SUBGROUP PREJUDICE BASED ON SKIN COLOR AMONG HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

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Two experiments examined the influence of skin color on American Hispanics' and Chileans' attitudes towards their ethnic ingroup and toward subgroups within their ingroup. When implicit attitudes were examined, both American Hispanics and Chileans expressed strong preference for the lighter complexioned subgroup ("Blanco" in Spanish) over the darker complexioned subgroup ("Moreno" in Spanish) within their ethnic ingroup. Implicit preference for Blancos was evident among self–identified Moreno as well as Blanco participants in both countries, suggesting that the desirability of light skin apparently supersedes national boundaries and can reverse the ubiquitous ingroup favoritism effect usually obtained in intergroup research. When participants' implicit attitudes towards Hispanics versus Caucasians were assessed, national differences emerged: Chileans expressed implicit prefer-

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ence for Caucasians over Hispanics whereas American Hispanics did not favor either group. Self–report measures of attitudes revealed less consistent evidence of prejudice and preference based on skin color.

A rich body of psychological, sociological, and anthropological work documents prejudices and preferences *within* a variety of social groups around the world. Examples include prejudice between Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims (MacLeod, 1998), Hopi and Navajo Indians (Barros, 1998; Tamir, 1999), conservative and orthodox Jews (White & Langer, 1999), and African immigrants and African Americans (D'Souza, 1995). These subgroup prejudices and preferences can have a significant impact on intragroup relations but outsiders are often either unaware of the existence of these subgroups or do not understand their importance to group members.[1]

   As a case in point, few Caucasian Americans appreciate the significance to Hispanics of subgroup distinctions based on national origin, cultural background, class, English fluency, and citizenship status. Moreover, while a few researchers have studied American Hispanics' subgroup identity based on national origin (Huddy & Virtanen, 1995; Hurtaro, Gurin, & Peng, 1994; Moreno, 1994), there is a dearth of research on the variety of ways in which subgroup identities shape social cognition and intergroup relations among Hispanics.

HISPANIC SUBGROUPS BASED ON SKIN COLOR: BLANCOS AND MORENOS

The most global subgroup distinction among Hispanics, one that cuts across national, cultural and linguistic background, is that based on skin color. The term "Blanco" refers to light complexioned Hispanics whereas "Moreno" refers to darker complexioned Hispanics. Blancos and Morenos are differentiated primarily based on skin color (Twine, 1998). However, these subgroups also capture phenotypic differences such the indigenous (e.g. Native American) facial features typical

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1. By *subgroup prejudice*, we mean prejudice between groups that also share an important superordinate identity (for example, prejudice between Orthodox and Reform Jews; White & Langer, 1999). Such attitudes have been variously labeled subgroup prejudice (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000) and intragroup prejudice (Dor–Shav, Friedman & Tcherbonogura, 1978). We prefer the term subgroup prejudice because it better captures the reality that large social categories are often composed of smaller groups whose members dislike each other.

among Morenos and Caucasian features typical among Blancos (Twine, 1998; Winant, 1997). Hispanic culture is dominated, socioeconomically and politically, by Blancos (Boraiko, 1988; Comas–Diaz, Lykes & Alarcon, 1998; Wade, 1997), and the Blanco–Moreno distinction is an everyday fact of life of which people are highly cognizant (Dominguez, 1994; Twine, 1998). Many aspects of Latin culture—from beauty ideals to stereotypes about intelligence and criminality to the correlation between light skin color and higher social class—serve to legitimize and reinforce the stigmatization of Morenos (Dominguez, 1994; Simpson, 1993; Wade, 1997; also see Maddox & Gray, 2002, for a similar finding for African Americans). While preference for light skin and prejudice against dark skin is strongest in Latin America (Wade, 1997; Winant, 1994), it is also present among Hispanics in the United States (Farley, 1999; Graham, 1990; Oboler, 1995; Shorris, 1992).

Interestingly, American Hispanics are usually unwilling to self–report negative attitudes towards Morenos (Oboler, 1995). This tendency parallels the reluctance of Caucasian Americans to report prejudice against Hispanics, African Americans, and other ethnic minorities. These self–reported attitudes may be driven by people's genuine conscious sentiments, or their desire not to appear racist, or their desire to avoid the inconsistency of endorsing negative attitudes toward a lower status subgroup while rejecting societal prejudice directed at themselves as Hispanics (see Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998).

To the extent that greater value is placed on light skin color in Latin America than in American Hispanic communities (Oboler, 1994; Wade, 1997), Latin Americans should be more likely than American Hispanics to report negative attitudes toward Morenos. Anti–Moreno sentiments in Latin America are probably supported by the belief that racial prejudice is unlikely in these countries because most inhabitants are biracial or multiracial (Twine, 1998; Wade, 1997). This popular belief, labeled the "myth of racial democracy" by anthropologists, prevails despite the well–documented political and economic advantages of Blancos over Morenos (Boraiko, 1988; Comas–Diaz et al., 1998; Twine, 1998; Wade, 1997). The myth of racial democracy allows individuals to claim that their preference for light skin is driven by aesthetic ideals or their desire to achieve high status (that there exists a covariation between light skin and high socio-economic status in much of Latin America is well–known).

In addition to their explicit attitudes, Hispanics in both the United States and Latin America may have unconsciously internalized the

widely prevalent negative images associated with dark complexion and may lack introspective access to those attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977; Wilson, Lindsay, & Schooler, 2000). Support for this idea comes from research documenting that people may express strong implicit prejudice toward a number of disadvantaged groups even though their explicit attitudes toward the same groups may be considerably more favorable (e.g., Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980; Dasgupta, McGhee, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2000; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, & Mellott, 2002; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; but see Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

According to theories of implicit social cognition, implicit attitudes are associations between social targets and positive or negative feelings that are passively learned from the environment (Banaji, 2001; Banaji & Dasgupta, 1998; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In many cases these evaluative associations are not consciously endorsed by the individual, hence correlations between implicit and explicit attitudes are often weak (Devine, 1989; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Despite the low correlations, both implicit and explicit attitudes have been shown to independently predict people's judgments of, and behavior toward, members of stigmatized groups (Dasgupta, 2002; Dovidio et al., 1997; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Fazio et al., 1995; McConnell & Leibold, 2001).

