

The Content of Native American Cultural Stereotypes
in Comparison to Other Racial Groups

by

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ABSTRACT

Despite a large body of research on stereotypes, there have been relatively few empirical investigations of the content of stereotypes about Native Americans. The primary goal of this research was to systematically explore the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans and how stereotypes about Native Americans differ in comparison to stereotypes about Asian Americans and African Americans. Building on a classic paradigm (Katz and Braly, 1933), participants were asked to identify from a list of 145 adjectives those words associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans and words associated with stereotypes of Asian Americans (Study 1) or African Americans (Study 2). The adjectives associated with stereotypes about Native Americans were significantly less favorable than the adjectives associated with stereotypes about Asian Americans, but were significantly more favorable than the adjectives associated with stereotypes about African Americans. Stereotypes about Native Americans, Asian Americans and African Americans were also compared along the dimensions of the stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske, et al., 2002), which proposes that stereotypes about social groups are based on the core dimensions of perceived competence, warmth, status, and competitiveness. Native Americans were rated as less competent, less of a source of competition, and lower in social status than Asian Americans, and less competent and lower in social status than African Americans. No significant differences were found in perceived warmth across the studies. Combined, these findings contribute to a better understanding of stereotypes about Native Americans and how they may differ from stereotypes about other racial groups.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

According to the 2010 United States Census, approximately 5.2 million people living in the U.S. identify themselves as Native Americans. Additionally, the population of Native Americans in the U.S. is on the rise and has increased 39 percent since 2000, roughly twice as fast as the total U.S. population. Contrary to popular belief, the majority of Native Americans (approximately 78%) live off of reservation land, with the highest concentrations of Native Americans living in major cities including New York City, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Anchorage, and Albuquerque (U.S. Census, 2012). As these statistics indicate, Native Americans are becoming increasingly integrated into the broader American society, making interracial contact with Native Americans more likely.

In spite of this, the perceptions of Native Americans held by the broader population tend to be limited. In fact, due to the lack of salient contemporary Native American figures and role models in our society, researchers have argued that Native Americans are an invisible minority (Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, & Stone, 2008; Fryberg & Townsend, 2007). Furthermore, people's limited knowledge about Native Americans is exacerbated by stereotypical portrayals of the group, such as those that are seen in television and film (Tan, Fujioka & Lucht, 1997) and in other aspects of mainstream culture (e.g., mascots for athletic teams; Fryberg, et al., 2008). For instance, Indian mascots—which convey exaggerated and inaccurate stereotypes about Native Americans—are widely used by high schools across the United States. Second to only carnivorous animals, Indian mascots account for 10.6 percent of all high school mascots (Clarkson, 2003).

Although research in the social psychological literature has begun to examine the effects that stereotypic portrayals of Native Americans have on both perceivers (i.e., non-Native Americans) and Native American targets (e.g., Fryberg, et al., 2008; Kim-Prieto, Goldstein, Okazaki, & Kirschner, 2010), less empirical research has examined the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans. The goal of the present research is to systematically investigate the content of stereotypes about Native Americans and the ways in which they compare and contrast with stereotypes about other racial groups (i.e., African Americans, Asian Americans).

Stereotypes

The term “stereotype” was first used by Lippman (1922), who defined stereotypes as generalized pieces of knowledge endorsed by a culture. Early social psychological research focused on the content of stereotypes about various social groups; in other words, on how perceivers explicitly characterize other groups (e.g., Katz & Braly, 1933). For instance, in early research on stereotypes, adjectives such as *industrious*, *intelligent*, and *progressive* were commonly associated with the Japanese (Katz & Braly, 1933). More recently, stereotypes have been defined as generalized traits, qualities, and behaviors attributed to a group of people by a perceiver (Allport, 1979; Campbell, 1967; Lippman 1922; Judd & Park, 2005; Tan et al., 1997).

