g., Dworkin, 1974; Mies, Bennholdt-thomsen, von Werlhof, 1988). However, empirical research shows that patriarchy is primarily associated with *paternalism* (i.e., the intersection of discriminatory intent and positive affect) rather than with misogyny (e.g., Jackman, 1994; see also Reese & Curtis, 1991). While arbitrary-set hierarchies often contain paternalistic elements (see van den Berghe, 1967), paternalism is consistently and substantially more characteristic of patriarchy than of arbitrary-set hierarchy.

The third major distinction between these two forms of social hierarchy follows from the second. Namely, compared to patriarchy, arbitrary-set hierarchy is associated with far greater levels of violence, brutality and oppression. While patriarchy contains elements of violence, even of a lethal nature, the brutality and terror associated with arbitrary-set hierarchy generally far exceeds that associated with patriarchy in both intensity and scope. For example, the 20th century has witnessed at least eight major episodes of genocidal, arbitrary-set violence. These include: 1) the massacre of the Kurds by Turkey in 1924, 2) Stalin=s slaughter of the Kulaks in 1929, 3) the European Holocaust of the 1930s - 1940s, which not only witnessed the execution of some 6 million Jews, but also between 200,000 - 500,000 Roma,² and approximately 16 million Slavs,³ 4) the Khmer Rouge terror in the late 1970s, 5) widespread massacre of the East Timorese in the late 1990s, 6) ethnic cleansing of Serbs from Croatia, Muslims from Bosnia and Albanians from Kosovo in the late 1990s, 7) the widespread killings of Kasaians in Zaire,⁴ and 8) the massacres of Tutsis and Hutus in Rwanda and Burundi in the late 1990s, just to name a few. This level of slaughter is rarely, if ever, used to maintain patriarchy.⁵

A fourth distinction between patriarchy and arbitrary-set hierarchy is found with respect to the transhistorical and transsituational invariance of these two social constructions. While there is at least some degree of flexibility and situational contingency in the manner in which categories of Amale@ and Afemale@ are defined and constructed across different cultures, this categorical fluidity pales in comparison to the high degree of arbitrariness, plasticity, flexibility, situational and contextual sensitivity used to construct and define salient group distinctions within the arbitrary-set system. Depending upon the specific historical and socio-political circumstances, salient arbitrary-group distinctions may be defined in a very wide variety of ways such as membership in Araces,@ (AWhite@ vs. ABlack@), street gangs (e.g., ABloods@ vs. ACrips,@), nationalities (e.g., American vs. Serbian), or social classes (e.g., Aworking-class@ vs. Aupper-class@).

Furthermore, even with respect to a given salient arbitrary-set dimension, the manner in which categorical membership is defined is highly dependent upon the specific cultural and situational context. The clearest example of this definitional arbitrariness can be found with respect to the construct *Race*. While most people in the modern world reify the concept of *Race*, treating it as if it were a natural category, the fact of the matter is that there is no consistent set of genetic markers setting off one human *Race* from another. Furthermore, the manner in which certain individuals would be classified into racial categories shows a very high degree of the situational and historical flexibility. A given person would be classified as *Black* in early 19th century America (i.e., having at least 1/8 African heritage), classified as *Mulatto* during the same period in the Brazil and *White* in late 20th century Denmark.

Finally, patriarchy and arbitrary-set hierarchy differ with respect to transcultural and transspecies generalisability. Patriarchy appears to be a cross-cultural and transhistorical constant. While the degree of patriarchy varies substantially across culture and across time, the *fact* of patriarchy appears to be universal across time and place. Despite the claims of some (e.g., Bachofen, 1861/1969; Gimbutas, 1989), there are no societies in recorded human history which can unambiguously be described as *matriarchal*. This is to say, there are no societies in which women, as a group, have had control over the political life of the community, the community's interaction with outgroups or control over the technology and practice of warfare, arguably the ultimate arbiter of political power. Although there are several known examples of matrilineal societies (i.e., descent traced through the family of the mother), matrilocal or uxorilocal societies (i.e., newly married couples residing with the wife's kin), and societies in which women have near economic parity with men (see Murdock, 1949), and even though some societies are occasionally ruled by very powerful individual queens, in the aggregate there are no known examples of matriarchal societies (e.g., Lenski, 1984; Collier & Yanagisako, 1987).

While patriarchy is the rule among all known human groups, arbitrary-set hierarchies are generally not found among small hunter-gatherer societies (Lenski, 1984). It has been argued that one major reason for the lack of arbitrary-set hierarchy among hunter-gatherer societies is because such societies do not produce stable economic surplus (Lenski, 1984). Similarly, because hunter-gatherer societies tend to be nomadic, not only are people within these societies not able to accumulate large amounts of food-stuffs, but they are also not able to produce, accumulate and transport large amounts of other forms of wealth. Since all adults are largely engaged in the procurement of life=s daily necessities, this leaves little room for the development of highly specialized social roles and social institutions such as professional armies, police, or other expropriative bureaucracies. Because hunter-gatherers are free from Acoercive specialists,@ in the aggregate all adult males are essentially the military equals of all other adult males. Therefore, the extent to which political authority among adult males exists, this authority tends to be based upon mutual agreement, persuasion, and consultation rather than coercion. However, in the aggregate, this military equality appears never to have existed between males and females. This military inequality is not only a function of physical dimorphism (i.e., the larger size and strength of males), the greater physical aggressivity among males, but also because males are more predisposed to establish and maintain systems of group-based social dominance (Eisler & Lowe, 1983; Maccoby & Jacklin, 19974; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto & Brief, 1995; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Levin, Liu & Pratto, 2000).