THE PRESENT RESEARCH

We conducted two experiments to examine Hispanics' implicit and explicit attitudes toward (a) lighter and darker complexioned subgroups within their ethnic ingroup, and (b) Hispanics and Caucasians in general. Experiment 1 focused on participants who were American Hispanics and Experiment 2 extended the same paradigm to participants who were from Chile.

EXPERIMENT 1

OVERVIEW

Experiment 1 examined the implicit and explicit attitudes of American Hispanics towards Caucasians, Hispanics, and the Blanco and Moreno subgroups. We predicted that first, Hispanic participants would show

implicit preference for lighter complexioned Blancos over darker com-plexioned Morenos (Oboler, 1994; Twine, 1998; Wade, 1997; Winant, 1994). Second, we expected that this implicit bias would be manifest among both Blanco and Moreno participants, although the effect may be somewhat smaller in magnitude for Moreno participants for whom Morenos constitute the ingroup. Third, American Hispanics' self–re-ports were expected to reveal equal liking for Blancos and Morenos be-cause of one or more of the following factors—genuine egalitarian sentiments, social desirability pressures, or limited introspective access into nonconscious processes that influence the creation and mainte-nance of prejudice and preference.

Implicit skin color based prejudice was also tested a second way, by measuring American Hispanics' attitudes towards their ethnic ingroup (Hispanics) relative to Caucasians. We predicted that overall, American Hispanics would show little or no preference for Hispanics or Cauca-sians. This prediction was informed by earlier research showing that, on average, American minorities such as African and Asian Americans show no implicit preference for their ingroup relative to Caucasians (Farnham, 1999; Greenwald et al., 2002; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). This is probably because among members of ethnic minority groups, the tendency to favor one's ingroup is counteracted by repeated exposure to negative images and stereotypes about the ingroup (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Pelham & Cavarallo, in press).

Finally, in addition to measuring American Hispanics' implicit atti-tudes toward their ethnic ingroup compared to Caucasians, we varied the skin color of individual members representing the ethnic ingroup. For some participants, the category "Hispanic" was represented using images of dark complexioned Morenos, whereas for others "Hispanic" was represented using images of light complexioned Blancos. We did this in order to determine whether or not participants' attitudes toward their ethnic ingroup depend on the subgroup status of ingroup members they see. Here, two results seemed plausible. First, subgroup prejudice based on skin color may be activated despite the use of an inclusive cate-gory label (Hispanic) and despite the use of an ethnic outgroup as a com-parison (Caucasian). If so, one would expect participants to display greater negativity toward Hispanics when the group was represented with darker complexioned Morenos compared to lighter complexioned Blancos. Alternatively, subgroup prejudice based on skin color may be defused by the use of an overarching category label "Hispanic" that in-

cludes both Blancos and Morenos in the same group and also by the increased salience of an ethnic outgroup as a comparison. If this prediction is borne out, one would expect participants to express similar implicit attitudes towards Hispanics regardless of whether the Hispanic category is represented with Blancos or Morenos. This latter prediction is consistent with the common ingroup identity model (Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998; Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Houlette, Johnson & McGlynn, 2000; see Discussion section for a detailed treatment of this issue).

METHOD

Participants. For $10.00, 62 American Hispanic students at the University of Washington participated; 37 participants self–identified as Blanco and 25 self–identified as Moreno on a demographic questionnaire completed at the beginning of the study. Participants were simply asked to check off which subcategory, Blanco or Moreno, best described them. Although these are Spanish terms, they are common parlance even among English–speaking Hispanic–Americans.

Materials

Pictures of Blanco, Moreno, and Caucasian Individuals. Thirty head–and–shoulder photographs were selected from high school yearbooks, of which 10 represented each of the three target groups: Blanco, Moreno, and Caucasian. Half of the photographs in each category were of men and the other half were of women. All photographs were converted into standard grayscale images that were 55×65 pixels in size. All individuals in the pictures had unsmiling facial expressions.

All photographs were selected from a large pool in consultation with Hispanic American and Chilean individuals known to the first author in an effort to select individual faces that best represented the two Hispanic subgroups of interest to us. We did not attempt to equate the Blanco and Moreno exemplars in terms of facial features, although we did make an effort to minimize differences in hair color to reflect the fact that the majority of Hispanics, Blancos included, have relatively dark hair. To a substantial extent, skin color is inextricably linked with the facial features that distinguish Blancos and Morenos (Twine, 1998). For example, Hispanic individuals with light skin yet strongly indigenous facial features are rare and participants would probably be baffled if asked to categorize them as Blanco or Moreno. Thus, it is neither realistic nor desirable

to attempt to disentangle the effect of skin color from the effect of facial features when one's goal is to examine attitudes towards these Hispanic subgroups.

Measure of Implicit Attitudes: Implicit Association Test (IAT). Implicit attitudes towards Blancos relative to Morenos and Hispanics relative to Caucasians were measured using the IAT, a speeded task in which response latency is used to capture the relative strength with which attitude objects are associated with positive versus negative evaluations (Greenwald et al., 1998). In this task, participants classified stimuli representing two target concepts (e.g., pictures of Blanco vs. Moreno individuals) and evaluative attributes (e.g., pleasant vs. unpleasant words) using two designated keys. When used to measure intergroup attitudes, people typically perform this task more quickly and easily when pleasant attributes share the same response key with pictures of a high status group and unpleasant attributes share the same key with pictures of a lower status group than vice versa.

Given our prediction that participants would favor the lighter complexioned subgroup over the darker complexioned subgroup, in the Blanco–Moreno IAT we predicted faster reaction times when Blanco and pleasant stimuli shared the same key while Moreno and unpleasant stimuli shared the other key (abbreviated as Blanco+pleasant and Moreno+unpleasant respectively). By contrast, we expected substantially slower performance for opposite combinations of stimuli (Moreno+pleasant and Blanco+unpleasant). Automatic Blanco preference was measured by subtracting the average reaction time for pro–Blanco stimulus combinations (Blanco+pleasant and Moreno+unpleasant) from the average reaction time for pro–Moreno stimulus combinations (Moreno+pleasant and Blanco+unpleasant). The larger the magnitude of this difference score (abbreviated as the IAT effect) the stronger the implicit preference for Blancos over Morenos.

