A critical analysis of ethnic stereotypes: Factors
related to the formation and maintenance of
ethnic stereotypes in a sample of
American university students

by

Janice Mielke Olawoye

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Ideological Barriers

We live in a very exciting time. We are able to travel by airplane to any part of the world in a day, to talk by telephone to someone several thousands of miles away, or to see by television what is occurring in another country. The transportation and communication barriers which isolated countries in the past are breaking down. Unfortunately, some of the ideological barriers between countries or groups, which are not necessarily due to physical distance, remain strong. One of those ideological barriers is stereotypes.

When I was living in Nigeria, I would read newspaper articles which gave the impression that all Americans carried guns and settled disputes by who could shoot first. In everyday conversation, many Nigerians would ask questions about America which conveyed the impression of a country where every person lived in fear for his life at every moment.

Upon returning to the United States, many of my American friends and relatives would inquire about life in "Africa." In their minds, they viewed me as living in a "tree hut" and hunting wild animals. Their questions centered upon whether Africans had any cars, if they wore shoes, and were there any wild animals around my home?

In both cases, whether the Nigerians viewed the
Americans or the Americans viewed the Nigerians (or, more
commonly, Africans), the picture was inaccurate and distorted.
In generalizing to all Americans or all Africans and then
assigning traits, people are stereotyping.

Having seen the barrier from both sides, and having
loyalties on both sides, I became aware of the potential for
misunderstanding another's actions, when he is viewed in terms
of the stereotype of his particular racial, religious or
national affiliation.

Statement of the Problem

Although there have been many studies done investigating
stereotypes, many of them have been concerned with stereo-
types between ethnic groups within the United States or of
national stereotypes held by persons from other countries
when viewing the United States. The research problem con-
cerned in this study is the stereotypic view held by a
relatively well-educated population, that is, college students,
within the United States toward, in this case, Africans. Many
factors could be investigated as to their influence upon the
students' stereotyping. The factors concentrated upon in this
study are formal educational techniques, the mass media,
normative reference group identification, social distance and
personal contact. This analysis, then, investigates what

variables are instrumental in shaping a person's stereotypes of a particular national affiliation. Because Americans, by and large, do not differentiate between individual countries of the African continent, generalizations are usually made of the whole African continent. This study follows that assumption.

Usefulness of This Study

Delbert Miller delineates several criteria for describing the significance of a sociological problem. He maintains that a problem should fulfill one or more of the following criteria:

    a. is timely

    b. relates to a practical problem

    c. relates to a wide population

    d. relates to an influential or critical population

    e. fills a research gap

    f. permits a generalization to broader principles
       of social interaction or general theory

    g. sharpens the definition of an important concept
       or relationship

    h. has many implications for a wide range of
       practical problems

    i. may create or improve an instrument for
       observing and analyzing data

    j. provides opportunity for gathering data that
       is restricted by the limited time available for
       gathering particular data

k. provides possibility for a fruitful exploration
with known techniques (1964: 3).

In my estimation, the research problem which has been forwarded for this study fulfills five of these criteria.

First of all, given the recent publicity of the nationalism movements in Africa and the economic potential of the continent as a world supplier of many natural resources, the African continent has gone from a situation of being ignored by the rest of the world to being fought over for special favors. Consequently, the view of what Africa is all about is a very timely issue, which fulfills the first criteria of a research problem.

Secondly, since the sample consists of college students who may someday occupy positions of some influence in the United States, the study does meet another criteria in that it relates to an influential or critical population.

Thirdly, as has been mentioned, the bulk of studies concerning stereotypes has concentrated upon stereotypes between ethnic groups within the United States, or of people outside the United States and their national stereotypes of America. Since this study looks at stereotypes of Americans toward Africans, it fills a research gap.

The theoretical framework which is presented in the second chapter reviews the different definitions of the concept of stereotypes and offers a convergence of ideas to formulate a sharper delineation of the definition of the

concept. In this way, the study fulfills a fourth criteria.

Finally, chapter three illustrates the wide use of a particular instrument to measure stereotypes, analyzes that instrument critically and offers an alternative method, hopefully an improved instrument, for the measurement of stereotypes.

By this overview of the objectives which this study will attempt to accomplish, the stated research problem does have a usefulness for sociology.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Development and Divergence of the
Concept of Stereotypes

Many conflicting definitions for the concept of stereo-
types have been developed since Walter Lippmann offered his
ideas about stereotypes in 1922, with his book, Public Opinion.
Lippmann stated that:

> For the most part we do not first see, and then
> define, we define first and then see. In the
> great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer
> world, we pick out what our culture has already
> defined for us, and we tend to perceive that
> which we have picked out in the form stereo-
> typed for us by our culture (Lippmann, 1922: 81).

Lippmann went on to develop reasons why people hold on to
their stereotypes:

> A pattern of stereotypes is not merely a way of
> substituting order for the great blooming,
> buzzing confusion of reality. It is not merely
> a short cut. It is all these things and some-
> thing more. It is a quarantee of our self-
> respect: it is a projection upon the world of
> our own sense of our own value, our own position
> and our own rights. The stereotypes are,
> therefore, highly charged with the feelings that
> are attached to them. They are the fortress of
> our tradition, and behind its defenses we can
> continue to feel ourselves safe in the position
> we occupy (Lippmann, 1922: 96).

Lippmann's work concerning stereotypes was the first
significant attempt to conceptualize the assigning of traits
to categories of people. His ideas influenced later writers
who used those ideas as a basis for formulating their own
ideas and definitions of the concept. The result was

definitions with a similar origin, but with differing con-
clusions. The main issues of differing opinions concerning
the nature of stereotypes can be summarized into the follow-
ing questions:

1. Are stereotypes culturally or individually
   determined?

2. What functions do stereotypes fulfill?

3. Is there any factual basis for stereotypes?

4. How rigid and persistent are stereotypes?

5. What is the relationship between attitudes
   and stereotypes?

The first question, "Are stereotypes culturally or
individually determined?", finds responses from both sides.
On one side, such writers as Maykovick see stereotypes as
essentially "social norms for describing recognized groups"
(Maykovick, 1972: 877). Similar thoughts are forwarded with
expressions such as "stereotypes of our cultural pattern"
(Katz and Braly, 1933: 281), and "folk beliefs" (Mackie,
1973: 433). Clearly, these writers view stereotypes as
being largely determined by one's social or cultural environ-
ment. Conversely, some writers have viewed stereotypes as a
result of an individual's ego maintenance (Sherif and
Cantril, 1947; Bogardus, 1950; Allport, 1954). An extreme
position on this issue is related by Bettelheim and Janowitz:

> According to psychoanalytical interpretation,
> ethnic hostility is a projection of unacceptable
> inner strivings onto a minority group. Thus our
> accusations and feelings of revulsion against

> [other] groups symbolize our dissatisfaction
> with the evil in our own nature (1950: 42).

A majority of writers view stereotypes negatively in consideration of the functions they provided. Some views are extreme in their position; "Stereotypes are dangerous, and may be partly responsible for international disputes" (Klineberg, 1951: 507), while other views were more moderate; "Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to the category" (Allport, 1954: 191). Other functions of stereotypes with negative or neutral connotations include; enable one to pass judgments on appearances, call for little thought, and take very little time (Bogardus, 1950). Vinacke argues with the emphasis placed upon the notion that stereotypes are bad. He clarifies his position by stating:

> Although we do not, by contrast, consider
> stereotypes to be good, nevertheless, we
> believe that the prevailing treatment of
> them is very narrow, disregarding significant
> aspects of the behavior involved (1957: 229).

Vinacke continues to state that the positive as well as the negative functions of stereotypes should be considered. It is interesting to note that this was one contention of Walter Lippmann which seems to have gone unnoticed by the later writers. The first reason which Lippmann gives for holding on to one's stereotypes is indeed a positive one, "a way of substituting order for the great blooming, buzzing confusion of reality" (Lippmann, 1922: 96). The later writers seem to

have concentrated upon only the negative and neutral functions of stereotypes, apparently assuming that either stereotypes possessed no positive functions, or that the positive functions were of no consequence.

The question concerning the factual basis of stereotypes has received a great amount of attention. On the one hand is the opinion that stereotypes are totally without any factual basis (Sherif and Cantril, 1947). On the other hand is the widely held opinion that stereotypes contain a "kernel of truth" (Bogardus, 1950; Klineberg, 1951; Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; Sue and Kitano, 1973). This opinion is qualified in different manners, however. For example, Sue and Kitano say that stereotypes, in part, depend upon the conditions of society and the relationship between countries, whereas Klineberg (1951) says that stereotypes may occasionally contain some truth, but if they do, it is largely by chance.

Another point of debate has been the amount of rigidity and persistence that stereotypes have. Although differing opinions are given by several authors, their ideas are not so divergent. The strongest position of this question was that:

> A stereotype is a rigid proposition,
> attributing characteristics to all members
> of a category. If most rather than all
> members are referred to, stereotypy is not
> involved (Richter, 1956: 569).

Bogardus (1950) agrees that stereotypes are rigid, but he maintains that this is partly explained in that they often

serve as defense mechanisms. Some writers agree that national stereotypes change with time, but the change may take a period of years, and is likely to be a response to an economic or political situation (Klineberg, 1951; Buchanan and Cantril, 1953).

One problem in defining stereotypes is in determining exactly what label from the terms of sociological or psychological jargon should be equated to, or used in the definition of, stereotypes. One possibility has been the use of attitude. Katz and Braly say that "attitudes toward race names are stereotypes" (1933: 282). Sherif and Cantril (1947) also equate stereotypes and attitudes in their definition of stereotypes. In an indirect way, Child and Doob (1943) attempt to show how an individual's stereotype, which is the traits attributed to a country or group, is related to his attitude to the traits and to his attitude toward the country or group. By two other writers, stereotypes are defined as beliefs (Allport, 1954; Mackie, 1973). Contrary to this orientation, Vinacke states the advisability of distinguishing between concepts and attitudes as "controlling and regulating processes in thinking. Perhaps stereotypes can then be considered to be a special class of concepts and prejudices as a special class of attitudes" (Vinacke, 1957).

