# Can Short-Term Mission Trips Reduce Prejudice?

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#### **Abstract**

The following study provides theoretical innovation for a well-known sociological theory in race relations called the contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis is applied to U.S. evangelical short-term mission trips with the purpose of evaluating the potential these religious initiatives may have in affecting participants' racial attitudes. Support for the author's arguments is collected from previous studies and current literature as well as from the author's own experiences with short-term mission trips. While this study is exploratory in nature, preliminary results indicate that while some of the conditions of the contact hypothesis may be partially met in these trips, others will not be met at all. In fact, certain elements of short-term mission trips may actually reinforce or increase prejudice. While empirical data is needed to confirm this, overall, it can be concluded that short-term mission trips do not create the conditions necessary to reduce prejudice according to the contact hypothesis.

KEYWORDS: missions, short-term mission trips, contact hypothesis, prejudice

Short-term mission trips are popular, and a growing phenomenon among churches in the United States. While many short-term mission organizations minister from a theological perspective, sociology can contribute to a better understanding of relationships between short-term participants and local host communities. Because of the nature of the interaction between participants and community members, the contact hypothesis is especially relevant to the topic. The contact hypothesis is widely regarded as one of the most influential paradigms in race and ethnicity sociological scholarship.

Despite the popularity of short-term missions, many skeptics question the effectiveness of short-term mission trips for producing any change in the participant; however, no studies look at how prejudice can be affected by participation in mission trips. Therefore, the contact hypothesis can be used to evaluate if the structure and dynamic of the interactions among participants and hosts can create the conditions necessary to lower prejudice. While it is unlikely that trip participants display any overt prejudices, coming from a highly racialized society like the U.S., along with a history of paternalism surrounding international missions and development

initiatives, could be factors that support the argument that participants already have prejudices towards other races and ethnicities.

First, a review of the existing literature regarding short-term mission trips and racial attitudes of U.S. evangelicals will be considered. Second, a description of the contact hypothesis as the theoretical framework will be discussed and the research questions will be given. Third, a discussion of the application of the conditions of the contact hypothesis to short-term mission trips will be used to explore whether participation in these trips has the potential to impact participants' racial attitudes. The research will conclude with some limitations of the current analysis as well as recommendations for future research.

# **Short-Term Mission Trips**

A brief description of short-term mission trips is necessary in order to grasp a better understanding of these religious initiatives. There are numerous mission organizations that engage in a variety of short-term activities. The goal is not to exhaust the variations among these organizations, but to provide information that can be helpful in obtaining a basic understanding of these religious initiatives.

Short-term mission trips have experienced a growing trend in popularity. In 1989, there were 120,000 participants, in 1998 there were 450,000 to 1,000,000 in 2003 and 2,200,000 in 2006 (as cited in Corbett & Fikkert, 2012, p. 151). Wuthnow and Offutt (2008) cited a more modest figure of 1.6 million 2006; however, Wuthnow and Offutt limited the research to transnational trips. The most common destinations are Mexico, Panama, Guatemala and Nicaragua due to the relative proximity as well as the perceived economic need (Priest & Priest, 2008; Fogarty, 2009; Trinitapoli & Vaisey, 2009). Growing in popularity among church youth groups, mission trips are also popular among adults (Trinitapoli & Vaisey, 2009). Various religious affiliations participate in the trips, with the highest rate of participation in the following order: Mormons, mainline Protestants, conservative Protestants, Black Protestant adolescents (Smith & Denton, 2005). Generally, mission trips are comprised of approximately 20 participants, although the number varies greatly (Trinitapoli & Vaisey, 2009). There are economic costs involved because the average trip costs \$1,000, not including airfare (Wuthnow & Offutt, 2008). Corbett and Fikkert (2012) estimated that \$1.6 billion was spent on short-term mission trips in 2006. Furthermore, a time commitment is involved because the average trip is considered to be eight days, but many last months (Wuthnow & Offutt, 2008). Generally, trips are considered short-term if the trips range from one week to two years. Almost half the trips conducted in 2006 were two weeks or less (Corbett & Fikkert, 2012).