Similarly, for the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT, participants' relative implicit attitudes toward the two ethnic groups were measured by subtracting the average reaction time for pro–Caucasian stimulus combinations (Caucasian+pleasant and Hispanic+unpleasant) from the average reaction time for pro–Hispanic stimulus combinations (Hispanic+pleasant and Caucasian+unpleasant). The larger the magnitude of this difference score or IAT effect the stronger the preference for Caucasians, and the smaller the difference score the weaker the preference for Caucasians. Negative IAT effects indicate implicit preference for

Hispanics. Detailed descriptions of the attitude IAT are provided by Dasgupta et al. (2000) and Greenwald et al. (1998).

In this study, three IATs were administered of which each participant completed two. One task was a Blanco–Moreno IAT using pictures of Blanco and Moreno individuals described previously. The second was a Hispanic–Caucasian IAT using pictures of Blancos to represent the Hispanic category and pictures of Caucasians. The third was a Hispanic–Caucasian IAT with pictures of Morenos to represent Hispanics and the same Caucasian pictures mentioned above. The evaluative dimension in all the IATs was represented by 5 pleasant and 5 unpleasant words (e.g., paradise, poison) selected from Bellezza, Greenwald, and Banaji (1986).

Measures of Explicit Attitudes. Four feeling thermometers assessed the favorability of participants' explicit feelings toward each of the four groups used in the IATs (Blancos, Morenos, Hispanics, and Caucasians). For each group, participants were asked to mark an appropriate position on a picture of a thermometer numerically labeled at 10–degree intervals from 0 (cold or unfavorable feelings) to 99 degrees (warm or favorable feelings) to indicate their attitudes.

Participants also completed 5 semantic differential scales for each of the 4 racial categories. These 7–point scales (–3 to +3) were anchored at either end by polar opposite adjective pairs: ugly–beautiful, bad–good, unpleasant–pleasant, dishonest–honest, and awful–nice.

Design. The experimental design was a 2 (Type of IAT: Hispanic–Caucasian, Blanco–Moreno)×2 (Type of Hispanic subgroup used in the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT: Blanco, Moreno) × 2 (IAT combination: dark complexioned group+pleasant, light complexioned group+pleasant)×2 (Participants' subgroup identification: Blanco, Moreno) where the first and third factors were varied within subjects while the second and fourth factors were varied between subjects.

Procedure . Participants arrived at a psychology laboratory in groups of one to three people and were shown to individual computer stations separated by partitions. Participants first completed a demographic questionnaire that, among other things, asked them to report their ethnicity, nationality, and identity as Blanco or Moreno. This was followed by the explicit attitude measures including feeling thermometers and semantic differential scales. Participants were informed the questionnaires were anonymous and instructed to place them in a "completed questionnaires" box upon completion. They then

completed two IATs in the privacy of their individual workstations. All participants completed the Blanco–Moreno IAT and one of two versions of the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT: half the participants completed the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT with pictures of Blancos representing "Hispanic" and the other half of the participants completed the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT with pictures of Morenos representing "Hispanic." The order in which these IATs were administered was counterbalanced between subjects.

RESULTS

Implicit Attitudes Toward Blancos vs. Morenos. The four data collection blocks of each IAT were retained and practice blocks discarded. Additionally, the first trial from each data collection block was deleted because response latencies were typically longer. To correct for anticipatory responses and momentary inattention, latencies less than 300 ms and greater than 3000 ms were recoded as 300 and 3000 ms respectively. These latencies were then log transformed to normalize the distribution. This procedure mirrored that of Greenwald et al. (1998) and Dasgupta et al. (2000).

We hypothesized that American Hispanics would show a strong subgroup preference for Blancos over Morenos. As seen in Figure 1, American Hispanics demonstrated strong implicit preference for Blancos on the Blanco–Moreno IAT (IAT effect = 129 ms; $t(61) = 5.72$, $p < .001$). Also as expected, preference for Blancos was greater among Blanco participants than Moreno participants (IAT effects = 155 ms and 92 ms respectively; $t(60) = 2.04$, $p = .048$). Although the degree of Blanco preference (in terms of the IAT effect) was statistically weaker among Moreno participants, it was nevertheless significantly different from zero; $t(24) = 2.92$, $p = .008$.

Implicit Attitudes Toward Hispanics vs. Caucasians. American Hispanics were not expected to implicitly favor either Caucasians or Hispanics. As anticipated, participants showed no significant implicit preference for either group on the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT using Blanco pictures (IAT effect = –2 ms; $t < 1$) or the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT using Moreno pictures (IAT effect = –34 ms; $t(29) = 1.43$, $p = .17$). These implicit attitude effects did not vary as a function of participants' own subgroup membership – there was no main effect of participants' subgroup membership on either IAT, and no interaction between subgroup membership and the type of IAT (i.e., whether it used Blanco or Moreno pictures; all Fs < 1).

Implicit attitudes of American Hispanic

Implicit attitudes or IAT effect (ms)

350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
-50
-100

IAT effect = 129 ms

IAT effect = -3 ms

IAT effect = -34 ms

Type of IAT

☐ Relative attitudes toward Blancos compared to Morenos

■ Relative attitudes toward Caucasians compared to Hispanics (Blanco pictures)