Although there are other issues concerning the nature of stereotypes which could be debated, this brief overview of

some of the opposing opinions should illustrate the wide
diversity and resulting ambiguity in defining and character-
izing stereotypes. A similar conclusion was reached by La
Violette and Silvert. They reviewed the "vagueness and
general inadequacy of the 'theories' of stereotypes" (1951:
260).

Given these problems of the past in defining stereotypes,
I will attempt to delineate how this concept will be utilized
in this study. The importance of this must not be minimized
when realizing that the concept of stereotypes is central to
this study.

Definition of Stereotypes

Triandis defines categorization as the "classification
of objects (stimului, persons) as equivalent according to
some rule" (1964: 6). Stereotypes themselves are not cate-
gories, but they do involve the process of categorization.
Stereotypes are not formulated concerning individuals, but
they are formulated concerning groups. Different labels
might be added to "groups," but the most appropriate one here
would be "ethnic." This term has been used to denote "groups
that are of differing national origins, groups tied together
by a common religion and cultural heritage and a group defined
by racial characteristics" (Brigham, 1971: 16). "Ethnic
groups" satisfies both criteria for the study of stereotypes

of Africa in that it is of differing national and racial back-
grounds.

I agree with Vinacke who advances the idea that stereo-
types should be regarded as concept-systems. He defines
concepts as "cognitive organizing systems which serve to bring
pertinent features of past experience to bear upon a present
stimulus object" (1957: 233). Such past experiences can
include a large range of items from personal contact to
features of the mass media. The stimulus object can, in this
analysis, be regarded as the ethnic group or Africans.

Stereotypes may contain some element of truth. The
basis of fact may be extremely small, but there does exist
the possibility for some underlying causality for the formula-
tion of the particular concept-system. Even in the example
of the primitive, half-clothed African who lives in a tree
hut and hunts wild animals, some element of truth is con-
tained when one studies the multiplicity of tribal groups of
the African continent. Generalization to the entire continent
of certain traits of a few peoples, such as the !Kung Bushmen
of the Kalahari Desert, is where the picture as a whole
becomes inadequate and inaccurate.

Although stereotypes of ethnic groups are persistent,
they can be changed. Such change is not without difficulty.
The agents of change have not been sufficiently investigated
to be able to state which are the most effective and which

are not successful. Part of the purpose of this study is to determine how effective one particular agent--that is, formal education--might be in activating change.

To be considered stereotypes, these concept-systems should show substantial agreement among the members of the population. This would lead to an acceptance of the idea that stereotypes are culturally, not individually, determined. Later discussions will focus upon the influences of formal education, mass media and reference groups upon an individual's stereotypes.

The functions of stereotypes are here considered to be both positive and negative. Positive functions of stereotypes include the realization that stereotypes are a necessary cognitive process which results in an economy of effort and that not all traits ascribed to an ethnic group are necessarily derogatory depending on their interpretation. Negative functions occur when the generalizations cause the individual to justify taking action against the ethnic group or to refuse to receive any additional information about the ethnic group.

In summary, stereotypes;

1. are concept-systems,

2. may contain some element of truth,

3. can be changed, but with some difficulty,

4. show substantial agreement; therefore, are culturally determined, and,

5. have positive, as well as negative, functions.

The Potential Role of Education for
Changing Stereotypes

Stereotypes are learned. With this statement there should be no disagreement, particularly given the conceptual framework of stereotypes in which it is assumed that they are culturally determined. Consequently, stereotypes must be the result of the individual's education. In this analysis, education is a very broad concept which encompasses three levels:

1. informal education - the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment. This comes from travel, from the example and attitudes of family and friends, from newspapers, books, radio, films, etc.,

2. formal education - the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured education system from primary school through the university, and

3. nonformal education - the organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups of the population (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 8).

With such an inclusive definition of education, it would seem that the potential for the use of education as a change agent is very good given the variety of forms in which this could take place.

The present discussion concerning education will focus upon the formal education dimension. Two aspects of the

informal education dimension will be discussed in later
sections under the subtitles of "Impact of Mass Media" and the
"Role of Reference Groups." The nonformal education dimension
will not be discussed in any more detail in this analysis.

The Formal Education System and Stereotypes

Studies in the past have found mixed results as to the
influence of formal education upon ethnic stereotypes. Some
studies have reported that ethnic stereotyping decreases with
increased formal education (Pettigrew, 1959; Jackman, 1973).
Other studies report that formal education has virtually no
effect upon ethnic stereotyping (Tumin, 1958). Stember (1961)
draws mixed conclusions as to the effect of formal education
upon stereotyping. It has been suggested that perhaps the
question format may account for some of the varying results
(Hesselbart, 1975; Stember, 1961). This idea will be further
discussed in the Methodology chapter.

The concentration of such studies has been upon the rela-
tionship between higher levels of formal education and ethnic
stereotyping. The hypothesis appears to be that higher levels
of information which would accompany more years of formal
education, will reduce the tendency to think in terms of
stereotypes. This hypothesis was approached a little dif-
ferently by Fernberger (1948) in which he lectured to his
psychology classes, stressing the fact that many supposed

differences between the races and sexes had never been proven.
By questionnaire responses, he concluded that the increased
information had very little effect.

One area which has not been investigated is what
influence might different educational techniques, such as
films or lectures, within the formal system have? With this
in mind, the first theoretical hypothesis is:

> As factual information through selected techniques
> within the formal education system increases,
> stereotyping decreases.

Impact of the Mass Media

The mass media is by definition an aspect of informal
education. It is composed of many parts; books, films, news-
papers, magazines, radio, television and so on.

Several studies have analyzed the treatment by the mass
media of particular ethnic groups, particularly the American
Blacks, within the United States. Such studies have implica-
tions for the stereotyping of the black racial group in
general, of which Africans are a part. Some writers have
maintained that since ethnic stereotypes are socially sup-
ported and continually revived by the mass media, the media
is another reason for the occurrence of stereotyping (Writers'
War Board, 1945; Allport, 1954; Marcus, 1961).

One example of the treatment of ethnic groups, in this
case the American Blacks, illustrated the trend to concentrate

heavily upon crime news and pay only slight attention to achievements (Allport, 1954). In another study, the analysis focused upon social studies textbooks which were most widely used in secondary schools. The study reviewed several ethnic groups, but the following conclusions were made concerning the American Blacks:

1. The average textbook ignored the Negroes' position in contemporary society.

2. Most references to Negroes were to the period before 1876 and pictured members of this race as slaves and bewildered freedmen, thus perpetuating a stereotype of a child-like, inferior group of people.

3. There was a great lack of scientific data on the races of mankind.

4. The textbook illustrations of Negroes in American life were even more inadquate than the written material in these books (Marcus, 1961).

An extensive study was done of the "stock characters" portrayed in the mass media. Out of 185 short stories (light fiction), over 90% of the characters were Anglo-Saxon and they were usually the reputable ones. "Nonsympathetic characters, such as thieves or gamblers, were seldom Anglos. In 100 movies involving Negroes, 75 cases portrayed them as disparaging and stereotyped. In only 12 cases was the Negro presented in a favorable light as an individual human being" (Writers' War Board, 1945).

A different, and rather optimistic, view showing improve- ment in the mass media's treatment of the American Blacks is

given by Cox, who made a content analysis of the advertisements of five mass circulation magazines. His findings showed that in 1967-1968, 27% of all advertisements with identifiable adults had blacks in the ads, compared to 0.5% for the same magazines in 1949-1950. Blacks in the advertisements classified as below skilled labor changed from 95.5% in 1949-1950, to 30.9% in 1967-1968 (Cox, 1970). On a closer look at these findings, conducted by Colfax and Sternberg, however, over one-half of this occupational increase was due to viewing of black musicians for record companies. "Such an increase is doubtful, since in a way, it encourages the stereotype of 'natural rythym' which is not achieved. The overall increase of blacks in advertisements was achieved by several methods; a few used black celebrities, many used a token black (one in a crowd), a few were illustrating the theme of 'all races together', many showed black children or black women or black men as 'losers', and some showed blacks from foreign countries in 'exotic' advertisements (these blacks were usually blue collar workers)" (Colfax and Sternberg, 1972: 15). The use of foreign blacks in advertisements has important implications for the stereotyping of Africans, in that it illustrates the idea that they are only qualified to handle menial jobs, such as servants or porters.

There is little or nothing that can be done to control or change the views presented in the mass media for this study.

The impact of those views upon ethnic stereotypes can only be a conjecture. One thing is certain, however, the mass media has not been helpful in the attempt to present a positive image of, in particular, the black racial group.

Although the content of the mass media's presentation cannot be changed for this study, the degree to which the subject perceives the presentation to be accurate can be investigated. This leads to the delineation of the second theoretical hypothesis:

> The higher the acceptance of the mass media as accurate, the higher the stereotyping.

The Role of the Reference Other

The central idea to the concept of a referent other is social influence (Schmitt, 1972). The referent other concept has been considered by some writers as a rather all-inclusive term which could be applied to individuals, groups, objects and so on. The theoretical perspective, commonly called Reference Group Theory, has drawn criticism for this and other reasons, including that it has been used inconsistently and that it has not been designated as a psychological, social psychological or sociological concept. In short, some critics maintain that the term no longer has much meaning (Schmitt, 1972).

Nevertheless, the central themes of this "theory" have some importance to our discussion of stereotypes. Since the

assumption has been stated that stereotypes are learned, and that within the realm of education is included the informal education system, one form of which is "the example and attitudes of family and friends," then the idea of social influence certainly needs to be considered.

In a classic study in 1943, Theodore Newcomb investigated the effects of a liberal college upon the attitudes of the female students. Bennington College was fairly isolated in a rural area, and in general, held nonconservative views. During the four-year study, the attitudes of the students became more liberal as they progressed from freshmen to seniors (Newcomb, 1943). The college had, in effect, become a normative reference group, in that the "group" set and enforced norms for the individuals (Kelley, 1968).