On the other hand, while arbitrary-set hierarchies tend to be relatively rare in hunter-gatherer societies, arbitrary-set hierarchies are completely universal within societies producing sustainable economic surplus (e.g., horticultural, agrarian, industrial and post-industrial societies; see Lenski, 1984). This economic surplus allows certain males the luxury of being able to specialize in the arts of coercion (e.g., war-lordism, policing) and religious and/or political sophistry. These role specialists are then used by

political elites to develop expropriative economic and social relationships with other members of the society, resulting in the establishment and maintenance of group-based, arbitrary-set hierarchies. The relationship between the production of sustainable economic surplus and the emergence of arbitrary-set hierarchy is so strong that it is virtually impossible to identify a single society producing sustainable economic surplus that at the same time does **not** have an arbitrary-set hierarchy.

Feminist and Evolutionary Perspectives on Patriarchy and Arbitrary-set Hierarchy

The reasoning outlined above can generate two opposing hypotheses concerning the combined effects of gender and ethnic discrimination. According to various feminist and sociocultural theories, the desire for power best accounts for institutionalized social domination (Jaggar, 1993; Lorber, 1998; Reid, 1988). For example, Jackman (1994, p. 101) argued that "The question of power is important here, not as a means to an end, but primarily as the central goal in itself." Men and members of dominant ethnic groups seek to control economic, educational, judicial, and political systems. In establishing such control, dominants gain power and access to desired material and interpersonal resources. Jackman's (1994) analysis of the characteristics of gender, class, and race inequality reflect these themes of power and social control. She argued that race inequality is created and maintained by Whites in order to have access to laborers. The history of immigration and labor practices in the U. S. offers ample illustration of how ethnic hierarchy provided Whites with inexpensive and controllable sources of labor (Takaki, 1993, 1994). Regarding gender inequality, Jackman (1994) argued that men sought power over women in order to have access to emotional and sexual rewards. A sociocultural interpretation can be found in the work of Eagly (1987). According to Eagly (1987) systems of gender hierarchy are maintained by the socialization of

women and men into distinct roles that assign more power to men than to women. Such roles are accompanied by culturally shared expectations regarding the appropriate traits and behaviors of higher status versus lower status group members. Forms of hierarchy are perpetuated by shared beliefs about the roles played by high and low status individuals. The feminist or sociocultural accounts of patriarchy and arbitrary set hierarchy define power as the ultimate resource that men and dominants seek to monopolize. From a feminist and sociocultural perspective ethnic minority women might be viewed as both controllable sources of labor and emotional/sexual benefits.

The Double Jeopardy Hypothesis

Consequently, feminist theorists have suggested that gender and subordinate ethnic group membership are two highly salient social identities among ethnic minority women. Furthermore, some have suggested that women from subordinated ethnic groups are acutely aware of their dual social identities, and will also suffer from a double dose of discrimination, one based on gender and the other on ethnicity. This thesis is known as the "double jeopardy" hypothesis (Beale, 1970; Bond & Perry, 1970; Epstein, 1973; Jackson, 1973; King, 1975; Lorber, 1998; Reid, 1984).

The notion of Adouble jeopardy@ was originally developed to describe the experiences of African American women. Not only were Black women thought to suffer from racism at the hands of whites, but sexism at the hands of both White and Black men (Beale, 1970; Bond & Perry, 1970; Reid, 1984). Over time, the concept of double jeopardy was expanded to describe the situations of Asian American women and Chicanas (Chow, 1987; Garcia, 1989; Gonzalez, 1988; Greene, 1994).

Protagonists of the double jeopardy hypothesis can be divided roughly into two camps. Some argue that the negative effects of one=s ethnic and gender status will be purely additive. This implies that whatever handicaps one suffers as a result of being an ethnic subordinate are simply added to the handicaps

suffered by virtue of being a woman. However, others have argued that negative effects of these multiple stigmas are interactive rather than additive. This implies that the negative consequences of double or multiple stigmas are not simply an additive function of these multiple burdens, but rather some multiplicative function (see e.g., Almquist, 1975; Greene, 1994; Lykes, 1983; Ransford, 1980; Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Smith & Stewart, 1983).⁶ For example, interactive double jeopardy would exist if the income difference between White and Black women was substantially larger than the income difference between White and Black men, such that Black women earned substantially less money than all other gender and ethnic combinations.

While some form of the double jeopardy hypothesis (either additive or interactive) is intuitively compelling, almost self-evidently true and consistent with many narrative accounts of the daily lives of many American women of color,⁷ there has been remarkably little empirical research actually confirming this effect. Rather, we will suggest an alternative hypothesis regarding the combination of gender and ethnic inequality that better describes the nature of disadvantage across a wide range of domains.

A second perspective for understanding the dynamics of gender and arbitrary set hierarchies has been offered by evolutionary theorists. This suggests that the common roots of patriarchy and arbitrary-set hierarchy lay much deeper than suggested by most feminist and sociological theorists. In general, contemporary approaches in evolutionary psychology suggest that whenever one is faced with behavioral similarities within a given set of organisms across a wide range of situational and historical contexts, one of the several questions one should ask is what function these behaviors may be serving for the organisms' continued existence. One set of transhistorical and transsituational behaviors that needs to be explained is the consistent tendency for men to establish systems of patriarchal control over women. Secondly, although the empirical evidence is more limited on this question, a consistent body of research suggests that

males are also more hostile towards arbitrary-set outgroups than females, even when these arbitrary-set outgroups are defined in the most arbitrary of manners (Ekehammar, 1985; Ekehammar & Sidanius, 1982; Furnham, 1985; Marjoribanks, 1981; Sidanius, Cling, & Pratto, 1991; Sidanius & Ekehammar, 1983; Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, & Brief, 1995). The tendency for males to display higher levels of arbitrary-set outgroup aggression is most unambiguously and cleanly observed in the most extreme forms of arbitrary-set outgroup aggression, namely warfare. Both anthropologists and war historians have noted that war-making appears to be an exclusively male enterprise (See Keegan, 1993; Rodseth, Wrangham, Harrigen, & Smuts, 1991; Wrangham, 1982). While this is not to imply that women are incapable of or have never functioned as warriors, the historical and anthropological evidence does show that women do not form military coalitions among themselves for the purpose of making war on either their own sex or on men (see Keegan, 1993).