Short-term mission trips serve a variety of purposes, including proselytizing and service (Trinitapoli & Vaisey, 2009). Activities include a wide range of activities including supporting the outreach of long-term missionaries, worshipping with local populations, learning a foreign language, studying the local culture of a destination, sponsoring day camps for youth, painting homes, delivering medical supplies, or meeting with community leaders (Beyerlein, Adler, &

Trinitapoli, 2011). The activities can be summed up as charitable service work, learning about cultural and social justice issues, or engaging in evangelization (Beyerlein, Adler, & Trinitapoli, 2011). One motivation for participation short-term mission trips, as cited by Beyerlein, Adler, and Trinitapoli (2011), was that some churches had the goal to "transform members' attitudes and behaviors about economic, political, and social issues" (p. 781). Other motivations given were altruism, solidarity (Fogarty, 2009), or adventure (Priest & Ver Beek, 2005).

There may be a variety of effects these trips have on participants; however, it is important to recognize that scholars have noted the difficulty in effectively measuring them. Often cited benefits of participation in such trips were long-term financial commitment to mission work and becoming long-term missionaries (Corbett & Fikkert, 2012). Other studies indicated that short-term mission trips did have an impact on participants as an agent of socialization (Trinitapoli & Vaisey, 2009), and the impact can be positive. As was previously noted, Trinitapoli and Vaisey (2009) found that participation increased adolescents' religious beliefs and practices. Research also showed that the trips may have increased domestic civic engagement, especially in relation to volunteer religious work (Beyerlein, Adler, & Trinitapoli, 2011). Finally, it was found that participants displayed less ethnocentrism (Priest, Dischinger, Rasmussen, & Brown, 2006) and also scored higher than nonparticipants on the Global Social Responsibility Inventory (Hopkins, 2000).

However, one approach was cited with more long-term success. During the peace movements of Central America in the 1980's, religious delegations traveled to rural areas, stayed in local homes, and experienced drastically different work routines and living conditions (Fogarty, 2009). Participants learned about the United States' political involvement in the civil wars that plagued Central American countries, saw the suffering of the local population, and worshipped together with them. Participants became socially and politically involved upon returning to the U.S.

Despite the doubts about the real impact of these short-lived experiences, the contact hypothesis can still be applied, because the trips may have an impact on participants' views regarding race. Trinitapoli and Vaisey (2009) posited that "as a cross-cultural experience that provides contact with individuals different from one's self, the short-term missionary may contribute to either reducing or intensifying discriminatory attitudes related to race, ethnicity and religion" (p. 141).

## Racial Attitudes of U.S. Evangelicals

In order to understand the racial attitudes participants may bring on short-term mission trips, an examination of the history of racial attitudes among U.S. evangelicals is necessary. In *Divided by Faith*, Emerson and Smith (2000) examined the history of race relations in U.S. Protestant churches and identified three major stages. The first occurred from 1700-1964 where worshipping in separate pews changed to worshipping in separate churches. The Civil Rights

movement brought more equality, but also brought more distance. The second was spearheaded by Promise Keepers, an evangelical movement among males. Promise Keepers' racial stance was characterized by racial reconciliation, but only focused on the individual instead of questioning social structures. Emerson and Smith (2000) agreed that an individualistic perspective of race relations was consistent with the evangelical worldview.

The third stage was that of *colorblindness*. Generally, *colorblindness* continues to characterize the current American public (Carr, 1997). The contemporary White American evangelical perspective is that prejudice is an individual problem. White evangelicals have not had much contact with individuals of other races; however, when such contact occurs, the contact can be characterized as friendly (Emerson & Smith, 2000). The authors argued that social causes normally lie outside of the White evangelical perspective, and that White evangelicals believe that everyone, regardless of race, has an equal opportunity in life. The result of the *colorblind* perspective has reproduced contemporary racialization (Emerson & Smith, 2000).

Yancey's (2001) study on multiracial churches made important contributions to the understanding of racial attitudes among U.S. evangelicals. Yancey posited that Whites were more influenced by intergroup contact than were minorities because Whites were forced to confront racial issues that would normally be ignored. Furthermore, Whites with racial minorities in predominantly White churches showed political support for social issues that promoted racial equality. These Whites also displayed lower levels of social distance than Whites that were not a minority in a church.