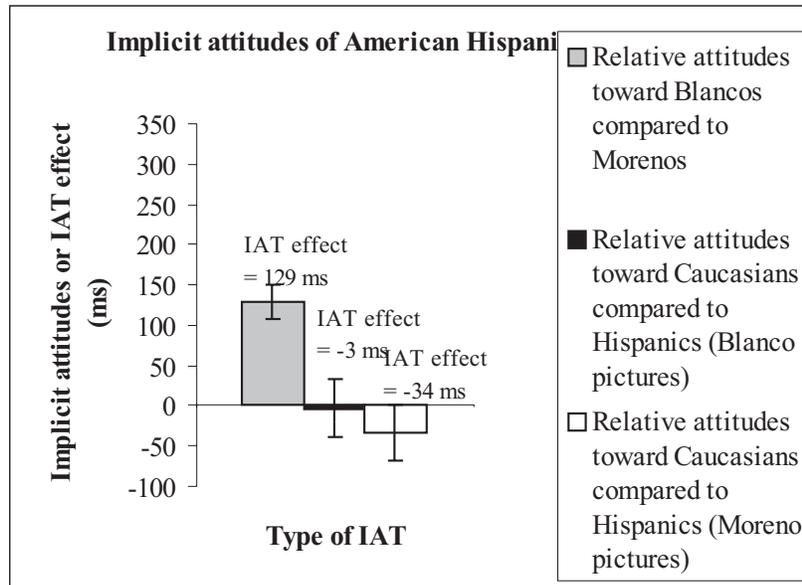☐ Relative attitudes toward Caucasians compared to Hispanics (Moreno pictures)

FIGURE 1. Implicit attitudes of American Hispanic participants.

The Y-axis represents participants' differential response latency in milliseconds for the dark-complexioned group + pleasant combinations minus the light-complexioned group + pleasant combinations (abbreviated as the IAT effect). Positive numbers indicate that participants hold relatively more positive implicit attitudes toward the lighter-complexioned group (Blancos or Caucasians) while negative numbers indicate they hold relatively more positive attitudes toward the darker-complexioned group (Moreno or Hispanic). Error bars represent the standard error of responses within each condition.

Explicit Attitudes. The feeling thermometers yielded an evaluative rating for each group in which higher scores represented more favorable attitudes. Difference scores were computed by subtracting evaluations of the darker complexioned group (Moreno and Hispanic) from that of the relevant lighter complexioned group (Blanco and Caucasian respectively), such that positive difference scores indicated preference for the lighter group and negative scores indicated preference for the darker group.

Similarly, semantic differential scales were scored by averaging the 5 items to create an attitude index for each target group in which positive scores indicated more favorable attitudes toward the target group being judged. As in the case of feeling thermometers, we calculated difference

scores to represent participants' relative liking for Blancos compared to Morenos and Hispanics compared to Caucasians by subtracting evaluations of the darker complexioned group from that of the lighter complexioned group. As a result, positive difference scores indicated preference for the lighter group and negative scores indicated preference for the darker group.

We expected that American Hispanics would explicitly report equivalent attitudes towards Blancos and Morenos. As hypothesized, explicit attitudes toward Blancos and Morenos were statistically equivalent both on feeling thermometers ($M_{difference}$ = 2.12; $t(60)$ = 1.24, p = .22) and on semantic differential scales ($M_{difference}$ = .07; $t < 1$). However, we anticipated that participants would explicitly favor Hispanics over Caucasians, which they did on both feeling thermometers ($M_{difference}$ = –12.29; $t(60)$ = 4.46, $p < .001$) and semantic differential scales ($M_{difference}$ = –2.36; $t(58)$ = 4.52, $p < .001$).

Relationship Between Implicit and Explicit Attitudes. As seen in Table 1, Americans Hispanics' implicit and explicit attitudes showed variable correspondence, with correlations ranging from r = .18 to .61 and an average correlation of r = .36. For the most part, these correlations were based on relatively small samples of about 30 participants because the two Hispanic–Caucasian IATs constituted a between–subjects factor in our experimental design. However, correlations among the Blanco–Moreno IAT and explicit measures (completed by all participants, N = 62) were similar to the modest implicit–explicit correlations obtained by past research on implicit social cognition (e.g., Dasgupta et al., 2000; Fazio et al., 1995).

DISCUSSION

Implicit and Explicit Attitudes Toward Blancos versus Morenos. Our hypotheses regarding implicit skin color based prejudice and preference among American Hispanic participants were supported by Experiment 1. When American Hispanics' implicit attitudes towards Blancos relative to Morenos were examined, they demonstrated a strong preference for the lighter complexioned Blanco subgroup over the darker complexioned Moreno subgroup. But no such skin color bias was evident on explicit measures, on which American Hispanics reported equally positive attitudes towards Blancos and Morenos.

Interestingly, whereas participants strongly preferred Blancos compared to Morenos, they did not differentiate between the two subgroups

TABLE 1. Correlations Between Implicit and Explicit Attitudes for Hispanic American Participants

	Explicit Attitudes	
	Feeling Thermometers	Semantic Differentials
Implicit Attitudes		
Caucasian–Hispanic (Blanco pictures) IAT	.43**	.61**
Caucasian–Hispanic (Moreno pictures) IAT	.42*	.18
Blanco–Moreno IAT	.30*	.20

Significant correlation coefficients are indicated with asterisks: *indicates $p < .05$. **indicates that $p < .01$. Correlations among the Caucasian-Hispanic IATs and explicit measures are based on half the sample ($N = 31$) because the Type of Caucasian-Hispanic IAT was a between-subjects factor in our design. Correlations between the Blanco-Moreno IAT and explicit measures are based on the full sample ($N = 62$).

when subgroup members were all labeled Hispanic and contrasted with Caucasians in the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT. This may have occurred because making participants categorize all subgroup members as Hispanic rather than as Blanco or Moreno activated a broader ingroup identity, preventing participants' subgroup prejudices and preferences from becoming activated. Activation of a broader ingroup identity is also likely to have been enhanced because Caucasians were presented as the comparison outgroup.

Conceptually similar effects have been shown using explicit attitudes by Gaertner, Dovidio and their colleagues in experiments testing their model on common ingroup identity (Dovidio et al., 1998; Gaertner et al., 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Rust, Nier, Banker, Ward, Mottola & Houlette, 1999; Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989). For example, Gaertner et al. (1990) showed that creating a situation in which previously independent laboratory groups were led to cooperate with one another reduced intergroup bias by causing participants to see themselves as part of a single larger group. We may have obtained analogous results by asking participants to categorize Blanco and Moreno individuals as Hispanic, thereby accentuating their similarity rather than accentuating their difference. If true, this could suggest that one way to reduce the activation of implicit skin color biases among Hispanics may be to encourage people to view Morenos as Hispanic rather than focusing on their subgroup status. Common ingroup identity may have also become highlighted be-

cause the increased salience of an ethnic outgroup (Caucasians) may have made the subgroups appear more similar.

