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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

STEREOTYPING IN BLACK AND WHITE: DIFFERENCES IN STEREOTYPE KNOWLEDGE AND STEREOTYPE USE

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

LADONNA LEWIS RUSH

Norman, Oklahoma

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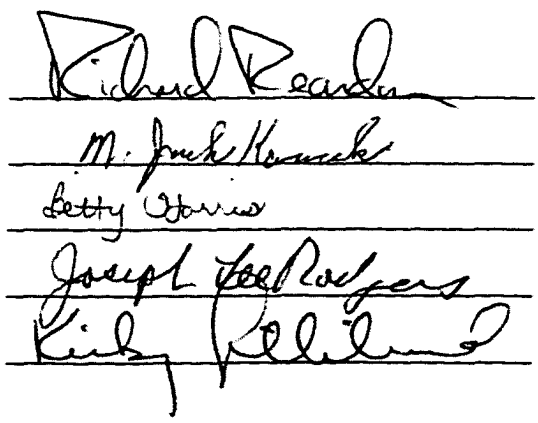
A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY



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Abstract

This study examined the content of stereotypes about Blacks and Whites, and the use of those stereotypes when confronted with ambiguous behaviors by a member of the stereotyped group. In study 1, both Black and White participants were asked to indicate on a adjective checklist, the components of the socially held stereotypes of both Blacks and Whites. In study 2, participants were given a scenario in which a target person (who was either Black or White) engaged in ambiguous behaviors. They were asked to rate the target person on ten trait scales. The results of the two studies indicated that Blacks and Whites were able to report the characteristics of the stereotype of Blacks, however, only Blacks consistently reported the content of the stereotype of Whites. Also, Blacks used the stereotype information in their ratings of Whites, and Whites used the stereotype information in their ratings of Blacks. There was a race of target/race of participant interaction for several of the trait scales. Implication and directions for future research are discussed.

Stereotyping in Black and White: Differences in Stereotype Knowledge and Stereotype Use

The question of what stereotypes are, and how we use them, is not a new one. Social psychologists and others have been studying stereotyping for decades, yet consensus about what they are and how they work has yet to be reached. Since Gordon Allport's treatment of the subject of stereotyping in his work, *The Nature of Prejudice* in 1954, and in the works on stereotyping and prejudice that preceded it, the question of how stereotypes work, why they work, and what we can do to change them, has been both pressing and difficult for the field of psychology to tackle. Prior to the treatment of stereotyping by Allport, an interesting perspective was put forth by W. E. B. DuBois who wrote about a "dual consciousness" that exists in the mind of African-Americans. According to DuBois, Blacks are in the situation of knowing what they think of themselves, and knowing the components of the socially held stereotype about Blacks. He claims that Blacks are challenged every day with the knowledge of the preference for Whiteness over their own Blackness, and that Whites are not necessarily made aware of their Whiteness on a daily basis. His analysis of the situation in which Blacks in the United States find themselves is at once simple and brilliant, yet an approach to stereotyping, prejudice, and racism that considers these issues has yet to surface. Gains (1995) engages in a comparison of Gordon Allport (*The Nature of Prejudice*, 1954) and

W.E.B. DuBois (*The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903/1969), and raises some interesting questions about the personality development and day-to-day experiences of Blacks. From the work of DuBois and that of Gains, it is apparent that some attention to these issues would be a valuable addition to the field of social psychology. Social psychology has failed to consider the possibility of the type of qualitatively different life experience for Blacks and Whites that may lead to different perspectives on how stereotyping works and how it is used by individuals.

The present research was intended to investigate ethnic group stereotyping by minority group members and to look at the possibility of group differences in stereotyping based upon minority group status. In order to understand the context in which this research was conducted, an historical overview of the stereotyping and prejudice literature is provided. Because stereotyping and prejudice are highly related, and stereotyping research grew from roots in the prejudice literature, the initial historical accounts involve research and theory about prejudice. In addition to an historical overview, recent research in stereotyping from several different theoretical perspectives is presented. Finally, the hypotheses being investigated by this research project are discussed.

Historical Overview of Stereotype/Prejudice Research

A nice historical perspective on stereotype and prejudice research can be found in Duckitt (1992). Duckitt points out seven

distinct historical approaches in the way prejudice/stereotyping has be understood and studied by psychologists.

Until the 1920's, the predominant view of race relations in the United States was one that claimed the superiority of Whites to all other races of people. This view was supported with intelligence testing in the early 1900's by researchers such as Henry Goddard (1910). Goddard was called upon to administer intelligence tests to members of different ethnic groups (Blacks and immigrants to the United States). Based on the results of those tests, Goddard made claims about mental ability and genetic differences between the groups. Because the early research did not consider the perspective of the minority groups being studied (Guthrie, 1976), the results indicated that members of the minority groups were not as intelligent as Whites. These results were used to justify abuse of minority group members. One example of the misuse of intelligence test results can be found in the use of the tests in Nazi Germany. The results of early (1920's) intelligence tests taken by Jewish immigrants were used by Hitler as a means of justification for the holocaust, among other insidious uses. From this example it is easy to see how research methodology that is racially biased can be used to justify the subjugation of groups of people. This is not to say that early intelligence tests were designed to justify this kind of treatment of minority groups, but that the eurocentric research methods used by early researchers in this area led to conclusions that differentially affected minority groups. The preoccupation of

many people during this time period (1920's) seems to have been the justification of the subjugation of Blacks. Most of the studies of the time were comparative studies aimed at pointing out the differences between Blacks and Whites, with Blacks appearing to be inferior to Whites. Garth (1925) provided a review of 73 intelligence tests and concluded that these "studies taken all together seem to indicate the mental superiority of the white race"(cited in Duckitt, 1992). Thus, central to the state of prejudice research was the assertion of the inferiority of Blacks and other "Backward Races". Guthrie (1976) provides a good overview of the way intelligence testing was used to justify mistreatment of Blacks, and immigrants.

The Racial Superiority Question

During the late 1920's into the 1930's, a shift in the approach to the study of prejudice occurred such that prejudice and the notion of the superiority of Whites was brought into question. Duckitt points out several possible explanations for this shift in thinking. One possible explanation for this shift is that the influx of people of Jewish ethnicity into the field of psychology prompted the investigation of attitudes of Whites who claimed superiority to Jews and other ethnic groups. Researchers began to question the legitimacy of superiority and inferiority claims. Because of this shift, researchers were led to investigate how the stigmatization of minorities by Whites could be explained if the inferiority of minority races was not true. Floyd Allport (1924) posed the issue by stating "The discrepancy in mental ability is

not great enough to account for the problem which centers around the American Negro or to explain fully the ostracism to which he is subjected" (cited in Duckitt, 1992). Because of this kind of thinking, the study of the racial attitudes themselves, specifically the racial attitudes held by Whites, became the focus of numerous research projects. Co-incidentally, the publication of Lippman's book, *Public Opinion* in 1922 also contributed to the research methodology of the time. Lippman characterized stereotypes as being based on incomplete information. Stereotypes were viewed by Lippman as being composed of exaggerated images that did not account for variability in the stereotyped group. Lippman also argued that while stereotypes were based on incomplete information, they were necessary because they economized the amount of attention a person had to devote to new situations. The description of stereotypes by Lippman is an early instance of focusing on the intersection between prejudice and stereotyping.

The Psychodynamic Perspective

The 1930's and 1940's ushered in a period of study from the Psychodynamic perspective. The Psychodynamic approach suggests that stereotypes develop as a mechanism for scapegoating, or as a defense mechanism. Stereotyping processes were believed to be unconscious, and to result from environmental stress or internal tensions in the personality structure of the individual. This explanation of prejudice seemed to explain a great deal of prejudiced behaviors in the United States, and seemed to explain the ubiquity of racism. The rise of

Nazi Germany and anti-Semitism was easily explained by this model. From the psychodynamic perspective, both positive and negative stereotypes can be explained as having self-protective qualities. However, Psychodynamicists could not explain stereotypes that seemed not to have some self-protective property. For example, having a positive stereotype about a member of your own group, or having a negative stereotype about a member of an out-group might be considered self-protective. Having a negative stereotype about a member of your own group would certainly not seem to be self-protective. It was during the 1930's and 40's that the first significant social psychological research in the area of stereotyping was conducted by Katz and Braly (1933). Katz and Braly had 100 college students at Princeton consider a list of categories of people, for example, Italians, Negroes, Germans, and so on. For each group of people, participants were asked to evaluate them using a checklist of 84 adjectives. The data led Katz and Braly to conclude that stereotypes are public fictions that arise from prejudicial influences "with scarcely any factual basis"(p.288). Later, in a work published in 1935, Katz and Braly further investigated the stereotypes by having a different set of participants evaluate the desirability of each of the 84 adjectives. Participants were also asked to evaluate the likeability of the 10 groups of people. They found a great deal of similarity between the participants evaluations of the adjectives, and the ratings of the groups of people, such that the stereotypes about the groups and the

feelings toward those groups seemed to correspond. This led Katz and Braly to conclude that stereotyping and prejudice were inextricably linked, and that stereotyping contributed to racial prejudice. Katz and Braly urged an investigation of the basic mechanisms and the common factors and processes underlying all prejudice.