How should we go about trying to understand these consistent male/female differences? Evolutionary psychology suggests that we should expect behavioral and psychological differences between males and females whenever reproductive success for each sex is optimized by different behavioral strategies (e.g., Buss, 1996; Malamuth, 1996). One possible avenue for understanding the way in which these male/female differences may be related to differential reproductive strategies for men and women is suggested by Parental investment theory (Trivers, 1972). Trivers argued that, because the act of reproduction is considerably more costly for females than for males of many species, males are able to produce considerably more offspring than females. This relatively low level of female fecundity is expected to induce females to be much more selective in their choice of a mate and also invest a great deal more energy in the raising of the young. Consequently, females are expected to prefer males with social and economic resources, and to prefer males who appear willing to invest these resources in them and their

offspring. Thus, everything else being equal, those males able to accumulate and control the types of resources that females find most desirable will also be those males who will be most reproductively successful. Reproductive advantage will not only belong to those males able to accumulate resources as a result of their own individual efforts (e.g., skill at hunting), but also to those males able to form *successful aggressive coalitions* with other males for the purposes of the expropriation of the labor and resources of other males (see Betzig, 1993). In addition, across evolutionary time, these males will not only have a reproductive advantage over other males as a result of their ability to form expropriative aggressive coalitions, but also as a result of their willingness and ability to limit the economic, political prerogatives and reproductive freedom of women. These two male predispositions are thought to contribute to the tendencies for human societies to develop both arbitrary-set hierarchies and patriarchy.

However, even though both arbitrary-set hierarchy and patriarchy are hypothesized to be the long-range results of relatively high sexual selectivity among females, and the resultant male desire for resource control and the accumulation of wealth, this thesis will also lead one to expect certain differences in the fundamental natures of patriarchy and arbitrary-set hierarchy. Specifically, we can regard patriarchy as one outgrowth of a limited form of *intersexual competition*. This form of social hierarchy can be seen as a male attempt to make women more dependent upon them by limiting the women's economic, political and sexual choices. However, for the most part, patriarchy should not be directed at actually harming, debilitating or destroying women. Since the ultimate fates of men and women are so intimately interwoven, any system which seriously debilitated women would also damage the reproduction success of men.

While patriarchy can clearly be regarded as a form of *intersexual competition*, arbitrary-set hierarchy should be primarily regarded as a form of *intrasexual competition*. It is the result of aggressive male coalitions for the establishment and maintenance of exploitative, and expropriative relations against other

male coalitions. Because the precise make-up of these aggressive male coalitions are likely to be extremely flexible and contingent upon the exact situational and contextual conditions, these male coalitions are likely to be abstracted into the simple cognitive heuristic of Ingroups vs. outgroups, or AUs versus Them. Furthermore, if arbitrary-set hierarchy is primarily a male-on-male project, that is to say the tendency for aggressive male coalitions to establish expropriative and hierarchical relations against the resistance of outgroup males, then various forms of arbitrary-set discrimination (e.g., racism, ethnocentrism) should be primarily directed against outgroup males rather than outgroup females.

Rather than being a Just-so thesis, the evolutionary logic sketched above lends itself to a number of empirically testable hypotheses. One such hypothesis is known as the Invariance hypothesis. The invariance hypothesis asserts that males will have higher average levels of social dominance orientation (SDO) than females, everything else being equal. SDO is defined as the degree to which one endorses group-based social inequality and group-based dominance. In what has now become the most well-documented finding generated by social dominance theory, a consistent line of research has shown that men display significantly higher average levels of SDO than women. Furthermore, this higher average SDO level among males does not seem to be moderated by situational or structural factors such as: education, age, social class, political ideology, gender-role norms, ethnicity, religiosity, or degree of patriarchy in the culture. Furthermore, this gender difference also appears to be invariant across a number of Western, quasi-Western and non-Western cultures such as The United States, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Palestine, (i.e., The West Bank and the Gaza Strip), and the People's Republic of China (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto & Brief, 1995; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000).⁷ However, rather than concentrate on the

invariance hypothesis, in this chapter we will instead focus on another hypothesis derivable from the evolutionary reasoning sketched above.

The Subordinate Male Target Hypothesis (SMTH)

The reasoning outlined above suggests an intersection of gender and arbitrary-set discrimination (e.g., race discrimination) that is quite different than that derivable by any version of the double-jeopardy hypothesis. In essence and in general, we suggest that women from both arbitrary-set ingroups and outgroups will be subject to gender discrimination and the dynamics of patriarchy. However, it is primarily outgroup males rather than outgroup females who will be the primary targets of arbitrary-set discrimination.