An important factor in the degree of social influence which can be achieved by the reference group is in the amount of identification the individual feels for the reference group (Sherif and Sherif, 1953). In relating to the Bennington College study, then, one would assume that the greater the degree of identification with the college community, the greater the change in attitude. On the other hand, the more the individual was under the influence of his previous groups serving as his reference groups, the less the attitude change. The results of the study supported this (Sherif, 1948).

Few works have been done in the area of reference groups'
influence upon stereotypes. One such study investigated
whether there would be significant changes in stereotyping of
certain national groups by a sample of Arab students in the
Middle East when divided by religious or political affiliation.
The researcher found that indeed he did find significant
differences, which he concluded was a result of reference
groups (Diab, 1962).

In evaluating this theoretical perspective, Reference
Group Theory, as it relates to the formation and maintenance
of stereotypes, the key factor to the amount of influence of
the reference other is how much the individual "identifies"
with the referent. The third hypothesis develops from that
assumption:

> As normative reference group identification
> increases, stereotyping increases.

Social Distance and Stereotypes

Social distance can be viewed as one's willingness, or
unwillingness, to interact on different levels of inter-
personal relationships with members of different ethnic or
status groups. It is based upon "sociological considerations
of status position and role expectations in a social relation-
ship" (Warner and DeFleur, 1969: 154). When such considera-
tions are seen as being very important to other people around
and yet the individual ignores them, the result may be

sanctions from one's family and friends. The consequences for reducing social distance between the individual and a member of a different group may prevent such interaction, or it may be viewed without importance.

Given this framework and recalling that one of the functions of stereotypes can be for the justification of one's actions, it can be theorized that social distance and stereotypes are related. Only one study could be found investigating this premise (Viljoen, 1974). The study was disappointing in that the techniques and conclusions failed to consider the cultural and social aspects of life in South Africa (where it took place). Partial proof for the assumed relationship was found, but even such a cautious statement as this is questionable.

This area of inquiry, that is, the relationship between social distance and stereotypes, needs to be further researched, which leads to the fourth hypothesis:

> As social distance between certain ethnic groups increases, stereotyping between those groups increases.

Type of Contact and its Influence upon Stereotypes

Stereotyping may sometimes occur as a result of the lack of first-hand personal experience or knowledge of an ethnic group. Such experience or knowledge can be achieved by actual contact with members of that ethnic group. Certain

factors must be taken into consideration when analyzing the
type of contact and its subsequent influence upon stereotyping.
Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) state that the degree and
frequency of contact between groups, with the consequent
first-hand knowledge, tend to undercut stereotypes. In an
ideal situation of interracial contact, "where there is no
discrimination, where the participants have equal status and
common goals, and where no racial competition exists that
relationship would likely occur" (Pettigrew, 1964: 43). Such
a generalization must take into account some of the conditions
which might alter that relationship.

In reality, the conditions of interracial contact are
crucial. "Cross-racial acceptance generated by contact is
typically limited to the particular situation" (Pettigrew,
1972: 352). Several of those conditions include the favora-
bility or unfavorability of that contact, the degree of close-
ness in that contact, the relative proportion of different
ethnic group members (Maykovick, 1971: 450), and the socio-
economic status characteristics of the individuals (Li and Yu,
1974: 560). Consequently, such conditions must be analyzed
in investigating the influence of contact upon stereotypes.
Without that consideration, the validity of the findings
would be dubious.

The fifth and final theoretical hypothesis considers two
of those conditions of contact in its relationship to stereo-
typing.

As the favorability and closeness of contact with
a particular ethnic group increases, stereotyping
toward that group decreases.

Theoretical Hypotheses

From the previous sections of this chapter, several

theoretical hypotheses can be summarized:

TH 1.   As factual information through selected
        techniques within the formal education
        system increases, stereotyping decreases.

TH 2.   The higher the acceptance of the mass media
        as accurate, the higher the stereotyping.

TH 3.   As reference group identification increases,
        stereotyping increases.

TH 4.   As social distance between certain ethnic
        groups increases, stereotyping between those
        groups increases.

TH 5.   As the favorability and closeness of contact
        with a particular ethnic group increases,
        stereotyping toward that group decreases.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Experimental Design

In this study, there is basically a two group design, the control group and the group receiving the treatments. The first hypothesis, which investigates what influence the treatments in the formal education system may have upon stereotyping, requires the use of a longitudinal design with which any change can be determined. For this reason, an experimental design was chosen which allows the administration of a pretreatment and a posttreatment questionnaire.

The classical experimental design is utilized in this study. Considering the selected educational techniques, the film and lectures, as treatments, a pretreatment and a posttreatment questionnaire were given to all members of the sample. The posttreatment questionnaire is a shortened version of the pretreatment questionnaire, both of which appear in their entirety in Appendix A. By matching names and code numbers, the demographic variables needed to be included only in the pretreatment questionnaire.

The experimental design is summarized in the following table.

The control group, consisting of two recitation sections, receives no treatment. Since all six sections are part of the Introduction to Sociology class, there may be some

Table 1. Summarization of experimental design

Recitation section #	Code number	Time 1 questionnaire (March 15-20, 1976)	Treatment (April 5-10)	Time 2 questionnaire (May 10-15, 1976)
33	101-132	Pretreatment test	None (control)	Posttreatment test
12	201-227	Pretreatment test	None (control)	Posttreatment test
18	301-330	Pretreatment test	Personal talk on life in Nigeria	Posttreatment test
3	401-435	Pretreatment test	Anthropology lecture on Africa	Posttreatment test
7	501-532	Pretreatment test	Film	Posttreatment test
27	601-632	Pretreatment test	Film	Posttreatment test

influence due to part of the subject material, particularly
sections dealing with such concepts as "ethocentrism" and
"cultural relativity." These are handled in quite a general
manner, however.

It can be seen by the approximate times of the question-
naire and treatments, that there is sufficient time between
the questionnaires which would not easily allow the students to
accurately recall their responses from Time 1 to Time 2. To
disguise the actual reason for the treatments, they are given
at about midway between the questionnaires and at a time when
the subject matter concerns cultural differences.

Sample

The sample for this study is comprised of six recitation
sections of students enrolled in Introduction to Sociology at
Iowa State University during Spring Quarter, 1976. The
recitation sections range in enrollment from 26 to 35 students.

Most Iowa State University students at one time or
another enroll in Introduction to Sociology (Soc. 134) to
fill requirements for the Humanities, or to meet prerequisites
for later courses. Consequently, a wide range of backgrounds
and academic interests is present in the class. In sampling
six recitation sections from the total of twenty-eight sec-
tions, the general characteristics of the total class are not
appreciably altered. In a comparison of data obtained from

the total enrollment of students in Soc. 134 during Fall
Quarter, 1975 (Bruton, Crull, Carlson; 1975: 34), with the
sample of students in this study from Spring Quarter, 1976,
this assumption is examined.

Table 2. Comparison of characteristics of Soc. 134 samples
from Fall, 1975, and Spring, 1976

		Fall, 1975	Spring, 1976
N =		1043	166
Sex:	Male	37.9%	60.8%
	Female	62.1%	39.2%
Year in college:	Freshman	66.8%	64.5%
	Sophomore	21.5%	25.9%
	Other	11.7%	9.6%
Age:	18 or younger	59.4%	33.7%
	19	20.8%	38.6%
	20	10.8%	15.7%
	21 - 23	6.4%	9.6%
	24 or older	2.6%	2.4%
Religious preference:	Catholic	23.7%	26.7%
	Protestant	65.0%	57.6%
	Other	2.7%	7.3%
	None	8.6%	8.5%
Race:	White	98.3%	97.6%
	Nonwhite	1.7%	2.4%
Size of hometown:	Rural	32.6%	28.9%
	Town	26.0%	28.9%
	Urban	41.4%	42.2%

From the comparison of these two samples, it can be seen that with the exception of the variables, sex and age, there are no noticiable differences between the larger sample of Fall, 1975, and the sample utilized in this study during Spring, 1976. The differences on the variable age can be explained quite simply with the realization of the time of year in which the two samples were compiled. Since the percentages of the year in college are nearly the same, it can be assumed that if the students from Spring, 1976, had been given the questionnaire in the Fall, 1975, a larger percentage of them would have been 18 years old and fewer would have been 19 and 20.

Consequently, only the variable sex has significant differences between the two samples which has not been explained. In both samples the responses have been within 13% of the score which would have shown perfect randomness; 50% male, 50% female. Considering that in the larger sample of 1043, a larger difference from that score exists (12.1%) than in the smaller sample of 166 (10.8%), the smaller sample does not seem to be less random than the larger sample. Perhaps there is some underlying tendency for more males to take Soc. 134 in the Spring and for more females to take the course in the Fall.

The questionnaire from Fall, 1975, did not gain demographic information in any other areas common to this study,

so that further comparison of the two samples' character-
istics is inaccessible. The six variables; sex, year in
college, age, religious preference, race, and size of home-
town, do show that by selecting six recitation sections from
the total class of twenty-eight sections, the general
characteristics of the sample are not significantly altered.

Time 1 questionnaire was answered by a total of 166
students. Time 2 questionnaire was completed by 142 students
out of the original sample. The loss of 24 students with the
Time 2 questionnaire was due to the lack of class attendence
or to class drops by those students. The benefits of any
attempt to locate those missing cases would have been
questionable.

Below is a table giving the frequency distributions
before and after the loss of the 24 students to determine if
the general characteristics of the sample altered signifi-
cantly. Frequency distributions on the other variables of
the questionnaire can be found in Appendix B.

It can be seen that the general characteristics of the
sample have not been changed significantly by the loss of the
24 students.