The Kernel of Truth Hypothesis

Also occurring in the 1930's and 40s was the ushering in of the 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis which, simply stated, says that while stereotypes do not consider individual differences, they do capture some important features of reality. There were several studies that investigated this notion. One notable study was conducted by LaPiere (1936). In this study, Californians were asked to report the characteristics of Armenians. Armenians at that time had a reputation for lawlessness. To the contrary, LaPiere found that Armenians, who represented 6 percent of the population in the community in which data were collected, were only involved in 1.5 percent of the court cases prosecuted by the police. This study supported the notion that stereotypes are not necessarily based on truth. Most of the studies during this general time frame (Fernberger, 1948; Schoenfeld, 1942) also failed to find support for the Kernel of Truth hypothesis.

Authoritarian Personality

The 1950's led to a change in approach, if not perspective. Instead of attempting to explain prejudice, and thus stereotyping as a universal truth, researchers attempted to explain why certain

people were prone to prejudice and others were not. This pre-disposition toward prejudice was believed to be linked to having a certain kind of personality. Thus, people who participated in extreme demonstrations of prejudice, for example, Nazis, could be said to possess a pathological personality structure. According to this theory, normal people would not be likely to hold strong negative stereotypes, and would not be prone to prejudiced and discriminatory behaviors. The theory that prejudiced people have pathological personality structures seemed internally consistent; investigations of this phenomenon demonstrated that those who held anti-Semitic views were more likely to express anti-Black views as well (Harding et al., 1969). Among the researchers who solidified this view were Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford who published *The Authoritarian Personality* in 1950, and Rokeach et al. (1960). Adorno et al. (1950) investigated the personality associated with prejudice by administering psychometric tests to individuals who, based on their behavior seemed to have a prejudiced disposition, and to more tolerant individuals who seemed to have a tolerant disposition. Based on this type of data collection, they were able to develop the F-Scale, which was believed to be predictive of prejudiced behavior. Rokeach et al. (1960) developed a measure of dogmatism that was also thought to be a valuable tool for predicting a pre-disposition toward prejudice. Also during this time period *The Nature of Prejudice* by Gordon Allport (1954) was published. Allport proposed that stereotypes occur as part of

a categorization process that is necessary, but deficient in that some information is ignored once the stereotype is in place. A key contribution of Allport is the notion that the interpretation of new information is biased by the presence of a stereotype.

The Sociocultural Perspective

The 1960's and 1970's brought about a period of looking at prejudice and stereotyping from a Sociocultural perspective, focusing on the role of social learning and social reinforcement of behaviors and beliefs. This shift in focus from personality explanations might have been stimulated by the actions of those involved in the Civil Rights movement of the 50's and 60's. An awareness of institutionalized racism emerged, and new approaches to understanding prejudice and stereotyping grew from that awareness. Social conformity became the explanation of choice for those attempting to explain racism. During this time, Sherif and his colleagues were conducting research that seemed to support an intergroup relations explanation for prejudice and stereotyping. Sherif conducted field studies in which he manipulated the group membership of boys in a summer camp environment (Sherif et al., 1961). Sherif and colleagues found that the boys in one group developed negative stereotypes about the members of another group during intergroup conflict, but that this stereotype changed when the boys engaged in activities that required intergroup cooperation. According to Sherif, stereotypes represented the relationships between groups from the group's perspective, and these intergroup relations must be considered in

the study of stereotyping. So for Sherif, stereotypes were the result of a complex interaction of an individual's identification with a group, and the perception of that group's relationship to other groups. One interesting development during this time period was the emergence of a view of stereotyping that allowed stereotypes to be investigated independently of prejudice.

Resistance to change, despite widely held social opinion in the 60's and 70's in the form of riots and revolts, cast doubt on the view that prejudice was simply maintained by social norms. The emergence of a social-cognitive perspective that could attempt to explain stereotype resistance to change, and encompass the previously held social conformity perspective occurred. The social-cognitive perspective represents the bulk of the current research on stereotyping.

Recent Inquiry

Most of the current research and discussion on the topic of stereotyping focuses on the development and maintenance of stereotypes, on different explanations for how and why they work, and on why they are resistant to change. Several approaches are currently leading the research paradigms in academia, namely Subtyping, Illusory Correlation, the Contact Hypothesis, and In-Group Heterogeneity/Out-Group Homogeneity. Most of these approaches assume that the formation of stereotypes is a normal, natural way that individuals cope with a complex environment, and thus, stereotype formation is automatic and adaptive. Some of the theories and research presented

focuses on stereotype maintenance. Other theories presented in this section focus on stereotype change, yet they will give us information about stereotype maintenance and use. While the present research cannot propose to resolve the differences between these competing views, we hoped to be able to provide some information based on a minority population sample that would help to integrate several of these views, and perhaps, lead the way for further investigation using minority populations.

Illusory Correlation

Illusory correlation has been defined as an erroneous perception of covariation between two uncorrelated events (Chapman, 1967). Hamilton and Gifford (1976) offer a representative experimental paradigm for the illusory correlation line of research. The phenomenon of illusory correlation was so named because participants seemed to be finding a correlation where none really existed; and as a byproduct, they overestimated the frequency of distinctive events. In order to study the illusory correlation, Hamilton and Gifford presented participants with 27 moderately desirable and 12 moderately undesirable behaviors (previously normed) that were performed by a member of one of two groups (group A contained 26 members and group B contained 13 members), thus they manipulated majority and minority group status (members of group A are in the majority group, members of group B are in the minority group). Participants were then given behavior information paired with a member of either group A or B (e.g.,

"John, a member of group A, visited a sick friend in the hospital."). The ratio of desirable behaviors to undesirable behaviors was held constant for both groups, and as a result, the least frequently occurring pair would be a moderately undesirable behavior paired with a member of group B. Participants were also shown a list of all the behaviors that had been presented to them during the experiment, and were asked to indicate the group membership of the person who had performed a particular behavior. Hamilton and Gifford expected to show that undesirable behaviors would be overattributed to group B. The results of this initial study supported the research hypothesis. Participants attributed the undesirable behaviors to group B more than they did to group A. The participants attributed 52% of the undesirable behaviors to group B, when in reality, only 25% were actually paired with group B. Hamilton and Gifford conducted a second experiment in which they attempted to demonstrate that if you change the ratios of undesirable to desirable behaviors such that the least frequently occurring pairing is a member of group B paired with a desirable behavior, you would get an overestimation of the number of desirable behaviors in group B. Their second study found support for their hypothesis; when the ratios were changed, people overestimated the occurrence of desirable behaviors paired with the smaller group.

One thing that Hamilton and Gifford did not consider in either of their studies was how membership in one of the two groups might affect the judgments people make. A study by

Shaller and Maass (1989) addressed this issue. Shaller and Maass used the same paradigm as Hamilton and Gifford, however, they told the participants that they were either a member of group A or of group B based on their performance on a battery of personality tests; they also included a control group that provided a replication of the Hamilton and Gifford study. They found that people who were members of group B, when there should have been an overestimation of undesirable behaviors with group B, did not show any evidence of illusory correlation. The ratings of group B members seemed to be accurate. It was speculated that this could be because they were more likely to pay attention to their group, or look for the desirable behaviors coming from their group more so than undesirable behaviors. Shaller and Maass' work suggests that there may be some in-group mechanism that can mediate the effects of the illusory correlation. While this may be explained in part by the In-Group Heterogeneity/Out-Group Homogeneity effect to be discussed later, it does not address the kind of group membership that racial stereotypes provide. Racial stereotypes are well established, and may have deep personal meaning to individual members of a stereotyped group. In the Shaller and Maass study, the participant's personal investment in the group to which they were assigned is minimal.

Subtyping

The Subtyping literature suggests that people, when confronted with an instance that is inconsistent with their stereotype, will create a subtype for that instance that allows

their original stereotype to remain intact while accommodating the inconsistent information.

Devine and Baker (1991), using current cultural buzzwords as a guide, developed nine possible subtype labels, and a general category label, that were presented to participants (e.g. general=Blacks, Subtypes=Black athlete; Black businessman; getto Black; militant Black; Uncle Tom; Oreo cookie; streetwise Black; and Welfare Black). All of the participants who participated in the study were White, and they were shown only one subtype. Participants were given a packet of materials that included two pages of thought listing boxes. They were instructed to read the category label on the page and write down the characteristics that they believed were representative of the cultural conception of the group (Devine & Baker, 1991). Each participant only saw one of the subtypes, but they were all required to do a thought listing for the general category Blacks. Devine and Baker expected to find some overlap between the subcategories and the overall category of Blacks, but little overlap between the subcategories. Their findings were mixed on both of these points. There was some evidence that subtypes could be useful, though, there did not seem to be meaningful subtypes for "oreo cookie", "militant Black", or "Uncle Tom", for this sample of participants. There was a considerable amount of overlap between the subtypes of "streetwise", "ghetto", and "welfare" with each other and with the overall category Black. Lastly, the categories of "Athletic" and "businessman" had almost no overlap with the overall category,

and no overlap with the other subtypes, but a significant amount of overlap with each other. The Athletic and Businessman category results lead to the question of whether these are really subtypes at all, or if they are independent categories of their own. This research suggests that if people have a stereotype about a particular group, they can differentially apply the stereotypic characteristics to the members of that group such that not all members of that group are necessarily bound by the characteristics of the main (general category) stereotype. Whether or not subtyping is used by members of minority groups about the majority group has yet to be investigated.