While arbitrary-set outgroup females will certainly suffer from the effects of arbitrary-set discrimination, largely as a result of their close associations with arbitrary-set outgroup males in the form of husbands, sons, father, brothers and lovers, we should expect that arbitrary-set outgroup females will not be the *primary targets* of arbitrary-set discrimination. The reasoning behind this expectation is that arbitrary-set discrimination is primarily a form of intrasexual competition perpetrated by males and directed against males. As such, arbitrary-set discrimination can also be viewed as a form of low-level warfare directed against outgroup males. Social dominance theorists label this the *subordinate male target hypothesis* (SMTH; see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Empirical support for the subordinate male target hypothesis

Evidence supporting SMTH can be found across several different domains, including the criminal justice system, the labor market, and the educational and health care sectors.

Consistent with the complaints of subordinates and the expectations of social dominance theory, there is good empirical evidence showing that members of subordinate arbitrary-sets (e.g., Araces, @ ethnic minority, the poor) are discriminated against within the criminal justice system. Compared to dominants,

subordinates are more likely to be stopped, questioned and searched by the police than are members of dominant arbitrary-sets, *everything else being equal*. Once arrested, subordinates are more likely to be beaten by the police while in custody and more likely to be remanded to custody awaiting trial rather than released on bail. Once tried, they are more likely to be found guilty, are less likely to be sentenced to alternatives to prison (e.g., community service), are more likely to be sentenced to longer prison terms, are less likely to be granted parole, and when convicted of capital offenses are more likely to be executed - especially for capital offenses against dominants - (for a thorough review of this evidence see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Furthermore, these discriminatory effects are not restricted to any particular nation or political system (e.g., Apartheid South Africa or the United States), but have been found in every nation examined. While relatively little research has attempted to tease apart the effects of ethnicity and gender, the research that does exist is generally more consistent with SMTH rather than with DJH. For example, in one of the very few of its kind, Hood and Cordovil (1992) examined the effects of race and gender discrimination within the English criminal justice system. After examining some 2,884 criminal cases adjudicated by the Crown Court Centres in 1989, and not unlike findings for both the United States and Canada (e.g., Cole & Gittens, 1995), the researchers found that male and female ethnic subordinates (e.g., Blacks and Asians) tended to be imprisoned at significantly higher rates than Whites. However, the degree to which subordinate women were imprisoned at higher rates than dominant women could be completely accounted for by the legally relevant factors associated with each case (e.g., seriousness of the crime, previous criminal record, intention to contest the case at trial, etc.). This was not the case for males. Regardless of which legally relevant controls were used, subordinate males were still imprisoned at significantly higher rates than dominant males. In other words, while there was no evidence of racial discrimination in the criminal justice system against subordinate females, there was evidence of racial

discrimination against subordinate males. Moreover, this evidence was found at all stages of the criminal justice process. Everything else being equal, Black males were more likely to be questioned and searched by the police, once stopped were more likely to be arrested, once arrested were more likely to be held for trial rather than being released on bail, once tried were more likely to be found guilty, once found guilty were more likely to serve relatively long prison sentences and to serve these sentences under relatively severe conditions.

While proponents of the double jeopardy hypothesis (DJH) claim that women of color will be particularly disadvantaged in the labor market, careful examination of archival evidence controlling for human capital differences (e.g., differences in education and work experience) throws serious doubt upon this claim. For example, in a 1974 English discrimination study, it was found that while White women earned a weekly wage about 3% higher than subordinate women (e.g., West Indian, Indian and Pakistani), White men earned a weekly wage 10% higher than subordinate men (Smith, 1976, p. 87). Likewise, using 1994 census data Sidanius and Pratto (1999) found that while Euro-American women earned a 7% higher annual wage than Afro-American women, Euro-American men earned as much as a 44% higher wage than Afro-American men (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Furthermore, after one controls for critical human capital differences (e.g., education level), the wage differences between dominant and subordinate women essentially disappears, while the wage differences between dominant and subordinate men remains quite substantial. For example, Figure 1 shows the 1994 median income for Whites, Latinos and Blacks, men and women at each of five different levels of educational achievement. Note surprisingly, at each level of educational achievement, men earn substantially greater average incomes than women. More to the point, once one controls for educational achievement, there was no significant difference in the incomes of dominant vs. subordinate women (i.e., Whites vs. Blacks and Latinos). In contrast, among high school

graduates and beyond, Euro-American males had substantially higher salaries than either Latino-American or Afro-American males.

Similar results are found even when one restricts attention to those educated at the most prestigious colleges and universities. For example, Bowen and Bok (1998) compared the mean earnings in 1995 of Black and White, men and women who entered America=s most selective public and private universities in 1976 (i.e., the so-called *College and Beyond* dataset). Not surprisingly, men had substantially higher annual incomes than women (e.g, approximately \$98,000 vs. \$64,000 respectively). More to the point, the White/Black initial and unadjusted earnings gap among women was only about \$3,200. However, even at these very prestigious colleges and universities, there are still a number of other demographic, personal and institutional differences between these groups of White and Black women such as SAT scores, grade point averages, field of study, socio-economic status, advanced degrees attained, sector of employment, and selectivity of college or university attended. After one controls for these other factors, the earnings difference between White and Black women completely disappeared and Black women earned essentially the same annual incomes as White women (i.e., \$63,700 vs. \$64,000 respectively). In contrast, a very different picture emerges for men. White male graduates of these selective schools were found to earn substantially higher salaries than Black male graduates (i.e., \$98,200 vs. \$76,100 respectively). While these differences were reduced somewhat after controlling for demographic, employment sector, human capital and institutional differences, these differences still remained quite substantial. Everything else being equal, white males still earned substantially higher salaries than Black males (i.e., \$98,000 vs. \$89,500 respectively). In an effort to further account for this residual advantage enjoyed by white males, Bowen and Bok (1998) also factored in a number of variables which might be able to explain these racial differences among men. These variables included factors such as: detailed differences in the job descriptions

and responsibilities, Black/White differences in pre-college goals, ambitions and motivations (e.g., to be financially well-off), and a vector of personal and personality differences such as self-confidence ratings, leadership skills, stubbornness, and physical attractiveness. Consistent with SMTH, regardless of which other factors were considered, the economic advantage enjoyed by White males relative to Black males simply refused to go away.