There is, however, an alternative interpretation of this effect based on the methodological properties of the IAT. In a recent article, De Houwer (2001) argued that while the IAT is sensitive to category evaluations, this task is insensitive to the particular exemplars used to represent each category. In his experiment designed to measure British participants' implicit attitudes toward Britons compared to foreigners, changes in the exemplars used to represent Britons versus foreigners did not influence the IAT effect suggesting that the exemplars were perceived as interchangeable and were equally likely to activate the target group.

Applying De Houwer's logic to our experiment, varying the skin color of Blanco and Moreno individuals used in our Hispanic–Caucasian IAT may have produced no differences because of the structural properties of the IAT rather than the common ingroup identity effect we suggested. However, we argue that while De Houwer's analysis is compelling in that no doubt categories play a prominent role in the IAT, other evidence suggests that individual exemplars used to represent social categories can influence automatic responses as well. For example, in a study on implicit racial attitudes, Mitchell, Nosek and Banaji (1999) found that using admired individuals to represent "African–American" (e.g., Martin Luther King) and disliked individuals to represent "European–American" (e.g., Dan Quayle) sharply reduced the magnitude of implicit racial prejudice measured by the IAT. Similarly, in a study on gender stereotyping, Rudman, Greenwald and McGhee (2001) found that using positive versus negative words to represent the gender stereotypic traits "strong" and "weak" dramatically influenced the degree of gender stereotypic beliefs male and female participants expressed on the IAT (e.g., *strong* and *weak* were represented by *mighty* and *feeble* respectively or by *destroy* and *gentle* respectively). Finally, Steffens and Plewe (2001) demonstrated that when the evaluative words used in an attitude IAT were varied in masculinity or femininity, these words had a powerful impact on the degree to which participants expressed preference for women over men. Based on these findings, we believe that the methodological properties of the IAT provide, at best, only a partial account for our finding. It seems reasonable to speculate that activation of a superordinate Hispanic identity may have also played a role in our data independent of the particularities of the method.

Implicit and Explicit Attitudes Toward Hispanics vs. Caucasians. As anticipated based on earlier research using African American and Asian American participants, American Hispanics in this study showed no overall preference for Hispanics or Caucasians on the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT. This finding contrasts with participants' self–reported responses, in which they reported strong preference for Hispanics over Caucasians. We speculate that the discrepancy between implicit and explicit attitudes may have occurred because explicit attitudes being controllable, allow members of stigmatized groups to consciously inhibit societal stereotypes about their ingroup and report positive attitudes, in keeping with their conscious feelings (Bieber, 1997; Warren, 2001). By contrast, implicit attitudes reflect a more passive form of learning where previously encountered cultural stereotypes and negative attitudes are encoded and expressed in later behavior in ways that disallow the engagement of conscious inhibitory strategies (Banaji, 2001; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

Finally, correlations between implicit and explicit attitudes ranged quite a bit although the average correlation ($r = .36$) was similar to that obtained in the past by other researchers. Because some of these correlations were based on a small sample we do not interpret them too much.

EXPERIMENT 2

OVERVIEW

The purpose of Experiment 2 was to extend our investigation of the role of skin color on people's intragroup and intergroup attitudes beyond the United States to Latin America specifically, Chile. Of primary interest was whether Chileans would also show implicit skin color based subgroup prejudice. We predicted that first, participants in Chile would implicitly prefer lighter complexioned Blancos to darker complexioned Morenos. Second, as in the previous study, we expected that Moreno participants would show relatively less implicit preference for Blancos than would Blanco participants. Third, in terms of explicit attitudes, we examined whether Chileans would self–report explicit preference for Blancos over Morenos. On the one hand, one might expect Chileans, like American Hispanics, to report no subgroup preference either because of participants' genuine, conscious, egalitarian sentiments or because of social desirability pressures. On the other hand, because preference for light skin in Latin America is often attributed to factors that seem less ob-

jectionable (e.g., beauty standards and social class), Chileans might be more likely to explicitly favor Blancos than American Hispanics.

As in Experiment 1, skin color based prejudice was also tested by comparing Chilean participants' attitudes toward their ethnic ingroup (Hispanics) relative to Caucasians. Here, two predictions seemed possible. On the one hand, because they come from a society in which Hispanics are the majority group rather than a minority group, one might expect Chileans to show implicit ingroup favoritism (preference for Hispanics over Caucasians) just like many White Americans do in the U.S. (Dasgupta et al., 2000; Greenwald et al., 1998; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). On the other hand, there are several reasons why Chileans may show implicit *outgroup* favoritism. Anthropological research suggests that the cultural glorification of light skin color, European facial features, and European family history is actually greater in Latin American culture than in American Hispanic culture (Wade, 1997; Winant, 1997). Moreover, preference for light skin over dark skin is not interpreted as a manifestation of racial preference and prejudice, but rather as a predilection for culturally valued standards of beauty and status. This interpretation goes hand–in–hand with the commonly held belief that racial prejudice is less frequent in Latin America because most people are biracial or multiracial. As a result of these two beliefs, one might expect to see the cultural premium placed on light complexion to emerge in Chileans' implicit preference for Caucasians over Hispanics.

By comparison to implicit attitudes, Chileans' explicit attitudes toward Caucasians and Hispanics are likely to be influenced by their nationalist and political sentiments which should make them explicitly favor people who appear to be from their own country over others who appear to be from other countries.

Finally, the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT was also used to investigate subgroup prejudice among Chilean participants by testing whether their attitudes toward their ethnic ingroup would vary depending on the individuals used to represent the ingroup—light complexioned Blancos or dark complexioned Morenos. If categorizing Blancos and Morenos under the inclusive category label "Hispanic" eliminates skin color based subgroup prejudice, then one would expect Chilean participants to express relatively similar implicit attitudes toward Hispanics regardless of whether the category was represented with Blanco or Moreno individuals (see Gaertner et al., 2000; Gaertner et al., 1999; Dovidio et al., 1998; Gaertner et al., 1990; Gaertner et al., 1989).