Further research in the area of subtyping was done by Johnston and Hewstone (1992). These researchers proposed a prototype model for subtyping, and suggested that subtyping occurs when instances are not viewed as being typical of a given category, typicality being determined by comparing the instance to a prototype of the category. Johnston and Hewstone were also interested in stereotype change, and suggested that subtyping was more likely to occur when disconfirming information is concentrated in a few instances, as opposed to being dispersed across many instances. They were also seeking to demonstrate a problem with the Bookkeeping model of stereotype change which suggests that modification of a stereotype can occur by the additive influence of each piece of disconfirming evidence. Participants were given the group names "physics students" and "drama students". They were then presented with information

about behaviors that were engaged in by an individual who was a member of one of these two groups. The behaviors were either consistent with the stereotype about that group, inconsistent with the stereotype about that group, or irrelevant. Stereotype inconsistent information was either concentrated in few group members, or dispersed across many group members. Participants estimated there to be more inconsistent information presented in the dispersed than in the concentrated condition. Also, the number of typical group members was overestimated in the concentrated condition and underestimated in the dispersed condition. These findings seem to suggest that it is easier to subtype if you only have to subtype a few individuals, however when it seems that practically everyone you are presented with is inconsistent with your stereotype, then changing the stereotype may be more practical than creating subtypes for everybody. These results both show support for subtyping, and demonstrate one possible avenue for stereotype change.

Contact Hypothesis

The Contact Hypothesis is the widely held belief that interaction between individuals belonging to different groups will reduce ethnic prejudice and intergroup tension. A thorough review of the literature on the Contact Hypothesis was done by Hewstone and Brown (1986). Their review highlights Allport's (1954) discussion of the nature of the contact between different groups, and how important the content and circumstances surrounding that contact are. Allport felt that the following were

the necessary conditions for stereotype change to occur: (a) Equal status between members of the groups, (b) Higher status held by the minority member, (c) A social climate in favor of intergroup contact, (d) When the contact is intimate rather than casual, (e) When the contact is pleasant or rewarding, and (f) When the members of the contact groups are engaging in a superordinate goal that is of more importance than any goal of the individual groups. Conversely, Allport suggests that interaction between members of different groups that does not meet the above criteria can have damaging effects on intergroup relations. These are compelling elements, but Allport seems to clearly be talking about stereotypes held by the majority group about the minority group. Many of these conditions would not necessarily apply to stereotypes held by the minority group about the majority group.

However, Allport is not the only person to talk about contact as being one important possible avenue to stereotype change. There was classic work in this area conducted by Sherif et al. (1961) and is commonly known as the Robbers Cave experiment. This study was discussed previously in this paper. The Robbers Cave experiment is often used as an example of how groups can be brought together by having them engage in obtaining superordinate goals.

Rothbart and John (1993) also discuss contact as a means for stereotype change. In their view, the key to change is whether a perceiver is able to generalize from one individual who exhibits positive characteristics, to the entire group. This generalization to

the group is more likely to occur if the fit between the characteristics of the member and the characteristics of the category is high, but the member possesses some characteristics disconfirming the category. Rothbart and John's perspective implies that an ideal ratio of confirmation to disconfirmation needs to be achieved in order to make alteration of the stereotype the most economical option. Again, this view applies very well to the majority group's view of a minority group, but its application to a minority group's view of the majority has yet to be investigated.

In-Group Heterogeneity/Out-Group Homogeneity

In-Group Heterogeneity/Out-Group Homogeneity refers to the notion that individuals view the members of the group to which they belong as having heterogeneous characteristics. In contrast, individuals view the members of other groups as possessing homogeneous characteristics (they are all alike). Park, Ryan, and Judd (1992) looked at the complexity of in-group and out-group representations using the number of subtypes a person can generate as one measure of perceived variability. Park et al. used engineering majors and business majors as participants, and engineering and business as categories in their study. They found that the number of subgroups generated was significantly larger for the in-group than for the out-group. Furthermore, when they controlled for the difference in the number of subgroups, the out-group homogeneity effect went away. Based on their research, Park, Ryan, and Judd suggest that members of a group may find it

to be valuable to subtype instances that disconfirm their positive in-group stereotype as a means of self protection. The opposite could potentially be true with regard to subtyping members of the out-group. If a person has a somewhat negative stereotype of members of the out-group, then subtyping may take place for instances that disconfirm their negative stereotype of the out group. This view of the topic may provide some integration of the in-group/out-group literature with the subtyping literature.

The Response of Black Psychology

Largely ignored in mainstream social psychology has been the response of Black psychologists and the emerging field of Black Psychology. Research by Black psychologists has served to offer alternative explanations for a host of research findings about Blacks. Black researchers have taken on several of the concepts that have been investigated by traditional psychologists and have looked at them from an Afrocentric perspective. Some examples of these include delay of gratification research, and the notion of self-hate. These are provided here in order to demonstrate the possibility that looking at research from a minority group perspective may enhance our understanding of many topics in psychology, including stereotyping.

Substantial research on Blacks with regard to delay of gratification was conducted by Walter Mischel in the 1950's and 1960's. Banks, McQuater, Ross, and Ward (1983) defined the concept of delay of gratification as the ability to forego immediate opportunities to satisfy impulses in favor of alternative

opportunities that may be of greater value, but more temporally remote. Mischel (1958) investigated delay of gratification behavior with Trinidadian Black children. He concluded that Blacks had a tendency toward immediate gratification. Subsequent research by Mischel also concluded that, in conjunction with a tendency toward immediate gratification, there was also a relationship between this tendency and the lack of father figures in the home. Black researchers (Ward, Banks & Wilson, 1991) conducted a meta-analysis of the Mischel studies (Mischel 1958, 1961a, 1961b) and similar studies (Price-Williams & Ramirez, 1974; Strickland, 1972) and they have concluded that the tendency for immediate gratification in Blacks is no greater than the tendency for immediate gratification in Whites. Furthermore, they pointed out flaws in the methodology used that could have contributed to the errant findings. Factors such as the race of the experimenter, and the socio-economic background of the participants were determined to be important confounding variables that were not accounted for by the design of most of the studies in this area.

The literature on self-hate among Blacks has also been challenged by researchers who feel the research in the area has, by and large, failed to consider the unique circumstances and intervening variables that comprise the Black experience in America. The researchers investigating self-hate among Blacks were interested in the development of self-esteem in Blacks. The standard research in this area consisted of racial preference

studies in which children would be presented with objects (i.e., racial dolls (dolls with light skin or dark skin), pictures of people) and asked to select particular ones (e.g.., "Which one is like you?"; "Which one is the pretty one?"). Many of the studies conducted in this way found that Black children tended to chose the White dolls/pictures as the pretty one or the one like them (Asher & Asher, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1939,1950; Goodman, 1952). These findings were used as evidence that Black children had very negative self concepts, in other words, that Blacks exhibited "self-hate". The implication of a finding of self-hate among Blacks was that Blacks would have lower self-esteem than Whites. The research on self-hate among Blacks was unable to explain the fact that when Black children were given measures of self-esteem, their scores would be reasonably high, much more so than would be predicted by the self-hate findings (Akbar, 1985, Nobles, 1973).

In response to the Black self-hate findings, researchers have argued that the psychologists who conducted studies on this phenomenon and found support for the hypothesis that Blacks exhibit self-hate failed to consider cultural differences between Blacks and Whites in their research design. Spencer (1982) suggests that Blacks are able to compartmentalize their self-concept such that they are able to keep it separate, and thus buffered from, the overall attitudes in society about Blacks. In this way, Blacks are able to have positive self-concepts and self-esteem while realizing that in society, blackness is not valued.

Given this explanation, the Black children in the self-hate studies were using information about social desirability in making their selections. The important point here is that a consideration from the perspective of Blacks is important in explaining why on the one hand, Black children would show evidence of self-hate, and at the same time, they would score well on measures of self-esteem.

Summary

One issue that has not been addressed by any of the stereotype research is ethnic minority group status, and the impact that ethnic minority group status may have on any of these processes. The study by Shaller and Maass (1989) referenced earlier in this paper began to address group membership as an issue, but used artificial categories that are devoid of the richness of ethnic/racial group membership. These categories had no real meaning to the participants. Devine and Baker (1991) used only White participants, and subtypes of Blacks, and the list of experiments using a similar composition of participants could go on and on. What history and current inquiry have demonstrated is that stereotype research has failed to include minority group members as participants, thus leaving a great many questions about the generalizability of current theories of stereotyping to minority group members, unanswered.