Stereotypes are often viewed as representing a cognitive dimension of prejudice, with prejudice defined as an attitude towards a person or a group of people based simply on their group membership (Cloutier, Mason, & Macrae, 2005; Mackie, 1973; Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994). Interestingly, people who are high versus low in prejudice tend to be equally aware of the content of stereotypes about various social groups and

stereotypes are activated automatically in the presence of members or symbolic representations of social groups, regardless of an individual's level of prejudice (Devine, 1989). The key difference between individuals who are high versus low in prejudice is in the degree to which they consciously endorse negative stereotypes. Whereas high-prejudice individuals tend to agree with negative racial stereotypes, low-prejudice individuals seek to consciously override them (Devine, 1989).

Stereotypes have also been shown to serve a range of cognitive functions. For example, stereotypes help individuals quickly communicate characteristics about the outside world (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990), organize relevant information about a target (e.g., skin tone, sex, age), and enhance perception by allowing individuals to make inferences beyond the available information (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). The field of social psychology has more recently returned to the empirical examination of the content of stereotypes surrounding various social groups (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Madon, Guyll, Aboufadel, Montiel, Smith, et al., 2001), but few psychological studies have examined the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans. Thus, a scientific understanding of the content of stereotypes about Native Americans in comparison to other groups adds to the stereotyping and prejudice literature.

Research on the Perceptions of Native Americans

Although there has been relatively little empirical research on stereotypes about Native Americans within social psychology, some insight can be gained from the Native American studies literature (e.g., Hanson & Rouse, 1987; Rouse & Hanson, 1991). For instance, in a study by Hanson and Rouse (1987), a sample composed mainly of White college students were presented with twenty dichotomous pairs of concepts (e.g., *rural* /

urban, warlike / peaceful, lazy / hardworking, weak / strong). Participants were then asked to choose which concept best reflected what Native Americans meant to them. Participants' responses indicated a high degree of consistency in perceptions of Native Americans, with 78 percent of participants perceiving Native Americans as *rural* and *traditional*. Agreement was somewhat lower for other concepts, with 42 percent of participants perceiving Native Americans as *hunters* and 43 percent of participants associating Native Americans with the *past*.

A subsequent study found that White college students' endorsement of negative stereotypes about Native Americans tended to vary as a function of perceived competition for resources and the visibility of Native Americans in their geographic area, which were determined by the percentage of a state's population that Native Americans were estimated to comprise (Rouse & Hanson, 1991). College students attending a public university in a state with a relatively high percentage of Native Americans (e.g., University of North Dakota) endorsed negative stereotypes about Native Americans to a greater degree than students attending a public university in a state with a lower percentage of Native Americans (e.g., University of Texas).

Although these findings provide some insight into perceptions of Native Americans, this research is limited in a couple of ways: First, the use of dichotomous pairs of concepts constrained participants to choose between one of two options. Second, the list of concepts was short, limiting participants' ability to fully report on the content of stereotypes about Native Americans. Third, a broader understanding of the content of stereotypes about Native Americans would benefit from a research design that allows for

the comparisons of stereotypes about Native Americans to stereotypes about other racial groups.

The Impact of Stereotypes about Native Americans

Recent research in the social psychological literature has begun to explore the effects that stereotypical portrayals of Native Americans can have on both perceivers (i.e., non-Native Americans) and Native American targets (e.g., Fryberg et al., 2008; Kim-Prieto et al., 2010). For example, Kim-Prieto et al. (2010) found that immediately after exposing University of Illinois students to an image of the school's Indian mascot, Chief Illiniwek, their tendency to stereotype Asian Americans increased significantly compared to students in control conditions, who were exposed to no image. The researchers concluded that exposure to a Native American mascot activates a prejudicial mindset in which other marginalized social groups can be viewed in stereotypical terms.

Interestingly, this effect extended beyond the context in which a Native American mascot was a part of the university's culture. In a subsequent study, students from the College of New Jersey were exposed to a passage describing the tradition of Chief Illiniwek or a control passage about an arts center at the University of Illinois. Participants who read the Chief Illiniwek passage endorsed negative stereotypes about Asian Americans to a greater extent than participants who read the art center passage.