METHOD

Participants. Participants were 83 students (62 self–identified Blancos, 21 self–identified Morenos) at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile who were paid $10 for their participation.

Measures and Procedure. The experimental materials and procedure closely resembled those of Experiment 1, with two exceptions. First, Experiment 2 took place in a computer center rather than a psychology laboratory, with participants being run in groups of twelve or more rather than three or so. As in Experiment 1, participants were separated from each other by partitions placed between their computers. Second, all experiment materials were translated into Spanish. The only substantial change entailed translating the "White" and "Hispanic" category labels to "Gringo" and "Hispano." The decision regarding how best to translate the categories was made after consulting with half a dozen bilingual Chilean citizens residing in both the U.S. and Chile. "Gringo" and "Hispano" were unanimously considered the most direct and best translations for "Caucasian" and "Hispanic." Also, the use of the term Gringo provides a conservative test of our hypothesis that Chileans would demonstrate greater outgroup favoritism than Hispanic Americans, because while the term "Gringo" is generally neutral, it can also be used in a pejorative way.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Implicit Attitudes Toward Blancos versus Morenos. Figure 2 summarizes Chileans' implicit attitudes toward Blancos and Morenos. In keeping with our predictions, results showed that when completing the Blanco–Moreno IAT Chileans responded substantially faster when pictures of Blancos were paired with pleasant words and pictures of Morenos were paired with unpleasant words than vice versa (IAT effect = 244 ms; $t(76) = 11.07$, $p < .001$). Self–identified Blanco and Moreno participants did not differ in the magnitude of Blanco preference they exhibited ($t < 1$), although it is difficult to draw any strong conclusions due to the small number of Morenos in the sample ($N = 21$).

Implicit Attitudes toward Hispanics versus Caucasians. We expected Chileans (unlike Hispanic Americans) to implicitly prefer Caucasians relative to Hispanics. Consistent with this hypothesis, as shown in Figure 2, Chileans were faster at associating pleasant stimuli with Caucasian faces and unpleasant stimuli with Hispanic faces than vice versa. This was true for the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT using Blanco pictures
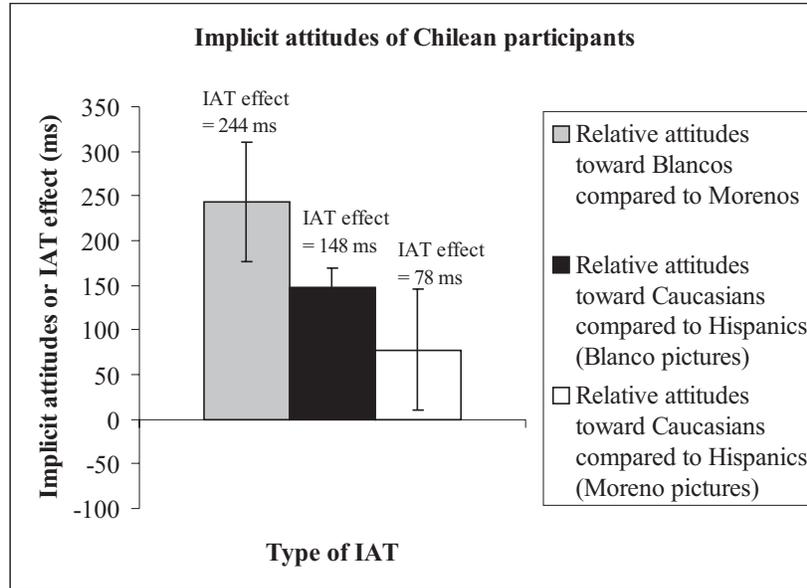
FIGURE 2. Implicit attitudes of Chilean participants.

The Y-axis represents participants' differential response latency in milliseconds for the dark-complexioned group + pleasant combinations compared to the light-complexioned group + pleasant combinations (abbreviated as the IAT effect). Positive numbers indicate relatively more positive implicit attitudes toward the lighter-complexioned group (Blancos or Caucasians) while negative numbers indicate relatively more positive implicit attitudes toward the darker-complexioned group (Moreno or Hispanic). Error bars represent the standard error of responses within each condition.

(IAT effect = 148 ms; $t(38) = 5.40$, $p < .001$) as well as the one using Moreno pictures (IAT effect = 78 ms; $t(37) = 4.01$, p < .001); there was no significant difference between participants' responses on the two versions of this IAT ($t(75) = 1.31$, $p = .19$). This finding is consistent with Experiment 1 where we also found that skin color variations among Blanco and Moreno exemplars had no effect on participants' automatic responses as long as they were all categorized under the superordinate category, Hispanic, and contrasted with the Caucasian category. Also, like Experiment 1, these implicit attitude effects did not vary as a function of participants' own subgroup membership – there was no main effect of participants' subgroup membership on either Hispanic–Caucasian IAT, and no interaction between subgroup membership and the type of IAT

(i.e., whether Blanco or Moreno pictures were used to represent Hispanics; all Fs < 1).

Finally, we examined whether Chilean participants' preference for light complexion was stronger at the subgroup level or the interethnic level by comparing their responses on the Blanco–Moreno IAT with the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT. We found that the magnitude of Blanco preference was significantly greater than the magnitude of Caucasian preference regardless of whether the Hispanic category in the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT was represented by images of Blancos ($t(37) = 4.68$, $p < .001$) or Morenos ($t(36) = 3.05$, $p = .004$).

Explicit Attitudes. Recall that there were several reasons to expect that Chileans would explicitly report a significant preference for Blancos over Morenos despite the fact that American Hispanic participants in Experiment 1 had not. First, the myth of racial democracy (which makes it possible to attribute preference for light skin to sources other than racism) might make it relatively more acceptable for Chileans to express skin color bias compared to American Hispanics. Second, Chileans may simply hold more negative attitudes towards Morenos than do American Hispanics. Consistent with our expectations, Chileans reported a significant preference for Blancos over Morenos on both the feeling thermometers ($M_{\text{difference}} = 5.06$; $t(80) = 3.32$, $p = .002$), and semantic differential scales ($M_{\text{difference}} = .20$; $t(80) = 2.28$, $p = .026$).