Table 3. General characteristics of the sample before and after the loss of 24 students from the sample

	Before (N = 166)		After (N = 142)	
	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency
Sex:				
Male	101	60.8%	86	60.6%
Female	65	39.2%	56	39.4%
Marital status:				
Single	158	95.2%	136	95.8%
Married	8	4.8%	6	4.2%
Year in college:				
Freshman	107	64.5%	91	64.1%
Sophomore	43	25.9%	37	26.1%
Junior or Senior	16	9.6%	14	9.8%
Age:				
18 or younger	56	33.7%	52	36.6%
19	64	38.6%	53	37.4%
20	26	15.7%	21	14.8%
21-23	16	9.6%	12	8.4%
24 or older	4	2.4%	4	2.8%
Religious preference:				
Catholic	44	26.5%	38	26.8%
Protestant	95	57.2%	79	55.6%
Other	12	7.2%	11	7.7%
None	14	8.4%	13	9.2%

Race:				
White	162	97.6%	138	97.2%
Nonwhite	4	2.4%	4	2.8%
College:				
Science & Humanities	82	49.4%	70	49.3%
Home Economics	20	12.0%	14	9.9%
Agriculture	25	15.1%	22	15.5%
Engineering	23	13.9%	22	15.5%
Education	16	9.6%	14	9.9%
Current residence:				
Greek house	26	15.7%	22	15.5%
Residence house	119	71.7%	103	72.5%
Other	21	12.6%	17	12.0%
Size of hometown:				
Rural	48	28.9%	43	30.3%
Town	48	28.9%	42	29.6%
Urban	70	42.2%	57	40.1%

The actual breakdown of the sample into the different recitation sections is as follows:

Table 4. Distribution of the sample by recitation section

Section number	Number of respondents to Pretreatment test	Number of respondents to Posttreatment test
33	28	26
12	23	20
18	23	18
3	31	27
7	29	23
27	31	28

Measurement of Stereotypes

The first major attempt to measure stereotypes was conducted by Katz and Braly in 1933. Their sample of one-hundred Princeton students was given a list of eighty-four words or traits which included such terms as; scientifically-minded, shrewd, ignorant, superstitious, industrious and quiet. The students were also given a list of ten ethnic groups; Germans, Italians, Negroes, Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Japanese and Turks. The directions used in the experiment follow:

> Read through the list of words on page one
> and select those words which seem to you
> typical of the Germans. Write as many of
> these words in the following space as you
> think are necessary to characterize these
> people adequately. If you do not find
> appropriate words on page one for all the
> typical German characteristics, you may add
> those which you think necessary for an
> adequate description (Katz and Braly, 1933:
> 282).

The students were then supposed to follow the same pro-
cedure for the other nine groups. When they finished all ten
groups, they found a final instruction which stated:

> Now go back over the ten lists of words
> which you have chosen and mark with an X
> the five words in each list which seem to
> you the most typical of the race in
> question (Katz and Braly, 1933: 282).

The influence of this study has been far reaching. Not
only has it been reprinted repeatedly in basic readers and
textbooks, but it has also been the model of many follow-up
studies, the majority of which have used the same list of
traits, or modified it slightly. Ehrlich and Rinehart (1965)
reviewed the methodology of stereotype research from 1933 to
1962 and found twenty-eight studies in which the methodology
of the Katz and Braly study was utilized. My own review of
research yielded nine studies in which the Katz and Braly
technique was used (Meenes, 1943; Gilbert, 1951; Prothro,
1954a; Diab, 1962; Chandra, 1967; Maykovick, 1971; Maykovick,
1972; Viljoen, 1974; Gardner et al., 1975). Since my review
concentrated upon national stereotypes and white stereotypes

of blacks, and since Ehrlich and Rinehart's review has not covered the last fourteen years, the influence of that original study upon later research has still not been totally realized.

Such influence is not in itself objectionable. There are, however, several problems with the methodology which has been so extensively used. Some of the main criticisms of the "checklist technique" are:

1. There is difficulty in assigning whether some of the traits are positive or negative, especially given the thirty year period over which it has been used and the changes over that period (Maykovick, 1972).

2. Respondents are limited to five adjectives, and have no opportunity to express degree of representativeness for the group.

3. It is not clear with what group each ethnic group is being compared; mankind in general? (Blake and Dennis, 1943).

4. In picking out traits of ethnic groups, the subject is forced to think in terms of generalizations and categories (Brigham, 1971).

In essence, the checklist technique asks the subject to think stereotypically which leads to findings which support the assumption that subjects think in terms of stereotypes.

Eysenck and Crown (1948) have taken a stronger position in objecting to the technique forwarded by Katz and Braly on the grounds that it asks subjects to perform an impossible task! To test this position, they conducted an analysis in which they followed the Katz and Braly technique, but added a modification which encouraged the subjects to introspect and write reports on their reactions to the tasks. The following is the result of that modification:

> 19% of the total group tested refused to do the test, declaring it to be 'meaningless' and 'impossible'! Of the remaining 165 subjects 59% demurred, on the grounds that they did not know any representatives of the races concerned, and had quite unanimously to fall back on what they had heard or read. They were recording stereotyped opinions, certainly, but in a high proportion of cases were fully conscious that their ideas were based on meager evidence (Eysenck and Crown, 1948: 35).

The consequences of the widespread use of this technique have been overwhelming agreement of the findings in the stereotype research, but perhaps at the expense of validity.

A few alternatives to this method of researching stereotypes have been used. One such alternative was the use of the incomplete sentence technique. For example, subjects were asked to complete a sentence like "America is a country where _____" (Prothro, 1954b). With such a technique, the subjects are allowed to have more flexibility in response, but are still asked to generalize.

Blake and Dennis utilized an interesting technique for determining which traits the subject thought characterized certain races. One of the questions was, "Who is more cheerful?" Similar questions were asked with other traits such as; neat, honest, move slowly, patriotic, and so on. The response categories were; "the Negro, the White, no difference, don't know" (1943: 526). This technique has two main advantages; it gives the subject a chance to compare one ethnic group with another, thereby reducing the ambiguity of the assignment, and it includes a category in which the subject can express a lack of knowledge or an unwillingness to stereotype.

Warner and DeFleur have advanced another alternative to measuring stereotypes and attitudes. With their technique subjects were asked to respond to a sixteen-item Likert response scale. Examples of that scale are:

     A. I would be willing to invite a Negro into
        my home for lunch, and

     B. White candidates can do a better job than
        Negroes in political office (1969: 159).

There are several advantages to the latter alternative. First of all, it gives the subjects a situation to respond to in analyzing their stereotypes and attitudes. It also allows them to express the degree to which they accept a position, i.e. whether they strongly agree or just agree. The response format also allows them to express uncertainty.

With this latter alternative in mind, I would like to propose what I believe to be a desirable method to measure stereotypes. The first step in this process is to determine what are some of the stereotypic views toward the particular ethnic group that are held by the general population. With these views in mind, the researcher can construct a multiple item Likert response scale with that particular ethnic group in mind. In this case, Africans will be considered as an ethnic group. By talking to many members of the population, white American college students, certain recurring ideas about Africans appear. In its most extreme form, Africans are viewed as tree hut living, wild animal hunting and little clothes wearing peoples. With those ideas in mind, the Likert response items took form, yielding eight items:

1. The War in Angola showed us that Africans are unable to govern themselves.

2. Most people in Africa live in very primitive settlements and rely on wild plants and animals for survival.

3. A Nigerian (from West Africa) is as culturally different from the Pygmy (from Central Africa), as the Eskimo is from the Iowan farmer.

4. The governments in South Africa and Rhodesia are racist and should be overthrown.

5. African music and dance forms are very primitive and mainly reflect the African's concern with the spirit world.

6. Africa has some large cities, but none of them are as modern as the cities in America.

7. Wild animals roaming the countryside is typical
   of much of the African continent.

8. African works of art would be a valuable
   contribution to art museums in our country.

The response categories consisted of; strongly agree,
agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree. The items
were coded in the following manner:

1. SD=1, D=2, U=3, A=4, SA=5.

2. SD=1, D=2, U=3, A=4, SA=5.

3. SA=1, A=2, U=3, D=4, SD=5.

4. SA=1, A=2, U=3, D=4, SD=5.

5. SD=1, D=2, U=3, A=4, SA=5.

6. SD=1, D=2, U=3, A=4, SA=5.

7. SD=1, D=2, U=3, A=4, SA=5.

8. SA=1, A=2, U=3, D=4, SD=5.

The higher the stereotype score on these eight items,
(STERSC), the more the student adheres to the stereotypic
view of Africa. The subject's stereotypic view of Africa, as
measured by the above scale, is the dependent variable in
this study. The reliability for this scale using Kronbach's
Alpha is 0.5623 (Nie et al., 1970).

Operationalization of Formal
Educational Techniques

The formal educational techniques here employed consist
of a film "Africa Awakens: Modern Nigeria," a lecture given
by Anthropologist Dr. Dennis M. Warren, who specializes in

African studies, and an informal talk of personal experiences
in Nigeria by the researcher, who was also the instructor of
the recitation sections. These techniques constitute one of
the independent variables. Each technique presents factual
information about life in Africa in a different manner.

The film concentrated upon one country--Nigeria--and
gives a balanced view of modern urban life and life in the
rural sector. It presents a brief historical account and
illustrates the cultural diversity to be found in the differ-
ent geographical areas. Its account is accurate and unbiased.

The lecture by Dr. Warren, accompanied by a slide pre-
sentation, acquainted the students with the cultural belief
and value system with which the African, in Ghana especially,
views his world. In this way, the students were given an
understanding of a different perspective. By a short over-
view of his work in Ghana, Dr. Warren illustrated the complex
knowledge base which even the local "peasant" has concerning
his work, be it farming or a particular craft.

The informal talk by the researcher concentrated on
personal experiences from living in Nigeria and from partici-
pating in everyday life as a Nigerian wife. Examples of the
extended family system and how it operates to the usual
benefit of its members were used to illustrate the Yoruba way
of life in comparison to the Western way of life. It was
explained to the students how misunderstandings are usually
the result of the misinterpretation of something which has

different meanings or values in different cultures.

With all three techniques, the students gained more information specifically concerning life in Africa. Such a method, therefore, is the operationalization of "factual information through selected techniques within the formal education system."

With the operationalization of this independent variable and of the dependent variable, stereotypes, the first empirical hypothesis can be generated:

> As factual information by use of the film "Africa Awakens: Modern Nigeria," of the lecture by the Anthropologist and of the researcher's talk of personal experiences, given within the formal education system increases, the stereotype of Africans score (STERSC) decreases.