Recent research by Coleman, Jussim, and Kelley (1995) suggests that the race of the perceiver may moderate the

predictions of several models of stereotyping. Coleman et al. were interested in investigating the applicability of the literature on Extremity/Complexity theory to Black participants. Extremity/Complexity theory suggests that people will have a more complex stereotype of their in-group than they do of the out-group. This theory also suggests that people will rate members of the out-group more extremely than they will rate members of the in-group (see Linville and Jones, 1980, for a discussion of this theory). Coleman et al. (1995) asked Black participants to rate targets that were presented as job candidates. Some characteristics of the job candidates were manipulated, for example, the race of the candidate and the use of standard English versus non-standard English. Participants rated the targets on intelligence, overall occupational competence, and the likelihood of each applicant being hired. Results indicated that Blacks did not apply the same rules as Whites when rating targets. Blacks demonstrated more complexity in their stereotype of Blacks than they did in their stereotype of Whites, (consistent with In-Group Heterogeneity/Out-Group Homogeneity and Extremity/Complexity theory). However, when Blacks rated Black and White targets that either spoke standard or non-standard English, their ratings of the Black targets were just as extreme as their ratings of the White targets (not consistent with Extremity/Complexity theory). Coleman et al. (1995) concluded that theories of stereotyping need to account for power differentials between in-groups and out-groups. Because Whites are the majority and have non

stigmatized status, they may view out-groups differently than Blacks, who hold a stigmatized status.

Krueger (1996) investigated the stereotypes held by Blacks about Whites, and those held by Whites about Blacks. Their investigation primarily involved using a list of 20 adjectives taken from several sources, including the Katz and Braly (1933) adjective checklist. Consistent with our research hypothesis, Krueger's research supported the existence of stereotypes of both Blacks and Whites among members of the other race. However, Krueger did not investigate stereotype knowledge with regard to the socially held stereotype about the group of which you are a member, or stereotype use by members of both groups.

Research Overview

Our goal was to investigate the impact minority group status, e.g. being Black in the United States, has on knowledge of stereotypes, and use of stereotypes. Furthermore, we intended to begin to investigate stereotype formation, and the impact knowledge of a stereotype has on intergroup perception. By doing so, we hoped to help to fill a gap in the current stereotyping literature. We intended to provide a basis for future research that will investigate the application of specific theories of stereotype maintenance and change to minority group members and their stereotypes about the majority group.

Study 1 examined the existence of a stereotype about the majority (Whites) held by a minority group (Blacks). Beyond establishing the existence of a stereotype, this study organized the

content of the stereotype, and compared it to the content of the stereotype proposed by Brigham (1971). Study 1 also reported information about the knowledge of the stereotype of Whites that Whites have. So the question, "Do Whites know what the stereotype that minority group members have about them is?" was addressed. Study 2 investigated the use of stereotypes in reacting to ambiguous behaviors engaged in by a target who is a member of either the majority group or the minority group (either White, or Black). Study 2 also began to gather information about stereotype formation and the impact of knowledge of the existence of a stereotype on intergroup interactions for both majority and minority group members.

Study 1: Stereotype Content

This phase of the research was intended to collect information on the content of the socially held stereotypes under investigation. Most of the attention in stereotype research has focused on the stereotype of Blacks, and other minority groups held by Whites (Brigham, 1971; Devine, 1989). The stereotype of Whites held by members of minority groups has been neglected. Our stereotype content investigation was intended to supply some baseline information on the existence of a stereotype about Whites held by Blacks, and to gather information about the content of that stereotype. Research by Devine suggests that members of a society know the content of socially held stereotypes, even if they do not believe the content of the

stereotype is true. Based on these and other findings, we expected to show that both Blacks and Whites have knowledge of the socially held stereotype of Blacks. The stereotype of Whites, however, is not necessarily a stereotype that is held in society in general, but may be a stereotype that is held by particular social groups. We expected to show that there will be agreement among Blacks as to the content of the stereotype of Whites, but little agreement among Whites as to the stereotype of Whites. Conversely, we expected to show agreement among Blacks and Whites as to the content of the socially held stereotype of Blacks.

Method

Participants

Participants were 36 White students and 30 Black students in various undergraduate psychology courses at a large southwestern university who participated as one option of a research familiarization requirement.

Materials

The packet participants were asked to complete began with a page asking for general demographic information, such as race and gender. Subsequent pages asked participants to generate a thought listing of the characteristics they felt were consistent with the socially held stereotype of either Whites or Blacks. They were also given an adjective checklist adapted from the one used by Katz and Braly (1933), with some modifications to modernize the words used (Appendix B). The adjective checklist followed the thought listing, and participants were instructed that once they

completed a page of the booklet, they were not to turn back to previous pages. This was intended to prevent the adjective checklist from influencing the thought listing. Because both high and low prejudice individuals are believed to have knowledge of the socially held stereotypes (Devine, 1989), it was not deemed necessary to collect racism information.

Procedure

Participants were seated in a classroom and given a packet of information by the experimenter. After instructing the participants to carefully read the instructions at the top of each page of the packet, the experimenter verbally instructed the participants to report what they knew about the socially held stereotype, not their own personal beliefs (See Appendix A), and to be honest in their report of the information. Participants were assured of the anonymity of the data. Participants were also asked not to place any identifying marks on the packets that would allow the data to be linked directly to them in any way. They were told that the data would be analyzed as a collective whole, not on an individual basis.

Results

Complete proportion information can be found in Appendix B. For ease of reporting, Table 1 and Table 2 have been provided to show the proportion information for only those traits to which at least 40% of the respondents in one of the groups indicated that it was a component of the socially held stereotype they were asked to evaluate (see Katz & Braly, 1933; Brigham, 1971 for

similar methodology). These data seem to indicate no real consensus among White participants about the stereotype of their own group. For each of the 89 traits, at least one White participant indicated that it was a component of the socially held stereotype of Whites. There was more consensus among Blacks about the socially held stereotype of Whites. Of the 89 traits, only 66 of them were indicated by at least one Black person for the stereotype of Whites. There were 23 traits that were not indicated by any Blacks (ex. witty, fighting, individualistic, passionate, conventional, practical, aggressive, artistic, sensitive, quarrelsome, musical, jovial). Because of the level of agreement about the components of the stereotype of Whites reported by Blacks, the existence of a socially held stereotype of Whites was supported.

There were 10 traits to which no one, White or Black, responded when asked about the stereotype of Blacks (ex. scientific, sophisticated, courteous, conventional, introspective, nationalistic, practical, sensitive, neat, conservative). For both groups, at least one person indicated that 70 of the 89 traits described Blacks, meaning that 19 of them were excluded (10 of which were the same for both groups, the other 9 differed).

A reasonable consensus about the content of the stereotype of Blacks was achieved in both the Black and White sample, which is consistent with previous research in establishing the existence of a socially held stereotype of Blacks. It is important to note that the agreement about the content of the stereotype of Whites

among the Black participants was reasonably good, however, White participants viewed the stereotype about Whites as being more diverse. Because there is so much consistency in the stereotype of Whites reported by Blacks, it is reasonable to say that at some level, a stereotype of Whites does exist. It seems from these data that the White participants do not believe the content of the stereotype held about them is the same as the content that the Black participants report. This result would suggest that the White participants have a different view of the stereotype about them than do the members of a minority group. This is a critical difference between Blacks and Whites. Blacks have a very good idea about the content of the stereotype that Whites may hold about Blacks, but Whites do not have a good grasp of the stereotype that Blacks may hold of Whites.

Discussion (Study 1)

Consistent with previous research (Katz & Braly, 1933; Devine, 1989), there seems to be general agreement about the content of the socially held stereotype of Blacks held by Whites. An interesting finding here is that not only do Whites know the content of the socially held stereotype of Blacks, but Blacks also know the content of the socially held stereotype about Blacks. This adds an interesting dimension to stereotype research, particularly when you look at the situation for Whites. Though there is consistency among Blacks as to the content of the socially held stereotype of Whites, and that stereotype content is consistent with previous research done by Brigham (1971),

Whites still do not seem to know about the content of that stereotype. Whether or not we may call the stereotype that minority group members have about Whites a culturally held stereotype is a question that can not really be answered by this data. The term 'culturally held stereotype' implies that all members of a given culture have been exposed to the stereotype. It is clear that this is not the case for Whites in American society. However, a stereotype about Whites does seem to exist at some level, perhaps it can be considered a stereotype held by certain 'sub-cultures'. The idea that one group has knowledge of the socially held stereotype about them, and another group does not has interesting implications that will be further addressed in the general discussion.

Study 2 Stereotype Use

The purpose of study 2 was to investigate the different interpretations of ambiguous behavior that may be demonstrated when racial stereotypes are evoked. In addition, a second task was given to the participants that collected information about stereotype formation, and the effect that stereotype knowledge has on behavior. While this kind of research has been done using minority members, specifically Blacks, as the target, little has been done looking at the ways Blacks evaluate White targets. Devine, (1989), showed support for the notion that when a stereotype is primed, even non-consciously, it can cause an individual to rate ambiguous behaviors in a way that is consistent with the stereotype. Our study was intended to investigate how

individuals rate ambiguous behaviors when Black participants are used and the target is White. We expect to show that when the stereotype of Whites is primed, Black participants will rate the target in a way that is consistent with the socially held stereotype of Whites, while White participants will not use stereotype information in their ratings of White targets. When the target is Black, we expect members of both racial groups to rate the target person consistently with the stereotype about Blacks.