As predicted, when Chilean participants evaluated Hispanics and Caucasians at an explicit level, they reported liking Hispanics more than Caucasians on feeling thermometers ($M_{\text{difference}} = -9.21$; $t(80) = 3.99$, $p < .001$). However, this effect was unexpectedly nonsignificant for the semantic differential scales ($M_{\text{difference}} = .12$; $t(80) = 1.01$, $p = .31$). It is surprising that while Chileans expressed strong preference for Hispanics over Caucasians on the feeling thermometers, they showed nonsignificant preference for Caucasians on the semantic differential measure. We speculate that this might have occurred because the two explicit measures capture slightly different judgments. Whereas feeling thermometers tap pure evaluations, semantic differentials tap a mixture of evaluations and beliefs about the attributes possessed by the target group (e.g., whether a group is beautiful or ugly, honest or dishonest, are positive or negative belief statements). The distinction between evaluation versus belief in intergroup research is supported by Jost and Banaji's (1994) review showing that members of lower status groups are

TABLE 2. Correlations Between Implicit and Explicit Attitudes for Chileans

	Explicit Attitudes	
	Feeling Thermometers	Semantic Differentials
Implicit Attitudes		
Caucasian–Hispanic (Blanco pictures) IAT	−.27	.20
Caucasian–Hispanic (Moreno pictures) IAT	.21	.45**
Blanco–Moreno IAT	.24*	.39**

Significant correlation coefficients are indicated with asterisks: *indicates $p < .05$. **indicates that $p < .01$. Correlations among the Caucasian-Hispanic IATs and explicit measures are based on half the sample ($N = 41$) because the Type of Caucasian-Hispanic IAT was a between-subjects factor in our design. Correlations between the Blanco-Moreno IAT and explicit measures are based on the full sample ($N = 82$).

more likely to favor higher status outgroups by endorsing positive stereotypes about them, but less likely to express pure liking for them.

Relationship Between Implicit and Explicit Attitudes. As seen in Table 2, correlations between Chileans' implicit and explicit attitudes ranged from $r = −.27$ to .45, with an average correlation coefficient of $r = .20$. As in Experiment 1, the correlation coefficients based on the full sample of $N = 82$ (i.e., correlations among the Blanco–Moreno IAT and explicit measures) are likely to be more stable than those based on half the sample (i.e., correlations among the Hispanic–Caucasian IATs and explicit measures).

Cross–Cultural Comparisons. Before making statistical comparisons between the results of Experiments 1 and 2 for Hispanic American and Chilean participants, we begin with some important caveats. Although the experimental procedures in both studies were almost identical, there were some unavoidable differences. First, the experiment materials were administered in English for American Hispanics and in Spanish for Chileans. Second, Chilean participants completed the experiment in larger groups than American participants (but all participants completed the measures in partitioned booths to give them privacy). Third, Experiments 1 and 2 were conducted at different times of the year. We should note however, that running them at the same time of year would have introduced another confound because springtime in Seattle, the site of Experiment 1, is autumn in Santiago, the site of Experiment 2, because the two cities are on different sides of the equator. Finally, there may be other unmeasured demographic differences between the two

groups that are confounded with the national difference. Therefore, any comparisons between the results for American Hispanics and Chileans are made with some reservation, but with the hope that they will be informative.

Based on the greater importance of skin color as a marker of social status among Hispanics in Latin America, we expected that Chileans would show stronger preference for Blancos over Morenos than would American Hispanics. Indeed, when scores on the Blanco–Moreno IAT were compared, we found that Chileans showed stronger Blanco preference than American Hispanics (IAT effects = 244 ms and 130 ms respectively; $t(137) = 3.63$, $p < .001$). Chileans also reported significantly stronger preference for Blancos over Morenos compared to American Hispanic participants, both on feeling thermometers ($M_{\text{difference}} = 5.06$ and 2.12, respectively; $t(139) = 2.33$, $p = .02$) and on semantic differential scales ($M_{\text{difference}} = .20$ and .07, respectively; $t(140) = 2.27$, $p = .03$).

Based on anthropological research that light skin color and European features are more valued in Chile than in American Hispanic communities, and that racial hierarchies are less explicitly challenged in Chile than in American Hispanic communities, we expected Chilean participants to show stronger implicit preference for Caucasians (outgroup favoritism) than American Hispanic participants. This hypothesis was confirmed for the Hispanic–Caucasian IAT using pictures of Blancos (IAT effects = 148 ms and –2 ms respectively; $t(69) = 2.10$, $p = .039$) as well as pictures of Morenos (IAT effects = 78 ms and –34 ms respectively; $t(68) = 3.60$, $p = .001$).

However, in terms of explicit attitudes towards Hispanics compared to Caucasians, we did not expect any cross–cultural differences. As expected, both Chileans and American Hispanics preferred Hispanics to Caucasians on feeling thermometers ($M_{\text{difference}} = -9.21$ and –12.29, respectively; $t(140) = 1.60$, $p = .11$). However, on semantic differential scales, Chileans unexpectedly showed a smaller difference in their attitudes toward Hispanics compared to Caucasians than did American Hispanics ($M_{\text{difference}} = .12$ and –2.36 respectively; $t(138) = 3.60$, $p < .001$). As before, we can only speculate that different effects emerged for Chileans on the thermometers and semantic differentials because while the former tap pure evaluations whereas the latter tap a combination of evaluations and beliefs and are arguably more likely to capture outgroup favoritism (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Why this pattern of results emerged for Chileans but not for American Hispanics is unclear. Per-

haps it reflects a greater tendency among Chileans to associate light skin color and European facial features with positive attributes and stereotypes.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

EVIDENCE OF SKIN COLOR BASED SUBGROUP PREJUDICE AMONG HISPANICS ACROSS CULTURES

Overall, the results of these two experiments supported our predictions about the influence of skin color on intragroup and intergroup attitudes among Hispanics. Implicit preference for light complexioned individuals was found among Hispanics both in the United States and in Latin America. As expected, this implicit bias was substantially larger in magnitude among Chileans than among American Hispanics.