Researchers have also begun to examine the psychological effects of stereotypic Native American images on Native Americans' feelings of self-worth (Fryberg, 2003; Fryberg et al., 2008). In a study by Fryberg et al. (2008), Native American high school students who were instructed to think about stereotypic portrayals of Native Americans (e.g., Native American mascots, romantic portrayals of Native Americans in the media

like Disney's Pocahontas) or negative outcomes stereotypically associated with Native Americans (e.g., alcoholism, suicide) reported significantly lower levels of self-esteem than Native American students in a control condition, who were merely asked to answer questions about themselves and their community. In a second study, Native American high school students who underwent the same experimental manipulations showed significant decreases in community worth, or feelings of group-based esteem (e.g., "I respect people in my community.") relative to students in the control condition. The findings from these two studies suggest that exposure to any type of stereotypes about Native Americans, even stereotypical portrayals that are seemingly positive in valence (e.g., Pocahontas), lead to decreased feelings of self-esteem and group-based worth among Native Americans.

Exposure to Native American stereotypes has also been shown to influence Native Americans' perceptions about their futures. For example, in a study by Fryberg et al. (2008), Native American college students were randomly assigned to one of five conditions. In three conditions, participants were exposed to one of three images of an Indian mascot: Chief Illiniwek, Haskell Indian—the mascot of the Haskell Indian Nations University, or Chief Wahoo—the mascot of the Cleveland Indians professional baseball team. Participants in a fourth condition viewed an advertisement for the American Indian College Fund that featured a Native American woman in an academic environment and those in a fifth, control condition were merely asked to answer questions about themselves and their community. Participants exposed to one of the three Native American mascots reported significantly fewer achievement related selves (i.e., self-imagined roles related to academic or work achievements such as getting an AA degree

or finding a job) than participants in the advertisement and control conditions. This finding indicates that even exposure to seemingly positive Native American mascots (e.g., Chief Illiniwek, Haskell Indian) had negative effects on Native Americans' ability to imagine themselves in work and school-related roles. Combined, these findings are consistent with a large body of literature indicating that knowledge of cultural stereotypes about one's group can have negative psychological effects on those who are stereotyped (e.g., Steele, 1997).

Assessing the Content of Cultural Stereotypes

The empirical investigation of the content of stereotypes surrounding various social groups dates back to a classic study by Katz and Braly (1933). In their study, a sample of 100 Princeton University students were presented with a list of 84 adjectives and were asked to indicate which adjectives characterized ten racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Italians, Irish, English, Chinese, Turks). Participants showed a striking degree of consensus in the adjectives associated with various groups. For example, 78 percent of participants agreed that *scientifically-minded* was characteristic of Germans, 75 percent agreed that *lazy* was characteristic of African Americans,¹ and 45 percent agreed that *intelligent* was characteristic of the Japanese. Katz and Braly (1933) argued that the agreement among the participants was too great to be accounted for by individual contact with each of the social groups. Instead, it was argued that these general characteristics were defined by the surrounding society and thus comprised commonly held stereotypes.

¹ The term, "Negroes" was used in the original Katz and Braly (1933) study and some of the early follow-ups to their research, which may have slightly different connotation.

In subsequent decades, researchers sought to replicate Katz and Braly's original study to examine shifts in racial stereotypes. For instance, Gilbert (1951) replicated the general pattern of findings with a Princeton University sample 18 years after the Katz & Braly (1933) study, but also found some evidence that agreement among the participants had faded. In a third study using a Princeton University sample, Karlins, Coffman, and Walters (1969) found that adjectives selected by the previous samples as characteristic of the ten racial and ethnic groups had been replaced by different adjectives from the list. For example, Germans were characterized as *ambitious*, African Americans were characterized as *sensitive*, and the Japanese were characterized as *efficient*. Stereotype consensus in the Karlins et al. (1969) sample had also decreased in comparison to the two previous samples. For instance, only 47 percent of the 1969 participants agreed that *scientifically-minded* was characteristic of Germans, only 26 percent agreed that *lazy* was characteristic of African Americans, and only 20 percent agreed that *intelligent* was characteristic of the Japanese.