Central to the argument of contemporary prejudice is the concept of White privilege. McIntosh (1998) observed that White privilege is "an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious" (p. 164). Packed into this short description are two very powerful observations. First, White privilege provides Whites with numerous advantages enabling success in society on a daily basis. Second, the strength of White privilege rests in advantages that are "invisible" and passed down to future generations unconsciously. White privilege is dangerous because White privilege supports the status quo. Specifically, White privilege tends to support social institutions and social systems that favor Whites over those who are not White, thereby perpetuating Whites as the dominant group. Therefore, even though individual Whites may recognize their racial privilege, a simple acknowledgement of this privilege, or even a change in attitude, is not sufficient for achieving racial equality. Action through political means is necessary if change promoting racial equality is to be pursued.

#### Theoretical Framework

# **Description of the Contact Hypothesis**

The theoretical framework guiding this research is the contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis was developed as a response to the social separation of Blacks and Whites, a separation which bred ignorance. It was commonly believed that intergroup attitudes came from

individuals. Therefore, if individuals could be changed, then the group could be changed as well. Consequently, negative intergroup attitudes were "prejudiced attitudes that have an irrational basis" (Jackman & Crane, 1986, p. 461). The contact hypothesis argues that increased contact between two groups with negative attitudes towards each other will result in a decrease of the negative attitudes. According to Rothbart and John (1993)

The contact hypothesis itself has a number of variants, but the basic idea is that antagonistic groups generate unrealistically negative expectations of each other and simultaneously avoid contact. To the extent that contact occurs, the unrealistically negative perceptions of the group members are modified by experience. In other words, hostility is reduced as a result of increasingly favorable attitudes towards individual group members, which then generalize to the groups as a whole (p. 42).

Nevertheless, in order for contact to reduce prejudice, certain conditions need to be met. The original conditions, theorized by Allport (1954), were that contact could reduce prejudice between two groups when 1) the groups have equal status, common goals, institutional support by law or custom, and 2) when contact "leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups" (p. 281). Conditions that were added included: absence of competition, sustained, and intimate (Jackman & Crane, 1986). In contrast to Allport, Jackman and Crane (1986) found that instead of equal status, minorities needed higher status than majority members. In addition, Yancey (2001) found that contact must be voluntary.

A foundational study on the contact hypothesis was conducted by Jackman and Crane (1986). Considering the racial composition of Whites' social networks and their racial attitudes, Jackman and Crane (1986) found many key points to build upon and critique the contact hypothesis. One major finding was that Whites must have both friends and acquaintances that are Black before there is any noticeable positive impact on attitudes towards Blacks. However, having Black friends and acquaintances had almost no effect on Whites' policy orientations towards Blacks. As was previously noted, another finding was that racial attitudes were more positive when Black friends had a higher socioeconomic status than when they had an equal status. The finding disputed the condition that equal status must be present. Jackman and Crane (1986) also opined that group position cannot be changed by changing individuals.

If prejudice derives not from feelings of personal animosity but from an implicit sense of group position, then dominant groups will seek to defend their privilege no matter what brand of affect they feel toward subordinates. This, in turn, implies that there is no logical connection between friendship and equality (Jackman & Crane, 1986, p. 481).

Jackman and Crane (1986) noted that the contact hypothesis did not address White privilege.

Other foundational studies, which built upon previous literature, were conducted. Yancey (2001) found that the contact hypothesis was successful in primary groups that were racially integrated, such as multiracial churches and interracial families. The groups were characterized by an essential factor that must be added to the list of conditions for the contact hypothesis. The condition was voluntary participation. Multiracial churches were especially poised to receive the positive effects of contact because the churches were voluntary, shared a similar ideology, had an incentive to work together to promote religious beliefs, had opportunities for interracial friendships, and received support from clergy.

## **Contact Hypothesis in International Contexts**

The majority of studies using the contact hypothesis pertain to race relations in the United States. Therefore, the research indicates a gap in the literature regarding the application of the contact hypothesis to race relations in an international context. While different cultures have different conceptions of race, an analysis of racial attitudes among U.S. citizens in an international context provides some insights to the contact hypothesis.