For the second task (the stereotype formation and effect on behavior task), we expected to show that Blacks report being aware of a socially held stereotype about their racial/ethnic group more frequently than Whites. We also expected to show that Blacks report having become aware of the stereotype about themselves at an earlier age than Whites. In addition, we expected to show that Blacks feel their behavior is effected by their knowledge of the socially held stereotype about them more frequently than Whites. The purpose for collecting stereotype formation and effect on behavior information was two fold. First, it was intended to begin to answer the question of how much impact knowledge of the existence of a socially held stereotype has on intergroup behavior. Information about the effect knowledge of the stereotype about ones own group has on behavior, could serve to help explain any differences found in stereotype use. Secondly, it was intended to provide information that may be used in future studies that examine the effect

knowledge about the socially held stereotype of an individual's own group might have on behavior.

Method

Participants

Participants were 30 Black and 30 White students at a private liberal arts college in the mid-west. Participants volunteered to take part in the study, and received extra credit in various introductory level classes for their participation.

Procedure

Participants were instructed that they would be taking part in two unrelated projects. They were then asked to read and sign an informed consent form (Appendix C). After they signed the consent form, they were told that they would be filling out several questionnaires. They were told that after they complete the first task (the ambiguous scenario) they were to turn it in to the experimenter, at which time they were given the second task (the stereotype knowledge survey).

For the first task, they were presented with a packet consisting of a page requesting demographic information (Appendix D) and a second page that contained the ambiguous scenario (Appendix E). The scenario described a series of ambiguous behaviors engaged in by the target individual. Race of the target was manipulated by using a name manipulation from Rush (in press).

In Rush (in press), names were tested for the likelihood that they were associated with a person of a particular racial/ethnic

group. A list of names was developed and the 70 participants were asked to rate the likelihood that a person with a particular name was Black, and the likelihood that a person with the same name was White. Only names for which ratings were high for one race (90% likelihood and above) and low for the other race (10% likelihood and lower) were used.

Participants were asked to rate the target person on a number of scales. The ambiguous behaviors were gleaned from the "Donald" paragraph created by Srull and Wyer (1979), and used by Devine in her 1989 research on automatic stereotype activation. Some additional behaviors were added in order to increase the number of behaviors, and to add trustworthiness ambiguity (an important component of the stereotype of Whites) to the hostility ambiguity (an important component of the stereotype of Blacks) (Appendix E).

At the bottom of the page on which the scenario appeared, there was a series of scales designed to reflect aspects of the stereotypes of Whites and Blacks. The scale was anchored on each end by trait words which were consistent either with the stereotype of Whites or the stereotype of Blacks (Appendix E).

After the participants completed the demographic and ambiguous scenario information, they handed the pages to the experimenter. The experimenter then gave the participants the stereotype formation and affect on behavior questionnaire (Appendix F). The stereotype formation questionnaire was designed to address possible differences between Blacks and

Whites in when they became aware of stereotypes, and how the stereotypes affect their behavior. The survey consisted of questions they were asked to answer about the formation of knowledge of stereotypes (e.g. Do you believe there is a socially held stereotype about people of your racial/ethnic group?).

After all the participants were finished with the second task, the experimenter collected the survey and read a debriefing statement aloud. Participants were then given the opportunity to ask questions.

Results

Target Evaluation

The basic design included two factors (race of participant and race of target). There were 10 dependent variables, one for each post-scenario scale. A MANOVA was performed for each factor and the interaction. All were significant. Following are the results of those analyses:

Main effect for Race of Target: $F_{(10,47)}=5.45$, $p<.01$

Main effect for Race of Participant: $F_{(10,47)}=3.55$, $p<.01$

Interaction (Race of Target/Race of Participant): $F_{(10,47)}=3.30$, $p<.01$.

In order to further understand these results, univariate tests were performed for each dependent variable.

Aggressive: Univariate tests on the dependent variable Aggressive showed a significant race of target effect ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 13.78, $p<.01$) such that the Black target was rated as more aggressive than the White target (see Table 3). There was no significant effect for race of participant and no interaction.

Deceitful: Univariate tests on the dependent variable Deceitful yielded no significant effects (see Table 4 for means).

Greedy: The results of the univariate tests on the dependent variable Greedy indicated a significant race of participant effect ($F_{(1,56)} = 9.63$, $p<.01$) such that White participants rated the targets as being more greedy than did the Black participants. There was not a significant race of target effect, and no interaction (for means see Table 5).

Hostile: Univariate tests on the dependent variable Hostile showed a significant race of target effect ($F_{(1,56)} = 8.07$, $p<.01$) such that Black targets were rated as more hostile than White targets (see Table 6). There was no significant effect for race of participant and no interaction.

Intelligent: Univariate tests on the dependent variable Intelligent yielded two significant main effects and an interaction. The main effects were significant for both race of target ($F_{(1,56)} = 20.41$, $p<.01$) and race of participant ($F_{(1,56)} = 10.80$, $p<.01$). The interaction was also significant ($F_{(1,56)} = 10.80$, $p<.01$).

One-way ANOVA's were used to further dissect this interaction. The results indicated that the Black target was viewed as being less intelligent than the White target by White participants ($F_{(1,28)} = 41.43$, $p<.01$), but there was not a significant effect for Black participants (see Table 7).

Lazy: Univariate tests on the dependent variable Lazy showed a significant main effect for race of target ($F_{(1,56)} = 7.00$,

$p<.01$), a significant main effect for race of participant ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 4.30, $p<.05$), and a significant interaction ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 6.01, $p<.01$).

One-way ANOVA's were used to further dissect the interaction. The results indicated that the Black target was viewed as being more lazy than the White target by White participants ($F_{(1,28)}$=13.720, $p<.01$), but no significant difference between the two for Black participants (see Table 8).

Selfish: The results of the univariate tests on the dependent variable Selfish indicated a significant race of target effect ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 4.70, $p<.05$) such that Black targets were rated as more selfish than White targets. There was no race of participant effect, and no interaction (for means see Table 9).

Sly: The results of the univariate tests on the dependent variable Sly yielded no significant main effects or interactions (for means see Table 10).

Sociable: The results of the univariate tests on the dependent variable Sociable indicated a significant main effect for race of target ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 4.35, $p<.05$) such that the Black targets were rated as being more sociable than the White targets. There was no significant race of participant effect, and no interaction (for means see Table 11).

Trustworthy: The results of the univariate tests on the dependent variable Trustworthy indicated a significant main effect for race of target ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 4.17, $p<.05$), a significant main effect for race of participant ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 4.17, $p<.05$), and a significant interaction ($F_{(1,56)}$ = 14.88. $p<.01$).

One-way ANOVA's were used to further dissect these results. The results of the one-way ANOVA's indicated that the White target was rated as being less trustworthy than the Black target by Black participants ($F_{(1,28)}$=14.787, p=<.01), and no significant difference between the two for White participants (see Table 12).

General Stereotype Information Survey

In order to assess the information collected about stereotype formation, and when people became aware of a stereotype about their own group, a correlational analysis was conducted. In addition, non-parametric analyses were performed to look for possible group differences in response to the survey questions.

Results indicated that all participants reported believing there was a socially held stereotype about their own group, all participants indicated that they believed there were socially held stereotypes about members of other groups, and all participants reported that they felt they knew what the components of the socially held stereotype about their ethnic/racial group were. For that reason, those questions were omitted from the analysis. The remaining two questions were analyzed to determine if there was a relationship between race of the participant, and their responses.

A correlational analysis revealed a significant correlation between race of the participant and age at which the participant became aware of the stereotype about their own group (r=-.525, p<.01), and a significant correlation for race of the participant and

whether or not knowledge of the stereotype about your own group affects your behavior (r=-.439, p<.01). Because the data were categorical in nature, non-parametric tests were conducted to look at the possibility of significant differences between the two groups of participants for these two questions. The results indicated a significant difference between the two groups of participants for stereotype knowledge age (Mann-Whitney U=80.00, p=<.01), and a significant difference between the two groups for stereotype effect on behavior (Mann-Whitney U =68.00, p=<.01). The results showed that Blacks reported having become aware of the stereotype at an earlier age than Whites (see Figure 2) and that Blacks reported that they felt knowledge of the stereotype affected their behavior more frequently than Whites (see Figure 3).