A recent replication of the Katz & Braly (1933) study sought to investigate whether the findings from the three previous studies, referred to jointly as the Princeton Trilogy, provided evidence that racial stereotypes were actually fading (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Specifically, Devine and Elliot (1995) argued that the Princeton Trilogy failed to distinguish between college students' personal beliefs about the characteristics of different racial groups and their knowledge of the content of cultural stereotypes associated with each group. Whereas highly prejudiced individuals might endorse cultural stereotypes of racial groups to a greater extent than individuals who are low in

prejudice, high and low prejudiced individuals may be equally aware of the cultural stereotypes associated with various racial groups (Devine, 1989).

To address this possibility, Devine and Elliot (1995) extended the Princeton Trilogy in three critical ways. First, participants were given two separate adjective list tasks. On the first task, they were asked to select adjectives that make up the *cultural stereotype* of African Americans, regardless of the extent to which they actually agreed with the stereotype. On the second task, they were asked to select adjectives that they *personally believed* characterized African Americans. This revision thus allowed the researchers to distinguish between participants' knowledge of the content of racial stereotypes about African Americans and their actual endorsement of the stereotypes via personal beliefs. The second revision, based on research by Rothbart and Park (1986), examined the favorability of the adjectives selected by participants on each version of the task. The third revision measured participants' explicit prejudice towards African Americans using the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986). Whereas participants who were low in explicit prejudice reported personal beliefs about African Americans that were more favorable than participants who were high in prejudice, high and low prejudiced participants did not differ in the traits that they associated with cultural stereotypes about the group (Devine & Elliot, 1995; see also, Devine, 1989).

The Stereotype Content Model

Moving beyond the classic trait assignment of the Katz and Braly paradigm, the stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) offers an alternative method for assessing the content of stereotypes about various social groups. The SCM is based on the idea that stereotypes about various groups tend to differ on two basic dimensions:

perceived competence and perceived warmth (Fiske et al., 2002; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). It is further argued that social status and competitiveness predict whether a group is stereotyped as either competent or warm, respectively (Lin et al., 2005). For instance, stereotypes that portray social groups as competent (e.g., *industrious*, *intelligent*) also connote high levels of perceived social status and power. Conversely, stereotypes that portray groups as warm (e.g., *sociable*, *sensitive*) connote relatively low levels of competitiveness with other groups.

In early research on the SCM, Fiske and colleagues (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, Xu, & Cuddy, 1999) assessed the perceived warmth and competence of a range of social groups, including Native Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans. Of the groups examined, five types of clusters emerged: groups high in competence and low in warmth (e.g., rich people, men, Asians, Jews), groups high in warmth and low in competence (e.g., disabled people, elderly people), groups low in competence and low in warmth (e.g., poor people, welfare recipients), groups high in competence and high in warmth (i.e., members of one's in-group), and groups with moderate levels of competence and warmth. Native Americans and African Americans consistently fell in this fifth cluster. Although African Americans were perceived as moderately competent and warm, they were significantly higher in competence than warmth. Asian Americans were also rated as significantly higher in competence than warmth, but to a greater extent than African Americans. However, no significant differences between the perceived competence and the perceived warmth of Native Americans emerged (Fiske et al., 2002).

Chapter 2

Present Research

Although research has begun to examine the impact of Native American stereotypes on both the perceiver and the target, missing from the social psychological literature is a systematic empirical investigation of the content of stereotypes about Native Americans. The present studies provide an initial step towards understanding the content of Native American stereotypes and, particularly, how stereotypes about Native Americans compare to stereotypes about other racial groups that have received greater empirical attention. Although the Katz and Braly (1933) paradigm is a classic method used to explore the content of ethnic and racial stereotypes, it has never been applied to examine the stereotypes surrounding Native Americans. Thus, an important goal of this research is to use this classic paradigm to identify the adjectives that comprise prevailing stereotypes about Native Americans. Building on some of the methodological revisions to the original Katz & Braly study, the present studies will seek to distinguish cultural stereotypes from personal beliefs about Native Americans and the comparison racial groups and will also investigate differences in the favorability of adjectives associated with each group. Finally, this research will more thoroughly analyze perceptions of Native Americans along the core dimensions of the SCM by investigating how the perceived competence, warmth, status, and competitiveness of Native Americans compares to the perception of these qualities in Asian Americans and African Americans. By adopting this complementary approach for investigating the content of stereotypes about Native Americans, the present research hopes to remedy a gap in the stereotype content literature.

