when they realize they have displayed prejudice or acted in a discriminatory manner, and their guilt motivates them to be more tolerant and fair-minded (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio & Hilden, 2001; Monteith & Walters, 1998; Swim & Miller, 1999).

Despite these changes, prejudice still exists, usually manifesting itself in more subtle and covert ways than in days gone by (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986; Sears & Funk, 1990, 1991). For example, many European Americans support the abstract principle of racial equality but are reluctant to vote for African American candidates for elective offices. A similar shift has occurred in attitudes toward women. Fewer men now claim that a woman’s place is in the home, but many still believe it is wrong for a woman to take a job away from a man, even when both are equally qualified (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995).

Research by Zuckerman and Kieffer (1994) shows just how subtle contemporary prejudice can be. These researchers examined photographs of European American and African American men and women in several popular magazines. For each photograph, the researchers measured whether the face was featured or whether the entire body was shown. Figure 10.1 shows the relative prominence given to the face in these photographs, and two findings are of interest: Facial prominence was greater for European Americans than for African Americans, and was greater for men than for women (see also D. Archer, Iritani, Kimes, & Barrios, 1983; Mullen, 2004). Because facial prominence conveys social dominance, these photographs appear to represent a subtle form of “face-ism.” By prominently depicting the faces of European Americans and men, these photographs communicate the perception that these groups are more powerful than African Americans and women.

C. Measuring Prejudice

Changing social norms complicate efforts to measure prejudice. People who claim to be tolerant may actually harbor negative attitudes toward minority groups. An investigation by Judd and colleagues illustrates the problem (Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995). These investigators asked European American and African American