One-way analysis of variance is traditionally used to test for mean differences between two or more groups of subjects which have been exposed to different types of experiences. By use of the experimental design which was selected for this study, an analysis of variance which contrasts the control group with the groups receiving the film or the lectures, the means of the groups can be compared to determine if there are any significant differences due to the introduction of the treatments. With the administration of the questionnaire before and after the treatments, it can be demonstrated what, if any, change occurred to the groups as a result of the treatments.

Accuracy of the Mass Media

In the operationalizing of this independent variable, a
Likert response item is formulated:

"Television, radio and newspapers give us a

reasonably accurate picture of what foreign

countries are like and what happens to them".

Since the concentration is upon the degree of accuracy
of the mass media, as perceived by the subject, the five
response categories of strongly agree to strongly disagree
are again utilized.

These response categories are coded in the following
manner: 1=SD, 2=D, 3=U, 4=A, 5=SA. It can be seen that the
higher the score on this item, the more the subject perceives
the mass media media to be accurate.

From this operationalization, the second empirical
hypothesis can be developed:

The higher the agreement with the statement that
the mass media presents an accurate picture of
foreign countries and what happens in them, the
higher the stereotypes of Africans score (STERSC).

Statistically, this is a positive correlation since as
one variable (the accuracy of the mass media) increases, the
other variable (STERSC) increases. This hypothesis requires
a systematic examination of the statistic's ability to measure
the degree of the relationship between two variables. Since
this is an exploratory phase of research, the correlation can

give information that is particularly useful. The Pearson Correlation Coefficient will be used here because it can measure the strength of the relationship between two variables.

Reference Group Identification

In the present study, a very viable reference group for many Iowa State University students is the fraternity-sorority system where there is a high amount of identification with the normative group for the members. In contrast to the Greek system is the dormitory system where the amount of identification with the group would likely be less. The dormitory hall is more of a membership group, rather than a normative reference group. With even less identification are the students living off-campus, or perhaps outside the area. Consideration of these different degrees and types of social influence from reference groups identification in different types of residence is operationalized by a demographic variable which asks for the student's current residence. The response categories included; a residence hall, a Greek house, married housing, off-campus apartment, and outside Ames.

> As reference group identification by student's residence patterns increases, the stereotype of Africans (STERSC) increases.

This hypothesis can also make use of the correlation coefficient to measure the degree of the relationship between the two variables, reference group identification and STERSC.

The Pearson Correlation will again allow the measurement of the strength of the relationship.

Social Distance

For the measurement of social distance, the Bogardus Social Distance Scale is used. This scale was developed in 1933 by Emory Bogardus. Sixty statements were judged by one-hundred persons according to the amount of social distance that the statement represented; that is, the amount of social distance which the "judges" thought existed between the person making the statement and the person concerning whom it was made. The "judges" then distributed each of the sixty statements into seven boxes representing seven different degrees of social distance. From this process, seven statements, on which there was the greatest concensus of the judges, were chosen to represent the seven degrees of social distance:

1. would marry

2. would have as regular friends

3. would work beside in an office

4. would have several families in my neighborhood

5. would have merely as speaking acquaintances

6. would have live outside my neighborhood

7. would have live outside my country (Bogardus, 1933).

In a discussion of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, Rose states that;

> The Bogardus Scale realistically assumes that
> a person's behavior is not a monolithic 'for'
> or 'against' a social object, but a function
> of the social situation in which the favorable
> or unfavorable behavior is to be expressed.
> Bogardus assumes that attitudes regarding a
> social object form a scale containing differing
> degrees, rather than a block which divides
> persons into two categories (Rose, 1951: 52).

Another advantage of the scale has been that its categories are specific enough, so that there is no ambiguity for responding, and yet general enough, so that they have not become outdated after thirty years. The scale, either in its original form or slightly modified, has been used extensively with high reliability over the years.

In this study, the categories have been slightly modified from the original seven categories. This modification is the same as was used by Bruton, Crull and Carlson (1975) in their study of Iowa State University students in the Introduction to Sociology class. The categories are:

1. kinship by marriage

2. very good friends

3. as my neighbors

4. same work group

5. speaking aquaintance

6. citizenship in my country

7. allow as a visitor to my country.

.

The instructions for the scale's use here are as follows:

> People are inclined to associate with members
> of other groups in some social situations, but
> not in others. Please indicate what kinds of
> social relationships you would be willing to
> have with members of the following groups. In
> some cases you may want to circle many, or
> perhaps even all, the numbers associated with
> the different kinds of social relationships
> with the different groups

The ten ethnic groups, to which the subjects are to

respond, are listed below:

> Ethiopians
> Germans
> Greeks
> American Blacks
> Nigerians
> Canadians
> American Indians
> Japanese
> Africans
> Spanish Americans.

As is evident, not only is Africans as a general group

listed, but also two nationalities of Africa, Nigerians and

Ethiopians, are listed. American Blacks are included to see

what differences, if any, are the result of nationality and

not race alone. For the most part, the groups differ on

racial characteristics. An attempt was made to minimize

extreme religious or political differences. Social distance

on racial differences, then, is another independent variable

which has been here operationalized by the use of the Bogardus

Social Distance Scale.

The response categories of the Bogardus Social Distance

Scale as they are listed form a scale of increasing

unwillingness to have certain interpersonal relationships

with members of the particular ethnic group. Therefore, the

fourth empirical hypothesis takes the form of:

> As social distance between white Americans and
> Africans calibrated by the seven categories of
> the Bogardus Social Distance Scale increases, the
> stereotypes of Africans (STERSC) increases.

Again, this is a positive correlation. The Pearson

Correlation can again be used to test the strength of the

relationship. This statistic will be used not only to look

at the relationship for the ethnic group of Africans, but

also for the subgroups of Nigerians and Ethiopians. These

correlations will be compared with the correlations of social

distance and stereotyping with the other ethnic groups.

Contact

The fifth and final independent variable for this

analysis is the degree of favorability and closeness of

contact. In investigating this variable, the same ten ethnic

groups which were used with the Bogardus Social Distance

Scale are again used. The response categories include the

dimensions of favorability and closeness of contact:

    1 = unfavorable, close personal contact

    2 = unfavorable, but not close contact

    3 = no personal contact

    4 = favorable, but not close contact

    5 = favorable, close personal contact.

The higher the subject's score on this variable, the higher the favorability and closeness of personal contact the subject has had with members of the particular ethnic group. The resulting hypothesis is:

> As the favorability and closeness of contact between white American students and Africans increases, the stereotype of Africans score (STERSC) decreases.

This is a negative correlation since as the variable contact increases, the variable stereotypes decreases. The degree of the relationship between these two variables can again be measured by the correlation coefficient. Once again, the Pearson Correlation will be used to test the strength of the relationship.

Empirical Hypotheses

With the above operationalization of stereotypes as the dependent variable and of the independent variables, formal educational techniques, mass media, reference group identification, social distance and contact, the empirical hypotheses can be summarized:

> EH 1. As factual information by use of the film "Africa Awakens: Modern Nigeria," of the lecture by the Anthropologist and of the researcher's talk of personal experiences, given within the formal education system increases, the stereotype of Africans score (STERSC) decreases.

EH 2. The higher the agreement with the statement that the mass media presents a reasonably accurate picture of foreign countries and what happens in them, the higher the stereotype of Africans score (STERSC).

EH 3. As reference group identification increases as determined by students' residence patterns, the stereotype of Africans score (STERSC) increases.

EH 4. As social distance between white Americans and Africans calibrated by the seven categories of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale increases, the stereotype of Africans (STERSC) increases.

EH 5. As the favorability and closeness of contact between white Americans and Africans increases, the stereotype of Africans score (STERSC) decreases.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

In this chapter a summary of the findings of the tests of the empirical hypotheses will be given. The level of probability which will be considered as an acceptable indication of a statistically significant relationship is the .05 level, unless otherwise stated.

> EH 1. As factual information by use of the
>   film "Africa Awakens: Modern Nigeria,"
>   of the lecture by the Anthropologist
>   and of the researcher's talk of personal
>   experiences, given with in the formal
>   education system increases, the stereo-
>   type of Africans score (STERSC)
>   decreases.

An analysis of variance test for the difference in means before and after the treatments revealed that there is not a significant difference between the six groups in the means of the students' stereotype of Africans score (see Tables 5 and 6). The F ratio from the analysis of variance between groups on mean stereotypes of Africans scores from the posttreatment test is 0.146, which is not significant. The t values for the four contrasts of group means are -0.331, 0.369, -0.089, and -0.434. None of these t values are significant. Therefore, the hypothesis is not supported.

> EH 2. The higher the agreement with the
>   statement that the mass media presents
>   a reasonably accurate picture of foreign
>   countries and what happens in them, the
>   higher the stereo- of Africans score
>   (STERSC).

Table 5. Analysis of variance between groups on mean stereotype of Africans score from pretreatment test

Source	d.f.	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F ratio
Between groups	5	72.9727	14.5945	0.904
Within groups	136	2196.7187	16.1523	
Total	141	2269.6914		

	Group 1 control N=26	Group 2 control N=20	Group 3 lecture N=18	Group 4 talk N=27	Group 5 film N=23	Group 6 film N=28	t value
Contrast 1	0.5	0.5	-0.5	-0.5	0.0	0.0	0.789
Contrast 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	-1.0	-0.247
Contrast 3	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	-0.5	-0.5	0.666
Contrast 4	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	-0.5	-0.5	1.494
Means	19.81	19.80	18.22	20.04	18.43	18.71	
Standard deviations	3.64	3.69	5.07	3.76	4.98	3.08	

Table 6. Analysis of variance between groups on mean stereotype of Africans score from posttreatment test

Source	d.f.	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F ratio
Between groups	5	10.2891	2.0578	0.146
Within groups	136	1916.5391	14.0922	
Total	141	1926.8281		

	Group 1 control N=26	Group 2 control N=20	Group 3 lecture N=18	Group 4 talk N=27	Group 5 film N=23	Group 6 film N=28	t value
Contrast 1	0.5	0.5	-0.5	-0.5	0.0	0.0	-0.331
Contrast 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	-1.0	0.369
Contrast 3	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.089
Contrast 4	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	-0.5	-0.5	-0.434
Means	18.30	18.20	18.89	18.15	18.78	18.39	
Standard deviations	4.05	3.58	3.14	3.16	4.72	3.58	

The calculated correlation coefficient was 0.3490 which is significant at the .001 level (see Table 7). Therefore, the hypothesis is supported.