Chapter 3

STUDY 1

In Study 1, college students were asked to identify adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes and their personal beliefs about Native Americans, along with adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes and their personal beliefs about Asian Americans. Just before the adjective list tasks participants reported their level of general prejudice for a range of social groups, including Native Americans and Asian Americans. Finally, questions assessed participants' ratings of both groups along the dimensions of the stereotype content model.

Hypotheses

The content of stereotypes about Asian Americans tend to be positive in valence. That is, positive adjectives such as *competent*, *self-disciplined*, *intelligent*, and *industrious* have been associated with the cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans (Jackson, Hodge, Gerald, Ingram, Ervin, & Sheppard, 1996; Karlins et al., 1969). In contrast, many of the prevailing images of contemporary Native Americans tend to reflect social ills (e.g., *alcoholic*, *suicidal*). With that in mind, I predicted that the adjectives that participants associate with cultural stereotypes about Native Americans will be significantly less favorable than the adjectives that they associate with cultural stereotypes about Asian Americans. Similarly, I predict that the adjectives that participants personally believe characterize Native Americans will be significantly less favorable than the adjectives that they personally believe characterize Asian Americans.

Many of the stereotypes of Asian Americans that have been identified in previous research (e.g., *industrious*, *intelligent*, and *highly educated*; Karlins et al., 1969; Katz &

Braly, 1933) portray Asians as hard working and competent. Furthermore, Asian Americans are consistently rated high in competence and status (Fiske et al., 2002). In contrast, negative stereotypes about Native Americans in achievement domains, as reflected in the stereotype of Native Americans being ‘high school dropouts’ (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2010), suggest that Native Americans may be viewed as being relatively low in competence. With this in mind, I predict that Asian Americans will be rated higher in perceived competence and social status than Native Americans. Furthermore, consistent with research suggesting that Asian Americans are perceived as competitive (e.g., Karlins, et al., 1969), I predict that Asian Americans will be rated higher in perceived competitiveness than Native Americans. However, because Asian Americans are consistently perceived as being relatively low in warmth and given the inverse relation between competitiveness and warmth found in previous research (Fiske et al., 2002), Native Americans should be higher in warmth in comparison.

Summary of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: The adjectives that participants associate with the cultural stereotypes of Native Americans will be significantly less favorable than the adjectives that they associate with the cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans.

Hypothesis 2: The adjectives that participants personally believe are characteristic of Native Americans will be significantly less favorable than the adjectives that they personally believe are characteristic of Asian Americans.

Hypothesis 3: Native Americans will be rated significantly lower in perceived competence, perceived social status, and perceived competitiveness than Asian

Americans, but Native Americans will be rated significantly higher in perceived warmth than Asian Americans.

Additional exploratory analyses will be performed to examine differences in the degree of consensus across the sample in cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about each group, as well as potential differences in levels of general prejudice directed toward each group.

Method

Participants

Participants were 58 undergraduate students (76% female) at Arizona State University who received course credit for taking part in the research.² Participants ranged in age from 18 to 46 years old ($M = 23.07$; $SD = 5.07$). For ethnicity, 67.2% of participants indicated that they were non-Hispanic / non-Latino, 31% indicated that they were Hispanic / Latino, and 1.7% did not answer. The racial composition of the sample was as follows: 63.8% White, 6.9% Black / African American, 1.7% American Indian / Alaskan Native, 10.3% multiracial, 13.8% “other,” 3.4% did not answer.