Results congruent with SMTH are also found using American Census data from 1960 and 1980. Farley and Allen (1987) examined the amount of economic return in terms of hourly salary for every additional year invested in higher education (i.e., college). While women still received a smaller rate of return for every unit of education invested than men, everything else being equal, there was no evidence that White females received a higher rate of return from educational investment than Black females. Quite the contrary, in both 1960 and 1980, Black females enjoyed a slightly **higher** rate of return than White females (i.e., \$.59 vs. \$.62 in 1960 and \$.64 vs. \$.79 in 1980 respectively; see Figure 2). In contrast, compared to Black males, White males received a substantially higher rate of return for every additional year spent in higher education (i.e., \$.78 vs. \$.56 in 1960; \$.96 vs. \$.69 in 1980). In addition, the SMTH pattern in salary differences tends to remain even after one controls for the job description as well as human capital differences (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Discrimination against subordinates in the labor market not only expresses itself in lower salaries and lower rates of return on human capital investment, but also in a more restricted sphere of authority in the workplace. This is to say that subordinates are substantially less likely to hold positions of authority and power within the workplace. When subordinate workers are given more authority, they are usually only promoted to positions of authority over other subordinates and very rarely to positions of authority over dominants. (Zegers de Beijl, 1990). Consistent with SMTH, this lack of power is particularly evident with

respect to subordinate males. For example, Afro-American males less likely to occupy positions of authority compared to Euro-American males. Furthermore, when Afro-American males do achieve authority positions, they tend to have a smaller *Aspan of control* (i.e., number of subordinate workers), and a smaller *Aspan of responsibility* (e.g., power over promotions and salary) than White men with comparable human capital investments (see Mueller, Parcel & Kazuko, et al., 1989; Fernandez, 1975; Kluegel, 1978). However, consistent with SMTH, this authority gap appears to be greater between Euro-American and Afro-American men than between Euro-American and Afro-American women. Furthermore, while the net authority gap between White and Black American women has tended to become smaller over time, the net authority gap between White and Black American men has not shown the same rate of attenuation over time (Smith, 1997).

Not only is there survey and archival evidence supporting SMTH, but experimental evidence as well. In experimental studies known as the *employment audits* (sometimes also known as the situation test), equally qualified male and female, dominant and subordinate all apply for the same jobs. There are three basic kinds of employment audits: a) *correspondence audits*, in which two job applicants (e.g., one White and one Black) apply for the same job by mail, b) *telephone audits*, and c) *In-person audits* in which competing applicants actually apply in person. As summarized by Sidanius and Pratto (1999), more than nineteen major employment audits have been conducted within at least five different nations and using a variety of dominant and subordinate groups (see Table 1). As can be seen in Table 1, regardless of: a) the nation in which the studies were conducted (i.e., the USA, Germany, Britain, Canada or Holland), b) the specific dominant and subordinate groups compared (e.g., Native Dutch vs. Moroccans), and c) the specific type of audit study conducted (e.g., telephone vs. in-person audit), there was always a significant level of employment discrimination in favor of dominants. Furthermore, this discrimination was found to occur at

all stages of the employment seeking process. Thus, among other things, dominants were: a) more likely to be granted a job interview, b) once interviewed were more likely to be hired, c) once hired were more likely to be given a higher starting salary, and d) more likely to be steered into jobs with greater chance for career advancement (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). More importantly, even after controlling for all available differences between studies (e.g., skill level of the job required, audit methodology used), a meta-analysis revealed that the level of employment discrimination against subordinate males was substantially larger than the employment discrimination against subordinate females (i.e., 29.5% vs 22.5%).

Evidence for SMTH can be found in the domain of education as well. With very few exceptions, dominants generally have significantly greater access to quality education and enjoy greater academic success than subordinates (see Fischer, Hout, Janowski, Lucas, Swidler & Voss, 1996; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, contrary to DJH, and quite consistent with SMTH, it is generally not the case that subordinate females are at greater risk for academic failure than subordinate males, quite the contrary. For example, while Euro-Americans tend to have greater high school completion and college admission rates than Afro- or Latino Americans, the high school completion and college enrollment rates for male and female Whites (i.e., dominants) are essentially the same. Among Blacks and Latinos, on the other hand, there is a slight tendency for female subordinates to display higher rates of academic success than male subordinates (see e.g., Simmons, Black, & Zhou, 1991). If one controls for social class and age, there tend to be relatively few differences in academic advancement between Black and White students. However, where there are significant differences between these ethnic groups, it is African-American boys who experience greater academic failure. Furthermore, the relatively higher rates of academic failure among African-American boys is not just restricted to the United States, but has also been found on the Caribbean island of St. Croix (see Gibson, 1991). In addition, one can also observe the relative educational

advantage enjoyed by subordinate females in relation to subordinate males an attainment of advanced university degrees. For example, the female proportion of Euro-Americans and Afro-Americans attaining the doctoral degree has shown a steady increase between 1979 and 1989. The proportion of Whites receiving a Ph. D. who were female rose from 30% in 1979 to little more than 40% in 1989. However, while there was a steady increase over time in the proportion of Ph.D. among Blacks going to females, Black females always had higher academic success relative to Black males than White females had relative to White males. As a matter of fact, by 1986 most of the PhDs awarded to Blacks were earned by Black women (approximately 60%), while the proportion of PhDs awarded to Whites going to White women never rose much beyond 40%. Therefore, while Blacks continue to enjoy less academic success than Whites, those Blacks who do achieve high academic success are disproportionately female rather than male (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