## **Research Questions**

Many improvements have been made to the contact hypothesis since Allport first formulated the theory in the 1950s. The improvements led to the development of the contact hypothesis as a valuable framework for understanding relationships between different groups in society. Because short-term mission trips are a religious activity in a cross-cultural setting, the application of the contact hypothesis is reasonable. Moreover, as was previously noted, scholars believe the opportunity for contact may either reduce or intensify discriminatory attitudes related to race (Trinitapoli & Vaisey, 2000). Literature regarding the contact hypothesis, as well as short-term mission trips, leads to the formulation of the research questions discussed below.

Yancey's (2001) work on multiracial churches indicated that Whites forming a minority in a congregation may experience less social distance and become more concerned about the inequality that Blacks face. Removed from their culture and placed in an unfamiliar culture, mission trip participants may become concerned with difficult social issues that they had not previously observed or experienced. Furthermore, the social distance between the mission trip participants and the receiving community may lessen as the mission trip participants are dependent upon their hosts for food, shelter, and important cultural knowledge. Therefore, a relevant research question is: what elements of short-term mission trips may create the conditions required to reduce prejudice?

While some elements of the short-term mission trip may aid in reducing prejudice, other factors may contribute to reinforcing or increasing prejudice. As was noted in Jackman and Crane's (1986) study, Whites' favorable attitudes toward Blacks increased when Blacks had higher

socioeconomic standing. Furthermore, contact must be sustained in order reduce prejudice. The findings from previous studies may indicate that the disparities in socioeconomic status as well as the short duration of the trip may not reduce prejudice. Taking this into account, what factors of short-term mission trips may create conditions which reinforce or increase prejudice?

It is evident that this is a topic worthy of investigation. Nevertheless, no quantitative or qualitative data was available to do a thorough analysis of factors that reinforce or increase prejudice in relation to short-term mission trips. Therefore, using previous studies and observations to highlight the potential for extending the contact theory into the international short-term mission realm is an important step.

# Application of the Contact Hypothesis to Short-Term Missions Trips

## **Equal Status**

According to the contact hypothesis, people must have equal status in order for prejudice to decrease (Allport, 1954); however, as was seen earlier, prejudice may also decrease if members of the minority group have a higher status than majority group members (Jackman & Crane, 1986). An analysis in regards to short-term mission trips revealed that the equal status condition was not met.

Short-term mission trip participants were at a disadvantage because often the participants did not speak the local language or understand the host culture. Consequently, participants needed the local ministry leadership to function as a conduit between themselves and the host community. Participants were often under the authority of host ministry leaders when executing the mission project, and were dependent on the host ministry leaders for learning about the local culture's social norms. Host ministry leaders were also experts about the ministry project, and the participants needed to rely on the host ministry leaders to learn how to complete the project successfully. Furthermore, when participants stayed with host families, participants were dependent on the local population for basic needs such as food and shelter. Host families were able to provide considerable insight into the local culture and also to provide emotional support through hospitality. Since the participants are a minority, one would consider that the results would be similar to what Yancey (2001) found among Whites who were minorities in multiracial churches. However, it is important to realize that while trip participants may have been at a disadvantage in some ways, the knapsack of U.S. privilege most likely offset any disadvantages encountered.

The knapsack of privilege is not unlike McIntosh's (1998) description of White privilege. Participants from the U.S. were usually from middle to upper-middle classes, carried an American passport, and spoke English, thereby placing the participants at an advantage to the host community members. Furthermore, that the participants were identified as volunteers also communicated privilege. The participants were coming to *serve* the local community *in need*.

Moreover, the fact that the participants had necessary funds to pay for the airfare and the option of leaving work or school to take the trip most likely did not go unnoticed by the host community.

Although U.S. participants carried privilege, some of the privilege may have been compromised because of the unfamiliarity with the language, location, culture, and type of project. However, the advantages that were associated with U.S. privilege most likely outweighed any disadvantages participants experienced due to language and unfamiliarity with the culture. The equal status requirement was not met by short-term mission trips because of the power of U.S. privilege.

#### **Common Goals**

In order for prejudice to be reduced, racial groups must have common goals (Allport, 1954). While the status disparities between the hosts and the trip participants may not have met the conditions for the contact hypothesis, the condition of common goals is more likely to have been met in a limited way.