Table 7. Pearson Correlation Coefficient for relationship between perceived mass media accuracy and STERSC

	STERSC
Perceived accuracy of mass media	0.3490*

*Indicates significance.

EH 3. As reference group identification by students' residence patterns increases, the stereotypes of Africans scores (STERSC) increases.

The calculated correlation coefficient was -0.0137 which is not significant (see Table 8). Consequently, the hypothesis is not supported.

Table 8. Pearson Correlation Coefficient for relationship between reference group identification and STERSC

	STERSC
Reference group identification	-0.0137

EH 4. As social distance between white
Americans and Africans calibrated by
the seven categories of the Bogardus
Social Distance Scale increases, the
stereotype of Africans score (STERSC)
increases.

The calculated correlation coefficients for the African

ethnic groups are 0.2143 for Ethiopians, 0.2214 for Nigerians,

and 0.2359 for Africans. All three of these correlation

coefficients are significant so that the hypothesis is sup-

ported. It can be seen by Table 9 that the same relationship

is supported by several other ethnic groups; American Blacks,

American Indians, Japanese and Spanish Americans. It would

appear that as social distance with several ethnic groups

increases, stereotyping toward another ethnic group, Africans,

increases.

EH 5. As the favorability and closeness of
contact between white American students
and Africans increases, the stereotype
of Africans score (STERSC) decreases.

The calculated correlation coefficient is -0.1955 for

Nigerians and -0.1968 for Africans (see Table 10). These two

correlation coefficients are significant, but the hypothesis

is only partially supported as the correlation coefficient is

-0.0401 for Ethiopians which is not significant.

Table 9. Pearson Correlation Coefficients for relationship between social distance with ethnic groups and STERSC

Ethnic group	STERSC
Ethiopians	0.2143*
Germans	0.0375
Greeks	0.0395
American Blacks	0.1558*
Nigerians	0.2214*
Canadians	-0.0120
American Indians	0.1908*
Japanese	0.2332*
Africans	0.2359*
Spanish Americans	0.2050*

*Indicates significance.

Table 10. Pearson Correlation Coefficients for relationship between personal contact and STERSC

Ethnic group	STERSC
Ethiopians	-0.0401
Germans	-0.1539*
Greeks	-0.1528*
American Blacks	-0.1922*
Nigerians	-0.1955*
Canadians	-0.0566
American Indians	-0.1327
Japanese	-0.2668*
Africans	-0.1968*
Spanish Americans	-0.2579*

*Indicates significance.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Having tested all five empirical hypotheses and having recorded the findings of those tests, a discussion of those findings is here given. The researcher will attempt to offer some possible explanations for the results along with certain criticisms of the study and suggest possible areas for future research.

Stereotypes are the main focus in this study since it remains the dependent variable for all five hypotheses. Because of its importance to this study, great care has been taken in the definition and the method of measuring this variable. The second chapter, in which the theoretical framework was formulated, gives an extensive review of definitions for stereotypes so that a definition could be developed which would provide a base from which the study could be generated. In the third chapter, the traditional method for measuring stereotypes was critically analyzed and an alternative method emerged. This method is not without its own reservations, but it does allow the subject the opportunity to express a nonstereotypic view of the ethnic group being considered. The advantages or disadvantages of this method cannot, at this time, be fully realized until it has received more extensive research and criticisms. It is hoped that the method will bring to the attention of other

researchers the limitations of previous stereotypes research and begin a re-evaluation of past stereotype literature.

This study investigates the effect of five independent variables upon stereotypes of Africa. Those relationships have been specified in the five theoretical and empirical hypothesis. The results of the tests and their implications are found in the following summary and discussion.

The first theoretical hypothesis concerned the influence of increasing information through selected formal educational techniques upon stereotyping. The empirical hypothesis generated to test the theoretical hypothesis was not supported. By the one-way analysis of variance of the mean stereotype scores on the pretreatment test, it was determined that there were no significant differences between the groups prior to the administration of the treatments (see Table 5). In a similar test for the mean stereotype scores on the post-treatment test, the findings again showed no significant differences between the groups even though two sections were shown a film and two sections received a lecture or talk (see Table 6). It might be concluded that, in this study, receiving increased information by the formal education techniques did not decrease the students' stereotypic view of Africa.

This finding is in agreement with the study by Fernberger (1948) in which his lecture did little to change students'

sex stereotypes. An important factor in the use of formal educational techniques as a means of altering stereotypes by increasing the subject's base of information is in the duration of the treatment. By giving students one lecture or one film, the duration of the treatment is very short. By this study, therefore, it cannot be concluded that the formal education system cannot be an effective agent of change in the subject's stereotypic thinking. Perhaps a combination of treatments over a longer period of time would result in different findings.

As was delineated in the definition of stereotypes accepted for this study, one of the key characteristics of stereotypes was "stereotypes can be changed, but with difficulty." It is still felt that the formal education system has a good potential for being an effective agent of change with regard to stereotypes. It is, therefore, suggested that this potential needs to be an area of further research. Such research could investigate the impact of longer duration for presentations of increased factual information using several different educational techniques within the formal system.

The second theoretical hypothesis investigated the relationship between the perceived accuracy of the mass media and stereotyping. The empirical hypothesis which followed was supported by the statistical test. From this findings, it appears that as the subject relies more heavily upon the

often selective portrayal by the mass media of the unknown,
he is more likely to view that unknown in terms of stereo-
types. The emphasis in this study was upon the perception
by the subject of the accuracy of the mass media and not upon
the actual accuracy of the mass media's presentation of, in
this case, Africa. Future studies which concentrate upon
this aspect may want to incorporate an analysis of how
stereotypic the presentation of the mass media may or may not
be concerning the ethnic group toward which the stereotypes
are directed.

Theoretical hypothesis 3 looked at the relationship
between normative reference group identification and stereo-
typing. It was assumed that higher degrees of identification
with the reference group would be present with residence
within the Greek system of the university, than with the
dormitory system or other residence patterns. The empirical
hypothesis which was tested with the Pearson Correlation
Coefficient was not supported. A possible explanation for
this is perhaps students' stereotypes are not affected by
reference group identification since that is a covert set of
ideas, whereas, actual behavior toward the particular ethnic
group (which may or may not be the partial result of stereo-
types) may be affected by reference group identification
since that is an overt action. Since this study makes no
attempt to predict behavior, this area has not been

investigated. Furthermore, the sample for this study was not
conducive for comparing the perspectives of subjects with
different residence patterns. The sample had a dispropor-
tionately large group of students residing in dormitories
with a much smaller group in the Greek system. The students
living off-campus or elsewhere comprised such a small group
as to make comparisons extremely difficult (see Table 3). In
future studies, if this same idea is investigated, it would
be wise to have a sample more evenly distributed on this
variable.

Further research may need to re-evaluate the operation-
alization of this variable. It is felt that although peers
are an important reference group for this age group, other
reference groups may also exert equal influence upon the
subject. This study only looks at one possibility of
reference groups. The relationship between reference groups
and stereotypes does need further research since not much has
been done thus far.

The fourth theoretical hypothesis advanced a positive
relationship between social distance between ethnic groups
and stereotyping between them. In operationalizing social
distance, the standard instrument, the Bogardus Social
Distance Scale, was used. Ten ethnic groups were listed for
the student to respond to. Africans, as a general category,
was listed along with two African nationalities, Ethiopians

and Nigerians. With all three categories, the hypothesis with social distance and stereotyping was supported. The correlation coefficients were significant for Ethiopians, Nigerians and Africans (see Table 9). From these results, it would appear that subjects who are willing to interact with Africans in more types of interpersonal relationships, are less likely to view them in terms of stereotypes. An interesting finding was brought out by the use of the other seven ethnic groups. By testing the positive relationship between the social distance which the subjects maintained with the seven non-African ethnic groups and their stereotype of Africans score, it was found that the relationship was significant for American Blacks, American Indians, Japanese and Spanish Americans. The relationship was not significant for three ethnic groups: Germans, Greeks and Canadians (see Table 9). It appears that if the subject is willing to interact in many interpersonal relationships with members of an ethnic group which is racially different from his own, he is less likely to view another ethnic group, namely Africans, stereotypically. Since the sample here is composed nearly totally of white Americans, the three ethnic groups, Germans, Greeks and Canadians, are not racially different from the sample, but the other seven groups are racially different.

Although this aspect of social distance and stereotyping was not purposely investigated, the findings have initiated an interesting possibility. It is felt that additional research should consider the possibility that willingness to decrease social distance with members of an ethnically different group may lead to a diffusion of decreased stereotypic thinking for the individual when considering other ethnically different groups.

In this study, social distance was used as one of the independent variables and stereotype of Africa was used as the dependent variable. The relationship between these variables is not necessarily causal, however. The relationship should, in later studies, be examined with social distance as the dependent variable and with stereotypes as the independent variable, so that the relationship could be viewed from both directions. Another aspect which should be examined is what effect the variable of sex has upon one's social distance and stereotypes.

The findings from this study indicated that the overall sample means were not generally highly stereotyped. A statistical test was not conducted to check if the responses from the portion of the sample with the most stereotyped positions had changed, or if the relationships between the variables with this portion of the sample would be altered. Such a test might present interesting findings.