Discussion (Study 2)

The results demonstrate partial support of the stated hypotheses. When the target was given the "White" name, Black participants rated the target as less trustworthy than did White participants. Because untrustworthiness is part of the socially held stereotype of Whites, this finding is consistent with the hypothesis. When the target is given the "Black" name, participants in both groups rate the target consistently with the stereotype of Blacks, though responses by White participants are more extreme than responses by Blacks. Also consistent with the hypotheses was the result that when Whites rated the Black target, they tended to do so in a manner that is consistent with

the socially held stereotype of Blacks. Blacks were rated as more lazy, and less intelligent than Whites. Interestingly, when Blacks rated the Black target, they responded in a way that was similar to the way Whites responded to the White target. This result may support the notion of in-group bias in making judgments. The fact that Blacks and Whites differed in their ratings (collapsing across race of target) was unexpected, and will be addressed in the general discussion.

The survey data that were collected regarding stereotype knowledge also had mixed results. The fact that all participants indicated that they believed there was a socially held stereotype about their group was not expected. It was expected that White participants would not know there was a stereotype. However, the difference in age, and the difference in the effect that knowledge of stereotypes has on behavior supports the hypotheses, and has implications for differences between Blacks and Whites in their subjective experiences with stereotypes that will be further addressed in the general discussion.

General Discussion

The literature on stereotyping is replete with examples of stereotype use by Whites, and stereotype knowledge of Whites about other groups, but little information can be found that investigates the impact that being in a stereotyped group has on stereotype use. Our study set out to demonstrate the importance of group membership in stereotype use, and the possible

differential impact that stereotypes may have based on group membership.

While our research hypotheses were based on looking for differences in stereotype use, we were also interested in investigating the similarities among groups. Our view was that any differences manifested in this study could be accounted for by differential experiences with stereotypes. Because Blacks are in a numerical minority in the United States, it might be crucial for Blacks to be aware of the socially held stereotype of Blacks. Whites on the other hand, may not find themselves in situations in which knowledge of the stereotype of Whites is important.

Research by Krueger (1996) may offer an explanation for some of our research findings. Krueger asked participants (both Black participants and White participants) to evaluate the socially held stereotype of Blacks and Whites. Krueger also asked participants to indicate their personal beliefs based on attributes they associated with Blacks and Whites. Finally, Krueger asked participants to estimate what attributes would be indicated by members of the other race (e.g.. Black participants were asked to indicate what they thought White participants would say, and vice-versa). Based on the participant responses, Krueger concluded that knowledge of in-group and out-group boundaries may allow people to assume that members of the out-group feel negatively about members of the in-group. Krueger suggests that individuals are using projection, in other words, that individuals tend to believe that other people think the way they themselves

do (Krueger, 1996). Based on projection, if an individual has a negative stereotype about another group, the individual will believe the other group also has a negative stereotype about them. Krueger's notion of projection may serve to explain why Whites reported that they believed there was a stereotype about them, but the stereotype knowledge study was unable to determine that Whites actually knew what the content of the stereotype was. Believing that the out group must think negatively about the in-group may allow people to interpret ambiguous behaviors as hostile, and allow people to rationalize "preemptive aggression" in anticipation of an "attack" by the out-group (Krueger, 1996). This conclusion is an interesting one given the findings presented in this research project that Blacks say that their behavior is affected by their knowledge of the socially held stereotype of Blacks. Blacks may be preemptively deciding that Whites have stereotypes, and may purposely attempt to counteract them, while Whites are not doing the same. It could be that the expectations of members of one group are affecting the behaviors of the other group in a way that prevents any real change based on the actual interaction that takes place. Krueger's interest in stereotyping from many angles is one example of how recent research is beginning to investigate the interaction of group membership and stereotyping. Further investigation of the role of group membership is necessary in order to understand the complexities of intergroup interaction.

Nelson, Acker, and Manis (1996) investigated the irrepressible nature of stereotypes. Based on their research, they suggest that stereotypes, particularly gender stereotypes, are not controlled when a person is evaluating individuals, even when they have been told that reliance on stereotypes is pointless. It seems from our research that the stereotypes of Blacks and Whites are also irrepressible. Blacks seem to be using some stereotype information in their assessment of Black targets as well as in their assessment of White targets. If the In-Group Heterogeneity/Out-Group Homogeneity theory is correct, one would not expect to find the results we found. Our results seem to be consistent with the Nelson et al. (1996) results in that one would expect Blacks to be aware that the stereotype of Blacks is not necessarily accurate, however they continue to make their ratings in a way that is consistent with the socially held stereotype of Blacks.

Another important observation based on these data is the fact that, collapsing across target race, Black participants tended to rate the targets as being less trustworthy than did the White targets. It seems that the fact that Blacks rated the White target as significantly less trustworthy than the Black target is driving this effect, however it could be based that based on past experience, Blacks have a tendency to be wary of others in ambiguous situations. White and Parham (1990) address the issue of distrust among Blacks from an historical perspective. Their argument is best summed up in the following quote:

> "The experiences of slavery, Jim Crow legislation, de facto and de jure segregation, institutional racism, and the on-going economic oppression in America have taught Black folks to distrust White folk. Too many dreams have been deferred and promissory notes unpaid by the banks of justice for Blacks to be able to trust the White person's word, laws, and institutions." p.76.

This would be an interesting area for future investigation. The question of whether Blacks have a different interactional style than Whites, and where this difference may come from, have not been addressed in the literature. It would be interesting to attempt to understand the extent to which the experiences stated above contribute to an interactional style that may be likely to distrust others, and if this distrust may be only applied to Whites, only applied to people from other groups, or may apply to all interactions with unfamiliar others. Another possibility would be to investigate the interactional style of other groups who have had similar negative experience with trust (Native Americans). There are many possible implications from this line of study. The findings with regard to trust seem to support some of the statements from Allport (1954) in which he talks about the importance of nature of intergroup contact.

Lastly, the responses to the stereotype formation questionnaire suggest a qualitatively different experience with stereotypes for Blacks and Whites. It seems that Blacks feel their behavior is affected by their knowledge of the stereotype of Blacks, while Whites do not feel affected by knowledge of the stereotype of Whites. This supports the notion put forth by

DuBois (1903/1969) and by Gaines and Reed (1995) that Blacks have a different experience with stereotypes than Whites do. Further investigation into this phenomenon may begin to look at how stereotype knowledge affects behavior, and whether the affect that knowledge of the stereotype has on behavior is a help or a hindrance in intergroup interactions.

In summary, there are many issues with regard to race in America. Communication between people of different races is crucial in understanding the similarities, and the differences between groups. The fact that there are stereotypes, and that those stereotypes affect behavior is important, and needs to be understood and explained if stereotypes are to be prevented from being a barrier to achievement and communication. Future research should seek to understand the ways that intergroup interactions are affected by stereotypes. One possible avenue for future research could involve using other stereotypes that might show similar kinds of characteristics to the Black/White stereotypes. For example, one could investigate regional stereotypes (southerners/northerners), or socio-economic stereotypes (poor/middle-class). These kinds of studies could help to further our understanding of the kinds of social/environmental factors that contributed to the findings reported in our research.

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Table 1

Stereotype content information for the stereotype about **Whites**. Percent of respondents indicating the listed word is a component of the socially held stereotype of Whites by race of the respondent. (Only traits for which at least 40% of one of the groups of participants indicated that it was a component of the stereotype are reported here, see Appendix B for a complete listing.)

Trait	*White Participants*	*Black Participants*
Intelligent	77.8	100
Scientific	55.6	33.3
Sophisticated	50	40
Naive	33.3	46.7
Industrious	44.4	6.67
Deceitful	50	60
Untrustworthy	33.3	60
Cowardly	16.7	53.3
Generous	50	13.3
Selfish	38.9	60
Materialistic	61.1	46.7
Sportspersonlike	44.4	13.3
Stubborn	44.4	26.7
Suggestive	16.7	66.7
Nationalistic	77.8	20
Religious	61.1	20
Aggressive	50	0
Conceited	50	40
Boastful	55.6	53.3
Ambitious	66.7	40
Rude	27.8	40
Arrogant	61.1	40
Neat	33.3	46.7
Sly	33.3	53.3
Conservative	50	40
Greedy	50	60

Table 2

Stereotype content information for the stereotype about **Blacks** Percent of respondents indicating the listed word is a component of the socially held stereotype of Blacks by race of the respondent. (Only traits for which at least 40% of one of the groups of participants indicated that it was a component of the stereotype are reported here, see Appendix B for a complete listing.)

Trait	*White Participants*	*Black Participants*
Fighting	94.4	60
Stupid	50	47
Ignorant	61.1	53
Lazy	88.9	47
Deceitful	44.4	40
Unreliable	55.6	53
Dirty	50	40
Untrustworthy	50	40
Revengeful	44.4	40
Sportspersonlike	77.8	60
Argumentative	44.4	40
Stubborn	66.7	40
temperamental	66.7	47
Showy	66.7	13
Aggressive	94.4	60
Boastful	66.7	20
Talkative	50	40
loud	94.4	60
Rude	72.2	53
Arrogant	61.1	33
Musical	44.4	47
Sly	33.3	53
Quarrelsome	55.6	47
Hostile	61.1	53

Table 3

Means for the dependent variable **Aggressive** (lower scores indicate more aggressive, higher scores indicate less aggressive).