On explicit measures, only Chileans reported a preference for light complexioned subgroup members. This finding is consistent with anthropological and sociological research showing that on a variety of dimensions Hispanic culture privileges light (Blanco) over darker (Moreno) complexioned individuals, and Hispanics of mostly European descent over those of mostly indigenous descent (Thomas, 1997; Twine, 1998). Among Hispanics, light skin, blond hair, blue eyes or a North European name are highly valued status symbols (Dominguez, 1994; Wade, 1997). While skin color based subgroup prejudice is strongest in Latin America, it is also present among Hispanics in the United States (Oboler, 1995; Thomas, 1997).

Compared to Chileans, American Hispanics self–reported equally positive attitudes towards Blancos and Morenos. This may have occurred either because participants consciously and genuinely endorsed egalitarian attitudes, or because they wanted to avoid appearing prejudiced to the experimenter, or both of the above (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio & Hilden, 2001; Monin & Miller, 2001; Plant & Devine, 1998; Schuette & Fazio, 1995). For American Hispanics who are Blancos, these feelings may have been compounded by the perceived inconsistency of endorsing negative attitudes towards a lower status subgroup while rejecting societal racism directed at themselves as Hispanics.

ATTENUATION OF IMPLICIT SUBGROUP PREJUDICE UPON ACTIVATION OF A SUPERORDINATE IDENTITY

Results from Experiments 1 and 2 also suggest that implicit skin color prejudice was less likely to become activated when a superordinate "Hispanic" identity was made salient. In other words, when Blancos and Morenos were categorized as Hispanic, rather than according to their subgroup membership, similar attitudes were activated toward Blancos and Morenos. This finding is consistent with the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner et al, 2000), which proposes that categorizing outgroup members according to their membership in a shared ingroup (e.g. as "American" rather than as Black or White) leads to the reduction of intergroup prejudice and conflict. Gaertner, Dovidio and their colleagues have repeatedly shown that such re–categorization affects people's explicit evaluations of outgroup members (Dovidio et al., 1998; Gaertner et al., 1989; Gaertner et al., 1990; Gaertner et al., 1999; Gaertner et al., 2000). Extending Gaertner and Dovidio's work, the present research suggests that the promotion of alternative categorizations, especially ingroup categorizations, may activate different implicit attitudes. For example, leading Hispanic individuals to habitually categorize Morenos as Hispanic rather than according to their subgroup membership may activate more positive attitudes. The present finding also suggests that the context in which people express their attitudes and beliefs, even automatic ones, influences the valence of those judgments and evaluations.[2]

EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN INGROUP VS. OUTGROUP FAVORITISM

The present research also reveals a cross–national difference between American Hispanics and Chileans. Specifically, while Chileans tended to implicitly prefer Caucasians over Hispanics, American Hispanics did not favor either group. Our finding about American Hispanics' attitudes toward their ingroup is consistent with earlier findings about African American and Asian Americans' attitudes toward their respective ingroups (Farnham, 1999; Greenwald et al., 2002). The similarity sug-

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2. For more on context effects on automatic attitudes and beliefs see *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(5), 2001.

gests that for minority group members, the tendency to prefer their ingroup may be counteracted by repeated exposure to negative stereotypes about the ingroup prevalent in the mainstream culture (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

As early as Allport (1954), psychologists have proposed that members of stigmatized groups sometimes may internalize negative cultural stereotypes and attitudes towards their groups. Several modern theories position internalized racism in the broader context of the maintenance of hierarchical social systems (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). For example, Jost and Banaji's (1994) System Justification Theory proposes that in addition to a tendency to favor the self (ego justification) and one's ingroup (group justification), people have a motivation to accept the fairness and legitimacy of the dominant social system (system justification). Thus, members of low status groups have both the tendency to see their own group positively (i.e., to display ingroup favoritism) and to endorse the superiority of higher status groups (i.e., to display outgroup favoritism). Which tendency will win out in any given situation depends on whether members of low status groups perceive the social hierarchy to be legitimate or not (Jost & Banaji, 1994). If they perceive the social hierarchy to be illegitimate, they are less likely to show outgroup preference whereas if they perceive the system to be legitimate, they are more likely to show outgroup preference.

In the United States, race is seen as an important issue: antiracist social movements publicly challenge the legitimacy of racially biased laws, policies, and ideology, and groups encourage their members to celebrate their ingroup identity (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In Latin America, despite the prevalence of a skin color based hierarchy, there are fewer antiracism movements. Those that exist often have great difficulty recruiting members or gaining media exposure (Twine, 1998; Winant, 1994). People often attribute evidence of a racial hierarchy to social class or simply ignore it (Wade, 1997). Latin Americans are reluctant to acknowledge that race plays a major role in their societies (Wade, 1997; Warren, 2001). Our data indicating that Chileans show greater implicit and explicit preference for Blancos and greater implicit preference for Caucasians than do American Hispanics add empirical support to the previous qualitative findings.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT GROUP PREFERENCES

Previous investigations have generally found weak relationships between implicit and explicit measures of prejudice (e.g. Dasgupta et al., 2000; Fazio et al., 1995; Greenwald et al., 1998). In our experiments, implicit and explicit attitudes showed moderate correspondence although the range of correlations was considerable. We think that the high variability of these correlations may have been due to the small samples in some of the analyses. It is also important to note that the implicit and explicit attitudes we found differed in some important ways. In some cases they differed in magnitude: for example, Hispanic Americans expressed similar attitudes toward Blancos and Morenos on self–report measures, but they revealed strong Blanco preference on the implicit measure. In other cases, implicit and explicit attitudes differed in direction: for example, Chileans preferred Hispanics over Caucasians on explicit measures, but preferred Caucasians over Hispanics on the implicit measure. Overall, we found consistent evidence of skin color based prejudice in terms of participants' implicit attitudes, but their self–reported attitudes were more equivocal.

Taken together, our results illustrate the important influence of skin color on intragroup and intergroup preferences among Hispanics across cultures. It illustrates how prejudices and preferences prevalent in one's culture can shape people's attitudes at a conscious and nonconscious level. The similarities among Hispanic Americans and Chileans and the differences between them fit well with anthropological, sociological, and psychological theories of intra– and intergroup relations.

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