The fifth and final theoretical hypothesis deals with the relationship between personal contact with a particular ethnic group, that is Africans, and stereotyping toward that group. Qualification is made by introducing two conditions of that contact--favorability and closeness. The operationalization of the variable contact introduces a five category response set so that both conditions can be well investigated. The statistical test for this empirical hypothesis shows only partial support for the relationship since with the ethnic groups of Nigerians and Africans the relationship is supported, but with Ethiopians the correlation coefficient is not significant (see Table 10). Such findings are inconclusive since it cannot be assumed that favorable and close contact with Ethiopians leads to increased stereotyping, while favorable and close contact with Nigerians or Africans as a whole leads to decreased stereotyping. Neither can it be assumed that contact with Ethiopians is generally unfavorable, while contact with Africans, of which Ethiopians are a part, is generally favorable. A partial explanation may be that although the stereotype of Africans score (STERSC) remains the same for all three categories, fewer students may have had any contact with Ethiopians, while more students may have had contact with Nigerians or other Africans.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

The research problem of this study was to investigate
the ethnic stereotypes of a sample of American university
students toward, in this case, Africans. In particular, five
independent variables are related to the dependent variable,
stereotypes of Africans. The results of those hypotheses are
summarized and discussed in the previous chapter. Suggestions
for further research are also offered in that chapter.

At this time, it would be wise to critically analyze
the significance and usefulness of this study. In the
introduction to this study, the author stated that several
criteria for describing the significance of a sociological
problem would be fulfilled. The question to be asked now is,
"Have those criteria really been fulfilled in this study?"

The first criterion which was discussed concerns the
timeliness of the problem. As was stated in the first
chapter, the African continent has gained more world atten-
tion in the last decade. With this increased awareness of
African affairs has been increased attention by the mass
media and the formal education system in this country as in
others. Two of the theoretical and empirical hypotheses
have investigated the impact of these two means of increasing
information, but in different ways.

The mass media variable looked at the perceived accuracy of information. As was suggested earlier, further research might analyze the actual accuracy of the mass media so that a comparison can be made to determine the goodness-of-fit between the subject's perception of, and the actual accuracy of, the mass media. This study failed to obtain this information which would have yielded an important aspect to the effect upon stereotyping. Furthermore, no attempt has been made by this study to determine how much direct information from the mass media is received by the subject, i.e., how often does the subject read the newspapers, or watch the national news on television?

The focus of the formal education system was upon its potential as an agent of change for stereotypes. One criticism of the procedures used for this study could be that the control group, although not receiving any treatments, was still a part of the Introductory Sociology class. A strict control group, it might be argued, should have been composed of students outside the class.

The issue of timeliness, however, is still felt to be fulfilled in the study. Stereotypes of Africa and its peoples are likely to be going through a state of change by increased information, be it positive or negative or be it factual or biased. The two variables which were investigated here, mass media's perceived accuracy and the formal educational

techniques, are two means by which this information is disseminated. It is important to know what the stereotypes are, since one of the functions of stereotypes can be the justification for one's actions.

The second criterion for evaluating this problem was in relating to an influential or critical population. The justification for meeting this criteria was in the use of a relatively well-educated sample, that is, college students. One assumption of this study was that in using college students, the subjects would eventually be in influential positions due to their education. Such an assumption is not without some basis, but possibly a more influential sample would have been composed of policy makers such as government officials. This criterion, therefore, is possibly not fully realized.

The third criterion to be met was that the study fills a research gap. By reviewing studies which have been done concerning stereotypes, it can be seen that a large proportion of studies have concentrated upon stereotypes between ethnic groups within the United States, with a small proportion concerning national stereotypes of persons of other countries when viewing the United States. Few studies have investigated stereotypes that Americans have of other countries, outside the attempts using the Katz and Braly technique. It is felt, therefore, that this study does fill

a research gap and so fulfills that criteria of a useful
study.

The fourth criterion requires a sharper delineation of
the definition of a concept. An attempt was made to illustrate
the wide range of definitions of stereotypes which have been
given from 1922 to the present time, and to formulate a
definition which would offer a convergence of ideas and would
provide a basis from which the study could grow. The possi-
bility exists that the delineation of this definition may
just become one more definition in a field already flooded
with conflicting ideas. The fact remains, however, that an
extensive review of the differing definitions was made and,
by drawing upon the ideas of many authors, a definition of
stereotypes emerged. This criterion, then, has been at least
partially fulfilled.

The fifth and final criterion which this study has
attempted to meet is in creating or improving an instrument
for observing and analyzing data. The Katz and Braly
technique for measuring stereotypes has been reviewed in
chapter three. Its procedures and continuing influence in
the discipline have also been reviewed. The author and
others have criticized this technique and an alternative
instrument which was used in this study was advanced by the
author. The scale for measuring stereotypes of Africa which
emerged has acceptable reliability (0.5623), but it is not as

high as would be hoped (0.75 or higher). Measurement scales in sociological research with reliability of the desired level are difficult to achieve. One reason for this difficulty is that in sociological research, the subject may try to report socially desirable responses even though those responses may not capture his true feelings. For this reason, some skepticism is nearly always present when reading "conclusive" findings in sociological research. An additional problem is present with this sample because it is composed of college students who may try to give answers which they feel the instructor wants to receive. Because of this, some caution must be taken here.

As stated before, this method of measurement does have some advantages over the Katz and Braly technique. Probably the biggest advantage is that it does not necessitate the assigning of traits to particular ethnic groups. Some of the response bias, therefore, should be minimized. Because of this, it is felt that the fifth criterion has been fulfilled.

This study, consequently, does achieve some of its specified objectives. Perhaps it generates more questions than giving definitive answers, but, hopefully, those questions will lead to more research to investigate the complexity of the nature of stereotypes.

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APPENDIX A

Pretreatment Questionnaire

Iowa State University *of Science and Technology*   *Ames, Iowa 50010*

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
103 East Hall
Telephone: 515-294-6480

Your class has been selected as part of a sample of col-
lege students in a sociological research study. The purpose
of this study is to determine what educational background and
interests the student has in certain anthropological and
sociological areas of concern. Your answers will in no way
be reflected in your grades for this course, nor in any other
manner. Your responses will remain strictly confidential.
The number in the right hand corner of the questionnaire is
only for coding. Your name is placed upon this cover letter
so that we can determine who has or has not taken the question-
naire, so we know the response rate of the sample. Your name
and responses will not be compared. Therefore, when you
return the questionnaire, remove the cover letter and hand it
in separately from the questionnaire.

Your participation is voluntary. You may refrain from
answering any particular questions. It is important for the
success of this study that everyone in the sample answers the
questionnaire. It is also of great importance that you answer
the questions truthfully. Your cooperation will be greatly
appreciated.

If you have any questions, your instructor will be happy
to assist you.

Please check the space in front of the appropriate response;
When checking the category marked "other", please explain
your answer in the space provided.

Your sex; ____ Male, ____ Female

Your marital status; ____ Single, never been married

____ Presently single, previously married

____ Married

Your year in college as of Spring Quarter Classification;

____ Freshman, ____ Sophomore, ____ Junior, ____ Senior,

____ Other

Your age; ____ less than 18, ____ 18, ____ 19, ____ 20, ____21,

____ 22, ____ 23, ____24, ____ 25 or older,

Your religious preference; ____ Catholic

____ Protestant (e.g. Lutheran,
                            Baptist)

____ Jewish

____ Other _____

____ None

Your racial group; ____ White

____ Black

____ Oriental

____ Other _____

College you are enrolled in; ___ Science and Humanities

                                        ___ Home Economics

                                        ___Agriculture

                                        ___ Engineering

                                        ___ Education

                                        ___ Veterinary Medicine

Specify your major (if you haven't decided, what do you think

       your major will be)_____

Your current residence; ___ a residence hall

                                 ___ a Greek House

                                 ___ off-campus apartment

                                 ___ married housing (e.g. Pammel Court)

                                 ___ outside Ames

Size of town your parents currently reside in (or near);

                                 ___ Rural (under 2,500)

                                 ___ Town (2,500 - 20,000)

                                 ___ Urban (over 20,000)

Size of your high school graduating class; ___ under 50,

___ 50-100, ___ 100-200, ___ 200-500, ___ over 500

State your father's occupation (if retired, specify his

       occupation before retirement). Please be specific; for

       example, "machine operator" would be an appropriate response,

       not "work for 3M."

People are inclined to associate with members of other groups in some social situations, but not in others. Please indicate what kinds of social relationships you would be willing to have with members of the following groups. In some cases you may want to circle many, or perhaps even all, the numbers associated with the different kinds of social relationships with the different groups.

	As my neighbors	Same work group	Kinship by marriage	Citizenship in my country	Allow as a visitor to my country	Very good friends	Speaking acquaintance
Ethiopians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Germans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Greeks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
American Blacks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nigerians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Canadians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
American Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Japanese	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Africans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Spanish Americans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Place the number in the space provided to indicate the type of contact you have had with any member of the following groups. The number should be selected on the basis of the following criteria:

1 Unfavorable, close personal contact
2 Unfavorable, but not close contact
3 No personal contact
4 Favorable, but not close contact
5 Favorable, close personal contact

_____ Ethiopians

_____ Germans

_____ Greeks

_____ American Blacks

_____ Nigerians

_____ Canadians

_____ American Indians

_____ Japanese

_____ Africans

_____ Spanish Americans

Place the number of the response to each of the following areas of study, which most accurately describes your past, present and future educational interests. The number you select will be based upon the following criteria:

1 I have already taken such a course
2 I am now taking such a course
3 I have never taken any such course, but plan to in the future
4 I have never taken such a course and never plan to

_____ a course above the 200 level in Sociology
_____ a course in Minority and Race Relations
_____ a course in cultural Anthropology
_____ a course in cross-cultural political systems
_____ a course in International Studies
_____ a course specifically on African history, politics, or cultures.

In the high school you attended, which responses best describes the curriculum and your participation in the following areas;

1 my high school had a course, and I took it,
2 my high school had a course, but I did not take it,
3 my high school did not have a course,

_____ in Sociology

_____ in Political Science

_____ in World History

_____ in World Geography.

Give your first response to the following statements by circling one of the answers given after each statement.

SA - strongly agree
A   - agree
U   - undecided
D   - disagree
SD - strongly disagree

1. Television, radio and newspapers give us a reasonably accurate picture of what foreign countries are like and what happens in them.

        SA   A   U   D   SD

2. The War in Angola showed us that Africans are unable to govern themselves.

        SA   A   U   D   SD

3. Most people in Africa live in very primitive settlements and rely on wild plants and animals for survival.

        SA   A   U   D   SD

4. A Nigerian (from West Africa) is as culturally different from the Pygmy (from Central Africa), as the Eskimo is from the Iowan farmer.