		Race of Target		p<.01
		Black	White	
Race of Participant	Black	2.3	2.5	
	White	2.1	2.9	
ns				

Table 4

Means for the dependent variable **Deceitful** (lower scores indicate more deceitful, higher scores indicate less deceitful).

		Race of Target		ns
		Black	White	
Race of Participant	Black	2.7	2.5	
	White	2	2.5	
ns				

Table 5

Means for the dependent variable **Greedy** (lower scores indicate more greedy, higher scores indicate less greedy).

		Race of Target		ns
		Black	White	
Race of Participant	Black	2.9	2.7	
	White	2.3	2.5	
p<.01				

Table 6

Means for the dependent variable **Hostile** (lower scores indicate more hostile, higher scores indicate less hostile).

		Race of Target		p<.01
		Black	White	
Race of Participant	Black	2.4	2.6	
	White	2.1	2.9	
ns				

Table 7

Means depicting the Race of Target/Race of Participant interaction for the dependent variable **Intelligent** (lower scores indicate more intelligent, higher scores indicate less intelligent).

		Race of Target		
		Black	White	
Race of Participant	Black	2.4	2.2	ns
	White	3.47	2.2	p<.01
		p<.01	ns	

Table 8

Means depicting the Race of Target/Race of Participant interaction for the dependent variable **Lazy** (lower scores indicate more lazy, higher scores indicate less lazy).

		Race of Target		
		Black	White	
Race of Participant	Black	2.6	2.67	ns
	White	1.8	2.73	p<.01
		p<.01	ns	

Table 9

Means for the dependent variable **Selfish** (lower scores indicate more selfish, higher scores indicate less selfish).

		Race of Target		p<.05
		Black	White	
Race of	Black	2.5	2.6	
Participant	White	2.1	2.6	
ns				

Table 10

Means for the dependent variable **Sly** (lower scores indicate more sly, higher scores indicate less sly).

		Race of Target		ns
		Black	White	
Race of	Black	2.4	2.5	
Participant	White	2.4	2.6	
ns				

Table 11

Means for the dependent variable **Sociable** (lower scores indicate more sociable, higher scores indicate less sociable).

		Race of Target		p<.05
		Black	White	
Race of	Black	2.8	3	
Participant	White	2.7	3.1	
ns				

Table 12

Means depicting the Race of Target/Race of Participant interaction for the dependent variable **Trustworthy** (lower scores indicate more trustworthy, higher scores indicate less trustworthy).

		Race of Target		
		Black	White	
Race of	Black	2.87	3.73	p<.01
Participant	White	3.13	2.87	ns
		ns	p<.01	

Figure 1. Mean ratings for the race of target by race of participant interaction for the traits: Intelligent, Trustworthy, and Lazy.

Mean Ratings for Race of Participant/Race of Target Interaction

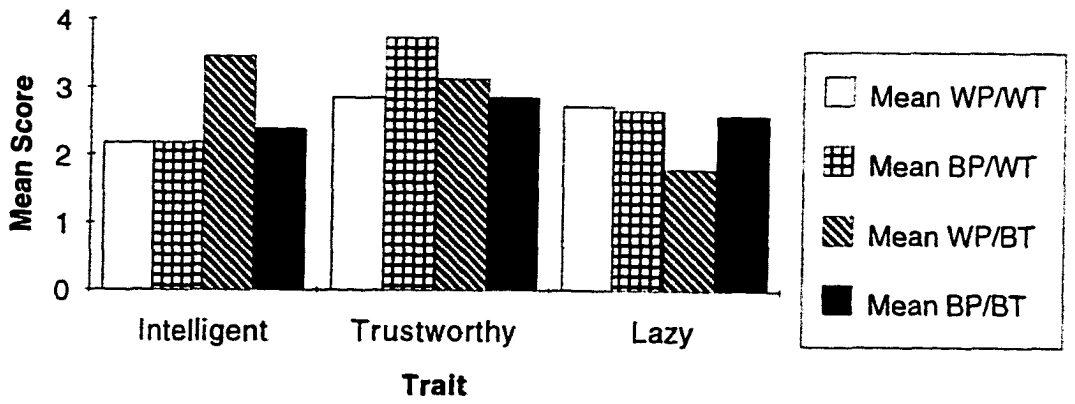


Figure 2. Frequency data for each age category (on the stereotype knowledge questionnaire) by race of participant.

Frequency data for each age cateory by race of participant

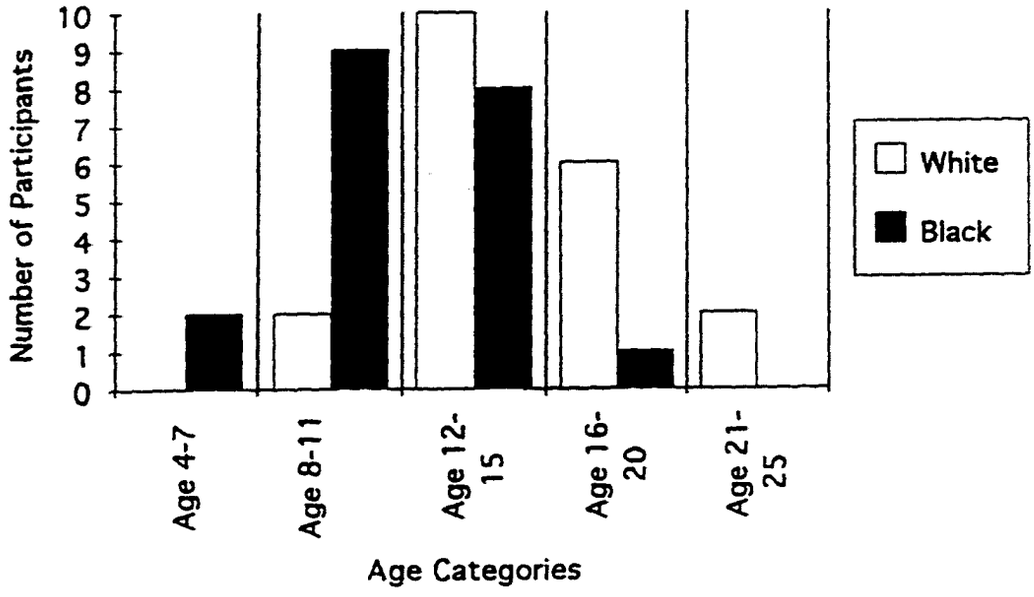
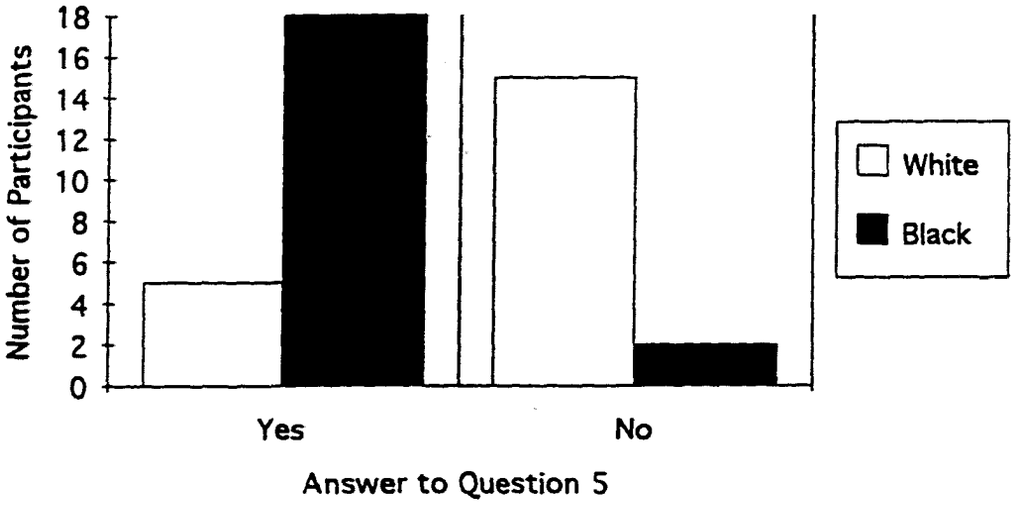


Figure 3. Frequency data for Question #5 on the stereotype knowledge questionnaire (Do you believe you knowledge of the components of the socially held stereotype about members of your ethnic/racial group effects your actions?) by race of participant.

Frequency data for Question #5 (Does knowledge of the stereotype effect your actions?) by race of participant



Appendix A

Instructions to participants for Study 1 (stereotype knowledge).

The purpose of this task is to illuminate the content of stereotypes that are held about members of social groups. Using the list of traits below, please circle the traits that you perceive as being culturally associated with commonly held stereotypes for members of the social group White Americans. We would like to emphasize that these traits may not reflect your personal beliefs about White Americans. We are only interested in your perception of the culturally held stereotypes. Because your anonymity is assured, you may feel free to respond in an uninhibited manner. All of the associations, flattering or unflattering, are acceptable. We encourage you to be honest and forthright.

Appendix B
Proportion information of the adjective checklist. Race of participant/Race of target.