A fairly consistent body of research tends to show that subordinates are also disadvantaged in the retail markets as well as other important sectors of life. This disadvantage is not simply due to the fact that subordinates have less disposable income than dominants, but also because they are often required to pay more for the same goods and services. Not only do ethnic minorities and the poor usually pay higher prices for the same goods, but are also often required to higher interest rates on consumer loans (see e.g., Caplovitz, 1963; Governor=s Commission report, 1965; Sturdivant, 1971; Sturdivant & Wilhelm, 1968). While part of the explanation for these disparities is due to the fact that businesses servicing poor and minority clients often have higher overhead (e.g., higher insurance rate), a substantial part of this difference is directly explicable in terms of discrimination. The clearest and most unambiguous evidence of this discrimination was found by Ian Ayres and his colleagues in a series of audit studies of the automobile market. In one set of such studies, teams of male and female, White and Black auditors were sent to the

same Chicago car dealerships to negotiate the best deals they could for new cars (see Ayres, 1995; Ayres & Siegelman, 1995). Since audit methodology was used and the auditors were equivalent in all respects except for the characteristics of sex and race, any difference in the amount of money various groups of auditors were required to pay for these cars could only be attributed to either race and/or gender discrimination. Not surprisingly and everything else being equal, Whites were required to pay less money than Blacks for exactly the same cars. More importantly, however, and quite consistent with SMTH, there was clear evidence of an interaction between race and gender (see Figure 3). For example, looking at final offers and auditors who were identical in all ways except for race and sex, white women were required to pay approximately \$216 more for the same automobile than white men, while black women had to pay \$446 more than white men. However, black men were required to pay as much as \$1133 more than white men for exactly the same cars. While the differences between white men and women were not found to be statistically significant, the differences between white men and both black men and women were statistically significant.

Furthermore, using a series of game theoretic models, Ayres concluded that the car salespersons were discriminating against different groups of customers for different reasons. It appeared that the higher prices demanded of white and black women were primarily motivated by profit-maximization incentives and the salespersons' perceptions that women would be less adept at price haggling. However, because the salespersons continued to push the black males customers way beyond the point where these customers could be expected to pay, Ayres concluded that the salespersons' motives were more punitive rather than strictly economic (see Ayres, 1995). In other words, the interaction between the salespersons and black males went beyond a mere economic exchange and also became an act of aggression.

Summary and Conclusions

We suggest that one of the major reasons why we have made so little progress in eliminating ethnic and gender discrimination is that we do not yet sufficiently understand the dynamics of these phenomena. One example of this lack of understanding is illustrated by the very popular double-jeopardy hypothesis. In contrast, social dominance theorists suggest that while gender and empty-set (e.g., racial and ethnic) discrimination share many features in common, these two phenomena are qualitatively different types of social discrimination and driven by qualitatively different motives. We argue that while patriarchy is ubiquitous and comprehensive, it also has a distinctly paternalistic flavor and is primarily directed at limiting the economic and political prerogatives of women rather than directly aimed at harming or debilitating women. In other words, contrary to popular opinion, *sexism is not primarily an act of aggression but rather an act of control.*

Arbitrary-set discrimination, in contrast, is largely a male-on-male project. Males are not only the primary and most enthusiastic participants in arbitrary-set intergroup aggression (e.g., Aethnic cleansing@), but males are also the primary targets of arbitrary-set aggression. In support of SMTH, we have shown rather consistent support for the claim that males experience substantially and consistently greater levels of arbitrary-set discrimination than do females. While discrimination against both dominant and subordinate women is not primarily driven by the desire to harm, destroy or debilitate, arbitrary-set (i.e., male-on-male) discrimination has a distinctly more ferocious edge. As an example, while Aethnic cleansing@ in Bosnia and Kosovo often ended in the expulsion and rape of women and girls, this Acleansing@ often ended in the extermination of men and boys. This suggests that while dominant males often regard subordinate females as reproductive resources (e.g., rape victims), they will regard subordinate males as potentially dangerous rivals and threats. In essence, we suggest that not only very extreme forms of intergroup aggression (e.g., Aethnic cleansing@), but even more Anormal@ forms of intergroup discrimination, observable within

societies at peace (e.g., employment and housing discrimination), can be regarded as mild and low-level forms of intergroup conflict or warfare primarily directed against outgroup males.

While we are arguing that subordinate males are the primary targets of arbitrary-set discrimination, this does **not** imply to that subordinate women are unharmed by this form of discrimination. Rather, we are suggesting that subordinate women are not the primary and deliberate **targets** of arbitrary-set discrimination. Most of the damage subordinate women suffer as a result of arbitrary-set discrimination is indirect and collateral,[@] primarily being the result of their association with and dependence upon subordinate males in their roles of daughters, wives, sisters, lovers, mothers, and friends.

While social dominance theorists have used evolutionary arguments in arriving at SMTH, some might also suggest that evolutionary arguments may not be necessary to reach SMTH. An alternative explanation for why subordinate males are more likely to be the targets of ethnic discrimination by dominant males is that they are more likely to be found in contexts composed primarily of men. For example, in many work settings women are excluded from organizations at multiple levels (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998; Glass Ceiling Commission, 1996). Data on gender and ethnic spatial segregation in various public settings reported in Jackman (1994) indirectly supports this possibility. She observed that AAlmost one-quarter of men describe their work environments as comprised entirely of men, while only 6 percent of women say they work exclusively with women (1994, Table 4.1, p. 143). In all, about two-thirds of men say their work environments are entirely or mostly male.[@] Complementing these data she observed that 29% of Blacks work in environments which are Amostly white[@] or Aall white.[@] Jackman (1994) described the situation of Blacks to be one of repeated contact with Whites, often as tokens.