Short-term mission trip participants were usually involved in hands-on activities in the local community, and worked together with host ministry leaders to build churches, to teach English, or to work on economic development projects. All of the activities were usually directed by the host ministry leaders who shared a similar desire as participants for economic and spiritual development in the community. Furthermore, participants and host ministry leaders alike were motivated not only by a desire to help the community, but also with a common religious value of sharing Christ's love and proselytizing. Therefore participants aided the host ministry leaders in accomplishing the shared goals. Having common goals could have aided in reducing prejudice.

Nevertheless, this condition was limited because while participants may have shared similar goals as the host ministry leaders, they may not have shared the same goals as the community members. Some community members were from different religions, and thus, did not necessarily share the same religious motivations as the trip participants. Furthermore, community members' interest in participating in the mission project may have been more inclined towards economic gain rather than for spiritual motivations. While community members may have been interested in the mission project,, they may not have been as interested in the religious teachings or prayer. Therefore, the condition of having common goals may have only been partially met.

# **Institutional Support**

Another condition of the contact hypothesis is that of institutional support, meaning that there is an authority that approves of, or encourages, the contact (Allport, 1954). Participants and host ministry leaders shared common religious beliefs. Consequently, the institutional support offered by the organization may have contributed to prejudice-reducing conditions. An opportunity for institutional support could have been the local church. In many cases,

participants visited the host church on Sunday mornings and had the opportunity to worship with host ministry leaders as well as with community members.

## **Absence of Competition**

Studies have shown that competition among different racial groups can lead to tension (Wilson & Taub, 2006). An important consideration, therefore, is that there be no competition between majority and minority group members in order for prejudice to decrease. The roles between trip participants, local ministry leaders, and community members were clearly defined and as a result few, if any, opportunities for competition arose. Nevertheless, where competition could potentially occur is between the U.S. mission organization and the local ministry leaders. Sometimes, the two groups may have competing strategies for how to best reach the shared goals. Therefore, the absence of competition condition may be met between trip participants and the host community, but it may not be fully met between the U.S. mission organization and the local ministry leaders.

#### **Sustained Contact**

Sustained contact is another condition of the contact hypothesis. As noted above, the average duration of a trip is eight days (Wuthnow & Offutt, 2008). Often, participants tried to stay in contact with host ministry leaders and their host families after the trip. Participants attempted to support local missionaries economically and also to return on a subsequent trip; however, such relationships were usually short-lived. Building lasting relationships could be facilitated with the use of technology. For example, communication through social media, email and Skype were used; however, sustained contact was rarely achieved. Therefore, the condition of sustained contact was not found to be met through short-term mission trips.

# **Intimacy**

Allport (1954) theorized that contact between racial groups needed to lead to the "perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups" (p. 281). However, a better way of explaining the condition may exist by using Jackman and Crane's (1986) condition of intimacy. Jackman and Crane (1986) found that prejudice was lowest among Whites who had both Black acquaintances and Black *friends*, instead of Black *acquaintances*. Friendships can take a long time to form, and short-term trips are too brief to allow for such a relationship to fully develop. While it is highly unlikely that long-lasting friendships can form during such a short amount of time, participants may have experienced moments of intimacy with the host community.

Furthermore, trip participants were removed from their comfort zone and placed into a setting that could have drastically affected their current understanding of the world. For many trip participants, a short mission trip could have been the individual's first experience outside of the U.S. Perhaps some trip participants were seeing poverty for the first time. Such experiences could have made participants feel vulnerable and more open to sharing life experiences. Likewise, Simmel (1908) theorized that community members may confide in strangers, or outsiders, because of a lack of concern that the stranger will share the information with other community members. Simmel termed this a "confessional" (Simmel, 1908, p. 182). Therefore, participants may have had the opportunity to connect emotionally and spiritually with local ministry leaders and host community members due to the "stranger" status.

Moreover, experiencing the generous hospitality of local community members, especially when surrounded by poor economic conditions, and observing how people in a different part of the world live, helped participants identify common interests and a common humanity among the two groups. Therefore, there is reason to believe that short-term mission trips could have created opportunities for intimacy between participants and hosts; however, due to the short nature of these visits, it is important to recognize that this condition may not have been fully met.

## Voluntary

In addition to Allport's (1954) conditions, Yancey (2001) argued that in order for the contact hypothesis to be met, contact must be voluntary. There was mixed evidence that this condition was met during short-term mission trips. In regards to the trip participants, there were economic and time costs associated with going on a trip. Therefore, this indicates that the participation was voluntary on their part.