Trait	W/W	W/B	B/B	B/W		Trait	W/W	W/B	B/B	B/W
intelligent	77.778	0	26.67	100		suave	33.333	22.22	0	13.33
brilliant	16.667	0	13.33	13.33		courteous	33.333	0	0	33.33
scientific	55.556	0	0	33.33		conventional	33.333	0	0	0
witty	22.222	5.556	26.67	0		argumentative	38.889	44.44	40	26.67
sophisticated	50	0	0	40		straightforward	27.778	16.67	33.33	26.67
alert	5.5556	16.67	20	0		messy	11.111	16.67	33.33	26.67
shrewd	38.889	16.67	40	33.33		suspicious	22.222	33.33	46.67	20
fighting	22.222	94.44	60	0		reserved	22.222	5.556	13.33	13.33
thoughtful	33.333	0	13.33	6.667		quiet	16.667	5.556	0	13.33
imaginative	33.333	11.11	46.67	13.33		unemotional	22.222	11.11	6.667	20
stupid	16.667	50	46.67	20		introspective	11.111	0	0	0
ignorant	22.222	61.11	53.33	33.33		stubborn	44.444	66.67	40	26.67
superstitious	16.667	11.11	20	6.667		impulsive	22.222	44.44	26.67	6.667
naïve	33.333	5.556	20	46.67		temperamental	27.778	66.67	46.67	0
industrious	44.444	5.556	0	6.667		suggestive	16.667	5.556	20	66.67
lazy	16.667	88.89	46.67	13.33		passionate	22.222	0	6.667	0
honest	38.889	0	13.33	13.33		individualistic	44.444	16.67	33.33	0
deceitful	50	44.44	40	60		indulgent	38.889	16.67	0	13.33
unreliable	22.222	55.56	53.33	0		nationalistic	77.778	0	0	20
evasive	5.5556	33.33	20	6.667		carefree	11.111	22.22	20	0
dirty	5.5556	50	40	33.33		religious	61.111	38.89	20	20
untrustworthy	33.333	50	40	60		traditional	61.111	22.22	13.33	53.33
cowardly	16.667	5.556	20	53.33		methodical	16.667	0	0	13.33
cruel	22.222	27.78	40	20		showy	38.889	66.67	13.33	33.33
king	38.889	5.556	20	26.67		us	38.889	16.67	20	6.667
generous	50	11.11	0	13.33		them	16.667	16.67	20	26.67
selfish	38.889	27.78	53.33	60		frivolous	11.111	5.556	13.33	13.33
mercenary	11.111	0	13.33	0		sociable	50	16.67	13.33	13.33
materialistic	61.111	33.33	33.33	46.67		practical	27.778	0	0	0
revengeful	16.667	44.44	40	20		progressive	22.222	16.67	13.33	0
sportspersonlike	44.444	77.78	60	13.33					0	0

Appendix B cont.

trait	W/W	W/B	B/B	B/W
aggressive	50	94.44	60	0
conceited	50	44.44	26.67	40
boastful	55.556	66.67	20	53.33
ambitious	66.667	5.556	13.33	40
talkative	27.778	50	40	20
loud	22.222	94.44	60	13.33
rude	27.778	72.22	53.33	40
artistic	22.222	5.556	26.67	0
efficient	33.333	0	6.667	13.33
arrogant	61.111	61.11	33.33	40
radical	5.5556	16.67	13.33	0
musical	16.667	44.44	46.67	0
humorless	11.111	0	6.667	0
jovial	11.111	11.11	20	0
sensitive	22.222	0	0	0
faithful	22.222	5.556	0	20
sensual	11.111	5.556	26.67	0
neat	33.333	0	0	46.67
persistent	22.222	5.556	13.33	13.33
sly	33.333	33.33	53.33	53.33
quarrelsome	16.667	55.56	46.67	0
hostile	27.778	61.11	53.33	20
loyal	44.444	16.67	13.33	33.33
imitative	22.222	5.556	0	0
familial	16.667	11.11	0	6.667
conservative	50	0	0	40
spiteful	11.111	33.33	6.667	26.67
greedy	50	33.33	20	60

Appendix C
Informed consent form

My name is Ladonna Rush and I am a new faculty member in the Psychology department. I am currently in the process of collecting some information for a research project, and I need the help of students on campus to complete the work. I am gathering information about forming impressions of people, and for another project, I am gathering information about knowledge formation.

This is a **completely voluntary** endeavor, and I would appreciate your participation.

You will be presented with a demographic questionnaire, and an additional pages with instructions for completion at the top. You are to fill out the demographic information, and then complete pages two and three and return them to the experimenter.

Please **do not** put your name on either of the survey pages, your name will not be attached to them in any way, so the information is anonymous.

Because this is a voluntary process, it is necessary to ask you to sign this form acknowledging that you voluntarily participated in this study, and that you understand what you are being asked to do. Remember, you may withdraw you participation in this study at any time, without prejudice.

By signing this form, I agree to voluntarily participate in this study, and I understand that there is **No Penalty** to me if I choose not to participate, or if I choose to withdraw my participation.

Name _____Date _____

Appendix D
Demographic information questionnaire

Impressions of People

The following materials are intended to collect information about forming impressions of people. Because we want to be certain that our data collection will be representative of the general population, we would like you to complete some general demographic information. Please remember, your anonymity will be protected, as we are only interested in looking at this information as a collective whole.

Please indicate your....

1.) Gender _____Male _____Female

2.) Age ____16-20yrs. ____21-25yrs. ____26-30yrs
____31+yrs

3.) Ethnicity/Race
____White/European-American
____Black/African-American
____Hispanic-American
____Native-American
____Asian-American
____Not a citizen of the United States
____Other

4.) Political Affiliation (if any) Check here to indicate none____.
____Democrat ____Republican ____Independent
____Other

On the attached sheet is a questionnaire about stereotype knowledge. It is intended to gather information about stereotype formation. Please read the instructions, and then fill out the questionnaire, thanks for your participation!!!!

Appendix E

Target "Donald" paragraph and rating scales (added sentence appears here in **bold**, the names used were Aundre, Lamont, Brad, and Matthew).

I ran into my old acquaintance Brad, the other day, and I decided to go over and visit him, since by coincidence we took our vacations at the same time. Soon after I arrived, a salesman knocked at the door, but Brad refused to let him in. He also told me that he was refusing to pay his rent until the landlord repaints his apartment.

We talked for a while, had lunch, and then went out for a ride. We used my car since Brad's car had broken down that morning, and he told the garage mechanic that he would have to go somewhere else if he couldn't fix his car that same day. **We went to the park for about an hour and ran into a neighbor of Brad's. Brad asked him if he could have the drill back that the had agreed to let the neighbor keep the day before.** We then stopped at a hardware store. I was sort of preoccupied, but Brad bought some small gadget, and then I heard him demand his money back from the sales clerk. I couldn't find what I was looking for, so we left and walked a few blocks to another store.

The Red Cross had set up a stand by the door and asked us to donate blood. Brad lied by saying he had diabetes and therefore could not give blood. It's funny that I hadn't noticed it before, but when we got to the store, we found that it had gone out of business. It was getting kind of late, so I took Brad to pick up his car and we agreed to meet again as soon as possible.

Please circle the number that corresponds most closely with your level of agreement with how well each of the following describes Brad. Circling 3 would indicate a neutral response.

Brad is....

Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	Unintelligent
Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	Dishonest
Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	Industrious
Sly	1	2	3	4	5	Open
Greedy	1	2	3	4	5	Generous
Deceitful	1	2	3	4	5	Sincere
Selfish	1	2	3	4	5	Charitable
Sociable	1	2	3	4	5	Antagonistic
Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	Gentle
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5	Amiable

Appendix F
Stereotype formation Survey

General Information Collection
Stereotypes

This form is intended to collect some preliminary data for potential future studies on stereotype formation and use. We are interested in learning when people began learning about stereotypes. As always, anonymity will be protected as we are interested in looking at this information at the group level, not at the individual level. Please take a few minutes to fill in the requested information in the most complete way possible, as your answers will be used to provide a basis for future research.

Remember, these questions are asking about socially held stereotypes, not about your own personal beliefs, so please respond freely about what you believe exists out in the world.

A Stereotype is a set of characteristics believed to be shared by the members of a particular group.

1.) Do you believe there is a socially held stereotype about members of your ethnic/racial group? ____yes ____no

2.) If you believe there is a socially held stereotype about members of your ethnic/racial group, at what age do you think you became aware of the existence of the stereotype? (we realize this is a difficult question, but do your best to estimate.)

____1-3yrs ____4-7yrs ____8-11yrs ____12-15yrs
____16-20yrs ____21-25yrs ____25+yrs

3.) Do you believe there are socially held stereotypes about members of ethnic/racial groups other than your own?

____yes ____no

4.) Do you feel you know what the components are of the socially held stereotype about your ethnic/racial group?(in other words, do you feel you know what the content of the stereotype is?)

____yes ____no ____I don't believe there is one

5.) If you answered yes to question #4, do you believe your knowledge of the components of the socially held stereotype about members of your ethnic/racial group effects your actions?

____yes ____no