Procedure

Participants were recruited for an online study examining people’s views towards different social groups. During the study, participants were presented with a list of 145 trait adjectives and instructed to identify adjectives that they believed were associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans. Presented with the same list, participants were then asked to identify adjectives that they personally believed characterized Native

² Two participants were excluded from the final sample because they failed to follow instructions and one participant did not provide any demographic information.

Americans. Participants then repeated the same adjective tasks with Asian Americans as the target racial group. Because the focus of this research was on the investigation of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans, all participants completed the Native American adjective tasks before completing the adjective tasks for Asian Americans.

Just prior to the adjective tasks, participants reported their level of general prejudice towards a range of social groups including Native Americans and Asian Americans. Immediately after the adjective tasks, participants completed a series of questions designed to assess ratings of the two racial groups along the dimensions of the stereotype content model (with questions about Native Americans presented first). Finally, basic demographic information was collected and participants were debriefed.

Materials

Adjective List Tasks

To assess the content of stereotypes and personal beliefs about Native Americans and Asian Americans, participants were presented with a list of 145 trait adjectives that were adapted from the original Katz and Braly (1933) list. The original list used by Katz & Braly contained 84 trait adjectives (e.g., *passionate, aggressive*) that represented a range of positively valenced (e.g., *intelligent, efficient, artistic*), negatively valenced (e.g., *deceitful, impulsive, rude*), and neutral (e.g., *sensual, methodical*) traits.

The original list used by Katz and Braly was updated in two key ways. First, two independent raters read through the 84 traits to identify adjectives that seemed outdated, given shifts in language use over the course of several decades. Fifteen of the original adjectives were judged to be outdated and were replaced with a contemporary equivalent (e.g., *suave* became *smooth*, *mercenary* became *manipulative*, *extremely nationalistic*

became *patriotic*, *sportsmanlike* became *honorable*, *stolid* became *expressionless*). Second, following the methodology of Devine & Elliot (1995), additional words associated with known cultural stereotypes of specific racial groups were added to the list. Based in part on prior research by Fryberg and colleagues (Fryberg, 2003; Fryberg et al., 2008; Fryberg & Townsend, 2007), 35 adjectives and behavioral outcomes that might be associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans (e.g., *alcoholic*, *suicidal*, *depressed*, *gambling*, *ancient*, *hunters*, *brave*) were adapted and added to the list. Based on prior research by Lin and colleagues (2005), 17 adjectives and behavioral outcomes pertaining to cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans (e.g., *academic*, *competitive*, *uptight*, *socially awkward*) were adapted and added to the list. Also, based on prior research (Devine, 1989; Devine & Elliot, 1995), nine adjectives identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes about African Americans (e.g., *athletic*, *rhythmic*, *low in intelligence*) were added to the list.

Assessment of Cultural Stereotypes. To assess the content of stereotypes about Native Americans, participants were presented with the list of 145 adjectives in alphabetical order with the following instructions:

Please read through the list carefully and select and identify those adjectives that *make up the cultural stereotype of Native Americans*. Note, these characteristics may or may not reflect your personal beliefs. So, select those adjectives that you know to be part of the cultural stereotype whether or not you believe the stereotype to be true.

After making their adjective selections, participants were given an opportunity to type in any additional adjectives that they felt comprised the cultural stereotypes of Native Americans, but were missing from the list.

Assessment of Personal Beliefs. Participants were presented with the same list of adjectives and asked to identify words that they *personally believe* characterize Native Americans with the following instructions: “Please read through the list carefully and identify those adjectives that you *personally believe* characterize Native Americans.” Again, participants were allowed to type in any adjectives associated with their personal beliefs about Native Americans that they felt were missing from the list.

The two adjective tasks (cultural stereotype instructions followed by personal belief instructions) were repeated with Asian Americans as the designated racial group.