        SA   A   U   D   SD

5. The governments in South Africa and Rhodesia are racist and should be overthrown.

        SA   A   U   D   SD

6. African music and dance forms are very primitive and mainly reflect the African's concern with the spirit world.

      SA   A   ·U   D   SD

7. Africa has some large cities, but none of them are as modern as the cities in America.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

8. Wild animals roaming the countryside is typical of much of the African continent.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

9. African works of art would be a valuable contribution to art museums in our counrty.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

10. I would like to go to live in an African country for five years.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

11. It is only fair that the United States should be able to obtain natural resources from Africa for less than world market prices because of the foreign aid we've given them over the years.

12. The best economic development program for under-developed African countries would be to copy what the United States has done.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

13. There are great differences between a Black American and an African.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

14. My friends would think it was great if I dated a foreign person.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

15. My parents would disown me if I married a black person.

      SA   A   U   D   SD

Posttreatment Questionnaire

Iowa State University *of Science and Technology*   *Ames, Iowa* 50010

This questionnaire is a continuation of the Sociological research study in which your class participated earlier in the quarter. You may recall that the purpose of the study is to determine the educational background and interests of the student in certain Anthropological and Sociological areas of concern.

Your responses will, as before, remain strictly confidential. The number of the questionnaire is only for coding. Your name is placed upon this cover letter to determine who has or has not responded to the questionnaire. In the analysis of the findings, individuals will not be identified. When you return the questionnaire, remove the cover letter and hand it in separately from the questionnaire.

Your participation is voluntary. You may refrain from answering any particular questions. It is important for the success of this study that everyone in the sample answers the questionnaire. It is also of great importance that you answer the questions truthfully. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

If you have any questions, your instructor will be happy to assist you.

People are inclined to associate with members of other groups in some social situations, but not in others. Please indicate what kinds of social relationships you would be willing to have with members of the following groups. In some cases you may want to circle many, or perhaps even all, the numbers associated with the different kinds of social relationships with the different groups.

	As my neighbors	Same work group	Kinship by marriage	Citizenship in my country	Allow as a visitor to my country	Very good friends	Speaking acquaintance
Ethiopians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Germans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Greeks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
American Blacks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nigerians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Canadians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
American Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Japanese	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Africans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Spanish Americans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Place the number in the space provided to indicate the type of contact you have had with any member of the following groups. The number should be selected on the basis of the following criteria:

1 Unfavorable, close personal contact
2 Unfavorable, but not close contact
3 No personal contact
4 Favorable, but not close contact
5 Favorable, close personal contact

_____ Ethiopians

_____ Germans

_____ Greeks

_____ American Blacks

_____ Nigerians

_____ Canadians

_____ American Indians

_____ Japanese

_____ Africans

_____ Spanish Americans

Place the number of the response to each of the following areas of study which most accurately describes your past, present and future educational interests. The number you select will be based upon the following criteria:

1 I have already taken such a course
2 I am now taking such a course
3 I have never taken any such course, but plan to in the future
4 I have never taken such a course and never plan to

_____ a course above the 200 level in Sociology

_____ a course in Minority and Race Relations

_____ a course in Cultural Anthropology

_____ a course in cross-cultural political systems

_____ a course in International Studies

_____ a course specifically on African History, Politics or Cultures

Give your first response to the following statements by
circling one of the answers given after each statement.

SA - strongly agree
A - agree
U - undecided
D - disagree
SD - strongly disagree

1. Television, radio and newspapers give us a reasonably
   accurate picture of what foreign countries are like and
   what happens in them.

   SA   A   U   D   SD

2. The War in Angola showed us that Africans are unable to
   govern themselves.

   SA   A   U   D   SD

3. Most people in Africa live in very primitive settlements
   and rely on wild plants and animals for survival.

   SA   A   U   D   SD

4. A Nigerian (from West Africa) is as culturally different
   from the Pygmy (from Central Africa), as the Eskimo is
   from the Iowan farmer.

   SA   A   U   D   SD

5. The governments in South Africa and Rhodesia are racist
   and should be overthrown.

   SA   A   U   D   SD

6. African music and dance forms are very primitive and
   mainly reflect the African's concern with the spirit
   world.

   SA   A   U   D   SD

7. Africa has some large cities, but none of them are as
   modern as the cities in America.

   SA   A   U   D   SD

8. Wild animals roaming the countryside is typical of much of the African continent.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

9. African works of art would be a valuable contribution to art museums in our country.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

10. I would like to go to live in an African country for five years.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

11. It is only fair that the United States should be able to obtain natural resources from Africa for less than world market prices because of the foreign aid we've given them over the years.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

12. The best economic development program for under-developed African countries would be to copy what the United States has done.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

13. There are great differences between a Black American and an African.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

14. My friends would think it was great if I dated a foreign person.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

15. My parents would disown me if I married a black person.

       SA   A   U   D   SD

APPENDIX B

Table 11. Frequency distributions of demographic variables
          of sample (N = 142) not included in Table 3

	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency
Major;		
Social Sciences	10	7.0%
Biological Sciences	28	19.7%
Physical Sciences	3	2.1%
Education	13	9.2%
English or Foreign Language	3	2.1%
Engineering	16	11.3%
Mass Communication	6	4.2%
Architecture or Urban Planning	8	5.6%
Business Administration	23	16.2%
Nutrition and Textiles	10	7.0%
Art	6	4.2%
Physical Education	2	1.4%
Agriculture	7	4.9%
Math or Computer Science	3	2.1%
Missing Cases	4	2.8%
Size of High School Class;		
Under 50	21	14.8%
50-100	21	14.8%
100-200	26	18.3%
200-500	44	31.0%
Over 500	30	21.1%
Father's Occupation;		
Professional	17	12.0%
Semi-professional	25	17.6%
Managers, Proprietors, Officials	37	26.1%
Sales, Clerical	9	6.3%
Skilled	10	7.0%
Farmer	19	13.4%
Semi-skilled	14	9.9%
Unskilled	4	2.8%
Missing Cases	7	4.9%

Table 12. Relative frequency distributions on social distance with ten ethnic groups[a]

Ethnic group	Visitor to my country	Citizenship in my country	Speaking acquaintance	Same work group	As my neighbor	Very good friend	Kinship by marriage
Ethiopians	4.2%	3.5%	7.7%	6.3%	6.3%	43.7%	26.1%
Germans	1.4%	----	2.8%	1.4%	2.8%	9.9%	81.7%
Greeks	3.5%	0.7%	6.3%	3.5%	6.3%	23.2%	55.6%
American Blacks	----	----	2.8%	5.6%	4.9%	55.6%	30.3%
Nigerians	2.1%	2.1%	9.9%	3.5%	6.3%	50.0%	23.2%
Canadians	----	----	1.4%	0.7%	2.1%	4.9%	90.1%
American Indians	0.7%	0.7%	5.6%	2.1%	4.2%	26.1%	59.2%
Japanese	2.1%	1.4%	4.9%	4.9%	6.3%	38.0%	40.1%
Africans	2.1%	2.8%	9.9%	4.9%	5.6%	47.2%	25.4%
Spanish Americans	4.2%	1.4%	5.6%	5.6%	5.6%	28.2%	47.9%

[a]Responses were coded by selecting the response which denoted the closest interpersonal relationship.

Table 13. Frequency distributions on types of personal contact with ten ethnic groups

Ethnic group	Unfavorable close		Unfavorable not close		No contact		Favorable not close		Favorable close	
	Abs. freq.	Rel. freq.	Abs. freq.	Rel. freq.	Abs. freq.	Rel. freq.	Abs. freq.	Rel. freq.	Abs. freq.	Rel. freq.
Ethiopians	2	1.4%	3	2.1 %	117	82.4%	17	12.0%	3	2.1%
Germans	-	----	1	0.7%	20	14.1%	48	33.8%	73	51.4%
Greeks	8	5.6%	6	4.2%	60	42.3%	46	32.4%	22	15.5%
American Blacks	9	6.3%	15	10.6%	3	2.1%	59	41.5%	56	39.4%
Nigerians	3	2.1%	10	7.0%	89	62.7%	31	21.8%	8	5.6%
Canadians	-	----	--	----	28	19.7%	64	45.1%	50	35.2%
American Indians	6	4.2%	9	6.3%	44	31.0%	55	38.7%	28	19.7%
Japanese	4	2.8%	14	9.9%	39	27.5%	55	38.7%	29	20.4%
Africans	1	0.7%	9	6.3%	75	52.8%	45	31.7%	11	7.7%
Spanish Americans	3	2.1%	15	10.6%	49	34.5%	53	37.3%	21	14.8%

Table 14. Relative frequency distributions on 8-item stereotype of Africans scale

Scale item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
War in Angola	10.6%	50.7%	33.1%	3.5%	0.7%
Primitive life in Africa	33.8%	52.1%	7.0%	4.9%	1.4%
Cultural differences	0.7%	3.5%	23.2%	47.9%	23.9%
Racist governments	7.0%	20.4%	46.5%	19.0%	6.3%
African music and dance	13.4%	40.1%	23.4%	21.3%	1.4%
African cities	28.2%	54.9%	7.7%	7.7%	1.4%
Wild animals	9.9%	31.7%	21.8%	33.1%	2.8%
African art	1.4%	4.9%	4.2%	52.1%	37.3%

Table 15. Relative frequency distributions on Likert Response Items not included in stereotype scale

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
Perceived accuracy of mass media	9.9%	47.9%	9.9%	31.0%	1.4%
Desire to live in Africa	14.1%	30.3%	31.0%	19.7%	4.9%
Lowered prices for U.S. for natural resources from Africa	10.6%	35.9%	31.7%	16.9%	4.2%
Development programs for Africa should copy U.S.	23.2%	41.5%	24.6%	9.2%	1.4%
Great differences between Africans and American Blacks	----	11.3%	16.2%	51.4%	20.6%
Perceived positive feedback from friends if subject dated a foreign person	7.7%	28.9%	45.8%	16.9%	0.7%
Perceived disownment by parents if subject married a black person	12.0%	31.7%	21.2%	14.8%	20.4%