The most comprehensive report on gender and ethnic segregation in the workplace was completed in the 1996 by the Glass Ceiling Commission. The Commission employed both qualitative and quantitative

data to identify barriers to women and ethnic minorities in employment, including focus groups, surveys, and special data runs of Census data compiled for the Commission. Among the findings of the report was that African American women with professional degrees earned only 60% of what White men earned while African American men with professional degrees earned 79% of what White men earned (Glass Ceiling Commission, 1996, p. 20). Only five percent of women who held senior level positions in business and communications organizations were ethnic minority women (Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, African-American). By comparison, 10% of these positions were held by ethnic minority men. The gender composition of these work settings was predominantly male (62%-67%). In other organizations including insurance, retail, transportation, utilities, and wholesale trade ethnic minority women composed between two percent and nine percent of the workplace while ethnic minority men composed between six and ten percent of the workplace. Within the workplace, the SMTH phenomenon might be explained by the simple fact that dominant males have greater opportunity to discriminate against subordinate males than against subordinate females. Women are largely excluded from some of the settings in which discrimination would be most likely to occur.

Related to the argument that dominant males have greater opportunity to aggress or discriminate against subordinate males in society, it could also be argued that dominant males might extract more material gain from other males than from females. Some evidence in support of this argument can be found from data that have already been reviewed. We recall that women earned consistently less than men as shown by income and earning data compiled in Farley and Allen (1987) and more recent data from the U.S. Census Bureau. White males have little to gain from discrimination against ethnic minority women who earn less than ethnic minority men, and who are less likely to be in positions that would be desired by dominant group members.

However, while these alternative explanations might be able to account for the occurrence of SMTH within the labor and employment sectors, it is difficult to see how these alternatives can easily account for the SMTH effect across all of the domains in which it has been observed. For example, it is difficult to see how perception of greater gain from subordinate males could possibly account for the fact that arbitrary-set discrimination in the criminal justice system is found for subordinate males, but not for subordinate females. Similarly, it is difficult to see how this "greater gain" argument could be easily used to explain the consistent tendency for marauding armies to kill subordinate boys and men, while sparing young girls and women. Be that as it may, it is reasonably clear that much more research is needed in order to definitively determine which set of processes are primarily responsible for the SMTH-effect. We regard this chapter and the work summarized by Sidanius and Pratto (1999) as merely preliminary efforts at such an explanation.

However, despite the lack of complete clarity as to the ultimate sources of SMTH, it is nonetheless quite clear that gender and arbitrary-set dominance systems are neither reducible one to the other, nor purely additive. Further, this suggests that a complete understanding of the psychology of gender can not be realized until we appreciate the distinct gender differences in the predisposition to generate and maintain arbitrary-set hierarchies by means of economic exploitation and physical violence. Most importantly, a complete understanding of discrimination and outgroup aggression is not complete without appreciation of the fact males are not only the primary perpetrators of intergroup oppression, but are also the primary and deliberate targets of this oppression as well.

Finally, what does this perspective imply about our ability to attenuate and possibly eliminate both gender and arbitrary-set discrimination? Of course, the answer to this question is directly dependent upon one's theoretical understanding of the forces and factors driving these various forms of discrimination. In general, social dominance theorists have argued that one of the primary reasons why we are so surprised at

our seeming inability to eliminate the plagues of gender, ethnic and class discrimination is due to the fact that we have not properly understood the etiology and functions of these phenomena. Rather than merely being the products of improper socialization, simple ignorance, or the exigencies of capitalism, social dominance theorists suggest that these forms of social oppression are primarily the result of inherent features of human and primate social organization. Thus, while social dominance theorists doubt that we will ever be able to completely eliminate these forms of social oppression, a more thorough and valid understanding of the underlying dynamics involved will at least put us in a better position to possibly attenuate and control some of the most ferocious manifestations of these forces. On the other hand, it seems fairly clear that the elimination of discrimination is not possible until most dominants are at least willing to admit that discrimination continues to exist in modern society. Unfortunately, the best empirical evidence available indicates that a large majority of dominants are still in denial about this ugly reality (see Gallup, 1997).

Table 1
Results of Employment Audits from five different nations.

Country	Group Contrasts	Net Discrimination
Correspondence Audits		
Britain	Native Whites vs West-Indians & East-Asians	30%
Britain	Native Whites vs Italian immigrants	10%
Netherlands	Dutch vs Surinamese men	19.2%
Netherlands	Dutch vs Surinamese women	12.8%
Germany	Germans vs Turks	9.7%
Telephone Audits		
USA	White vs Latino men & women	25.1%
Britain	Native Whites vs West-Indians & Asians	20%
Britain	Native Whites vs West-Indians & Asians	46%
Britain	Native Whites vs Greek immigrants	9%
Britain	Native Whites vs Greek immigrants	10%
In-person Audits		
USA	White vs Black men & women	14.1%
USA	White vs Latino men	39.8%
USA	White vs Black men	22.3%
Canada	White vs Black	8.9%
Netherlands	Dutch vs Moroccan men	36.6%
Netherlands	Dutch vs Moroccan women	34.8%
Netherlands	Dutch vs Surinamese men	40.0%
Netherlands	Dutch vs Surinamese women	36.0%

Germany	Germans vs Turks	19%
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Source: Sidanius & Pratto, 1999.