In regards to the voluntary participation of the community members, the issue was more complicated. One could assume that community members' participation was voluntary due to the desire to participate in the mission project. However, while participation in the mission project was voluntary, contact with the trip participants was not necessarily voluntary. As was mentioned above, community members' likely have a strong economic interest for participating in the mission project. Therefore, they may not have seen contact with the trip participants as voluntary, but rather as *necessary* in order to receive an economic benefit. Nevertheless, most community members welcomed trip participants and demonstrated hospitality. However, again, contact with trip participants was often required in order to receive benefits from the mission project. Therefore, it is unclear whether the voluntary condition of the contact hypothesis was met.

#### **Discussion and Conclusion**

The application of the contact hypothesis to short-term mission trips assisted in identifying interesting and important insights for race relations in international religious institutions. Below, the insights will be discussed in light of the research questions.

In regards to the research questions, "What elements of short-term mission trips may create the conditions required to reduce prejudice?" and "What elements of short-term missions trips may create conditions which reinforce or increase prejudice?", the answers are uncertain because the findings indicated support for, and against, the contact hypothesis conditions.

First, while equal status may be slightly balanced out by the advantages and disadvantages of trip participants and community members, it is likely that the power the knapsack of U.S. privilege carries may outweigh the disadvantages that trip participants experience. Although the host community had the advantage of being the numerical majority, the host community was, generally, the economic minority. Therefore, contact could serve to reinforce or increase prejudice among trip participants. Second, while trip participants may share common goals with the host ministry leaders, trip participants may not share common goals with all community members. Third, the non-competitive nature of the relations between the trip participants and the host ministry leaders was recognized, but competition between the U.S. mission organization and the local ministry leaders may exist.

Lastly, contact established through short-term mission trips was generally not sustained; however, was the contact intimate and voluntary enough to reduce prejudice? The question, and the response, was complicated due to the highly subjective nature of both. The contact was likely to be voluntary *enough* to meet the condition; however, intimacy would be difficult to measure. Due to language barriers and the short duration of the trips, the conclusion that intimacy developed enough to make significant reductions in prejudice is doubtful. In general, participants had more favorable attitudes towards the host community upon leaving, than upon arrival. However, the attitudes may be comprised more of compassion and affection, instead of a commitment to take political, or even, personal action to improve the community's quality of life long-term. Based on these findings, it can be argued that short-term mission trips did not create the conditions necessary to reduce prejudice according to the contact hypothesis.

If short-term mission trips did not result in reducing or decreasing participants' prejudice, what positive effects could such trips have? Participation can raise awareness about poverty, corruption, and lack of opportunities. Such trips could provide a meaningful experience for most participants, and could result in some sort of short-term change, whether in attitude, personal spending habits, or religious commitment.

However, the biggest criticism was, will participation in short-term mission trips bring long-lasting change in attitude or behavior? As previously noted, many scholars are skeptical of the long-term effects. While widespread long-term change may not be achievable, it is possible to

increase the likelihood of change if participants are educated about the historical and structural factors that explain why members of the host community may live in poverty. This type of education could be integrated into meetings before the trip, during the trip, and at the debriefing time. Opportunities to get involved "back home" by becoming aware of U.S. political activity abroad could help, as well as opportunities to become involved in social policy regarding minority populations in the United States.

The main limitation of this study was that it is largely speculative and is not supported by rigorous empirical analysis; however, this study does point to the importance for such research and suggests the potential for development of further theoretical insight.

In addition, this study also uncovers many areas needed for future research. Specific racial attitudes among short-term mission trip participants could be examined. An empirical study that applies both quantitative and qualitative methods in data collection and analysis is necessary to evaluate such a topic. Also, considering the doubts surrounding the long-term effects of these trips, it is necessary that a longitudinal study be conducted to evaluate the impact participation in short-term missions has on individuals long-term. Lastly, an investigation whether participation in short-term mission trips leads to more positive feelings towards minorities in the U.S. would be worthwhile. Xenophobia and anti-immigrant hostilities seem to have increased with the growing ethnic diversity in the United States. Considering whether participation in short-term mission trips abroad could affect participants' attitudes towards minority groups in the U.S. could be both timely and rewarding.

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