Stereotype Content Model Dimensions

Using a 5-point scale ranging from *not at all* to *extremely*, participants were first asked to rate how Native Americans are viewed by society along the four dimensions proposed by the stereotype content model. That is, five items ($\alpha = .81$) were used to assess the perceived competence of Native Americans (e.g., “As viewed by society, how competent are members of this group?”), three items ($\alpha = .87$) were used to assess the perceived status of Native Americans (e.g., “How prestigious are the jobs typically achieved by members of this group?”), four items ($\alpha = .82$) were used to assess the perceived warmth of Native Americans (e.g., “As viewed by society, how warm are members of this group?”), and three items ($\alpha = .79$) were used to assess the perceived competitiveness of Native Americans (e.g., “Resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.”). Participants were then

asked to answer the same series of questions about Asian Americans.³ These items have been shown in previous research to be effective measures of the stereotype content model dimensions (Fiske et al., 2002).

Measures of General Prejudice

Using an 11-point scale, participants were asked to what extent they felt *cold and unfavorable* versus *warm and favorable* towards Native Americans, Asian Americans, and a range of other social groups including Republicans, Democrats, conservatives, liberals, Hispanics, Blacks / African Americans, Whites / Caucasians, and Muslims Americans. These “feeling thermometer” questions provided a measure of participants’ degree of general prejudice towards various social groups, with lower scores reflecting less favorable attitudes towards a group.

Results

Content of the Cultural Stereotypes

Drawing on a procedure used in previous research (e.g., Madon et al., 2001), the adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans and Asian Americans were investigated by examining the ten most frequently selected adjectives by participants across the sample for each group (see Tables 1). The ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans were *alcoholic, spiritual, brave, cultured, family oriented, gambling, traditional, ancient, hunters, and ritualistic*. Eight of the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated

³ Measures of perceived warmth, status, and competitiveness for Asian Americans showed adequate reliability ($\alpha = .75 - .83$). The items assessing perceived competence of Asian Americans showed relatively lower reliability ($\alpha = .58$), however, these items were used to be consistent with previous research on the stereotype content model.

with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans were new additions to the Katz and Braly (1933) list. In comparison, the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans were *academic, highly educated, ambitious, family oriented, disciplined, brilliant, intelligent, analytical, competitive, and conservative*. Five of the ten most frequently selected adjectives for Asian Americans were new additions to the Katz and Braly (1933) list. Consistent with previous research, the adjectives chosen as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans suggested a high degree of competence (e.g., *academic, highly educated, ambitious, disciplined, brilliant*). Some words suggesting a low degree of competence were associated with cultural stereotypes about Native Americans (e.g., *alcoholic, gambling*). A high percentage of participants agreed that *family oriented* was characteristic of cultural stereotypes of both Native Americans (48%) and Asian Americans (59%).

Examination of the percentage of participants who selected certain traits provided evidence of greater consensus among participants in the adjectives identified as characteristic of Asian Americans than in the adjectives identified as characteristic of Native Americans. That is, nine of the ten most frequently chosen adjectives as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans (*academic, highly educated, ambitious, family oriented, disciplined, brilliant, intelligent, analytical, and competitive*) were selected by 50% or more of the sample. In contrast, only four of the ten most frequently chosen adjectives as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Native Americans (*alcoholic, spiritual, brave, and cultured*) were selected by 50% or more of the sample. This pattern suggests greater consensus regarding the content of stereotypes about Asian Americans than the content of stereotypes about Native Americans.

Personal Beliefs Assessment

To investigate the adjectives associated with participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans and Asian Americans, the ten most frequently selected adjectives that participants personally believed characterized each group were examined (see Tables 2). Interestingly, a small, but notable amount of participants (12%) refused to complete the personal beliefs task altogether. One participant, for example, expressed that he "...didn't believe races have traits." The refusal to select any adjectives occurred only on the versions of the tasks assessing personal beliefs, not on the versions assessing knowledge of cultural stereotypes. Similarly, Devine and Elliot (1995) reported that a number of their participants chose not to participate in the personal beliefs task only. This pattern may reflect a motivation to control prejudice, whereby participants are comfortable reporting stereotypes held by others, but do not personally approve of making trait generalizations about an entire group. Thus, analyses involving personal beliefs included only those participants who selected at least one adjective ($N = 51$) on the personal beliefs versions of the adjective tasks.