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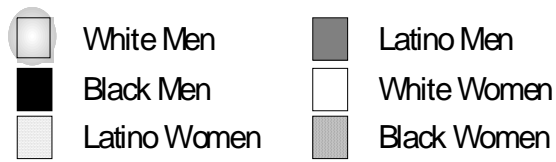
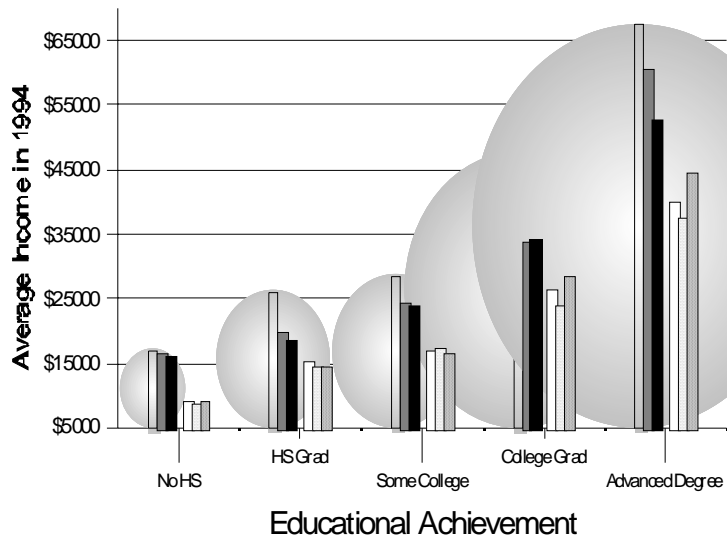
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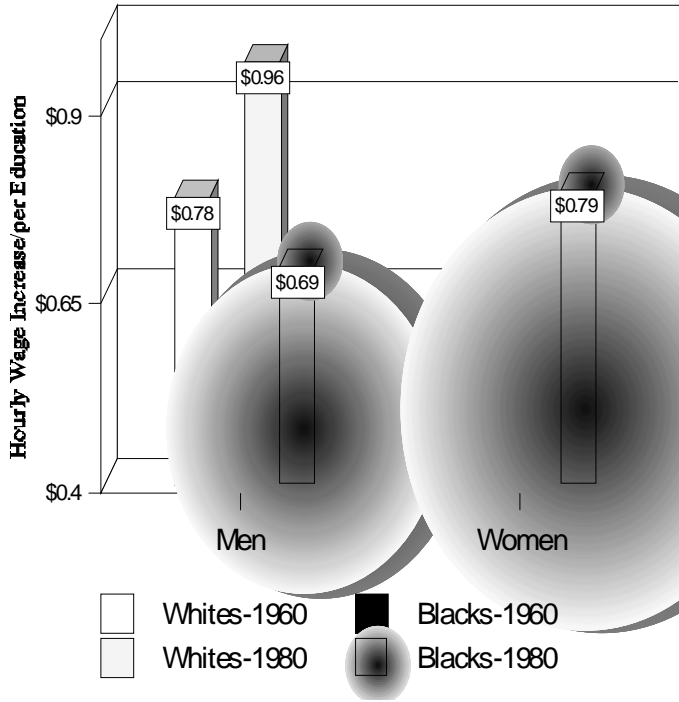
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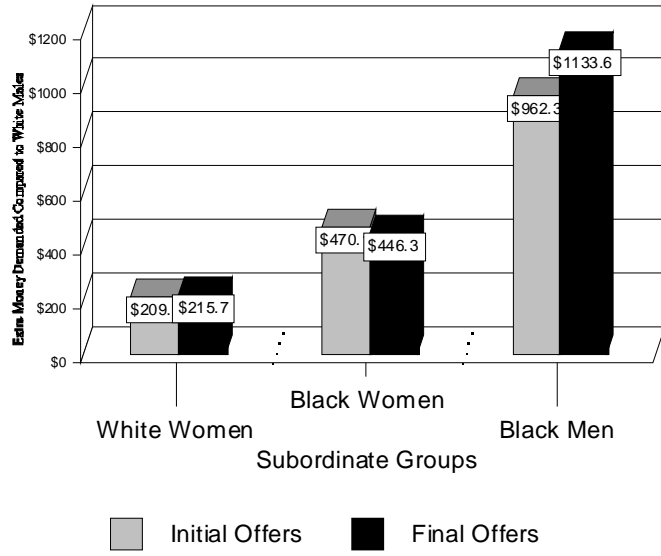
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Footnotes

1. However, it should be noted that this age system is not completely linear. **Very** old people (i.e., 80 yrs above) do not always dominate over somewhat younger people (e.g., 60 yr. Olds).

2. [Http://www.geocities.com/paris/5121/forgotten.htm](http://www.geocities.com/paris/5121/forgotten.htm)

3. Primarily Poles and Russians. See [Http://www.optonline.com/comptons/ceo/02246_A.html](http://www.optonline.com/comptons/ceo/02246_A.html)

∩[†] French, 1996.

5. One of the few exceptions to this generalization is found in the European witch trials of the 16th and 17th centuries. It is estimated that between 1560 and 1680, approximately 3,000 European women were tortured and put to death for witchcraft (Grolier, 1996).

6. For an intermediate position, see Landrine, Klonoff, Alcaraz, Scott, & Wilkins, 1995.

⊙[†] For a more in-depth discussion of the empirical implications of this evolutionary reasoning, see Sidanius and Pratto (1999)