With the exception of *hunters*, the same adjectives identified as culturally stereotypic of Native Americans were also personally endorsed as characteristic of the group. That is, nine of the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes about Native Americans were also among the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about the group. Although there was less consensus among participants with respect to personal beliefs about Native Americans than for the cultural stereotype version of the task, there was at least some agreement. For instance, when asked about their personal beliefs, 49% of participants

identified *spiritual* and 45% of participants identified *brave* as characteristic of Native Americans. Higher consensus in participants' personal beliefs about Asian Americans emerged than in participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans. Comparatively, eight of the ten adjectives identified as culturally stereotypic of Asian Americans were also personally identified as characteristic of the group. A high percentage (86%) of participants personally believed that Asian Americans are *academic* and 49% of participants personally believed that Asian Americans are *family oriented, highly educated, and intelligent*.

Adjective Favorability Ratings

A favorability index was created for each of the 145 words appearing on the adjective list tasks based on ratings made by an independent sample of 302 (42.1% female) Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) participants.⁴ In a brief online survey, the MTurk participants rated the favorability of 50 randomly assigned adjectives from the list of 145. For each adjective, participants were asked “how favorable or unfavorable would you rate a person who possessed the trait or characteristic?” (e.g., *academic, alcoholic*), with responses measured along a 9-point scale anchored at *extremely unfavorable* and *extremely favorable*. A favorability index, reflecting the average rating of favorability made by MTurk participants for each specific adjective ($N = 96 - 107$), was then created for each of the 145 words (see Table 3).

⁴ Participants ranged in age from 18 to 73 years old ($M = 30.95$, $SD = 10.87$). For ethnicity, 92.1% of participants indicated that they were non-Hispanic / non-Latino, 6.6% indicated that they were Hispanic / Latino, and 1.3% did not answer. The racial composition of the sample was as follows: 79.8% White, 5.0% Black / African American, 1.3% American Indian / Alaskan Native, 9.6% Asian, 2.6% multiracial, 1.3% “other,” 0.3% did not answer.

Favorability of adjectives: Participant-level analyses. To examine the overall favorability of the adjectives that each Study 1 participant identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about each group, four separate variables were computed. The first variable was created by calculating the average favorability (determined using the favorability indices from the MTurk sample) of all of the adjectives that a Study 1 participant had identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Native Americans. The second variable was created by calculating the average favorability of all of the adjectives that a Study 1 participant had identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans. The third variable was created by calculating the average favorability of all of the adjectives that a Study 1 participant had identified as reflecting his or her personal beliefs about Native Americans. The fourth variable was created by calculating the average favorability of all of the adjectives that a Study 1 participant had identified as reflecting his or her personal beliefs about Asian Americans.

To investigate whether the adjectives that participants identified as comprising cultural stereotypes about Native Americans were less favorable than the adjectives that they associated with stereotypes about Asian Americans, a repeated measures analysis was performed (for descriptive statistics see Table 4). As predicted, the adjectives that participants identified as comprising cultural stereotypes about Native Americans ($M = 5.67$, $SD = 3.59$) were significantly less favorable than the adjectives that they identified as comprising cultural stereotypes about Asian Americans ($M = 6.55$, $SD = 2.42$), $F(1, 56) = 7.46$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. Also consistent with hypotheses, the adjectives that comprised participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans ($M = 5.66$, $SD = .93$)

were significantly less favorable than the adjectives reflecting their personal beliefs about Asian Americans ($M = 6.69$, $SD = .51$), $F(1, 48) = 51.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .52$.

Favorability of the most frequently selected adjectives. Additional analyses were performed on the MTurk sample to investigate the favorability of the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about each of the racial groups in Study 1. Four variables were created to reflect: (1) the average favorability of the ten most frequently selected adjectives as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Native Americans, (2) the average favorability of the ten most frequently selected adjectives as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans, (3) the average favorability of the ten most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans, and (4) the average favorability of the ten most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Asian Americans (for descriptive statistics see Table 5). Repeated measures analyses revealed that the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.18$) were significantly less favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans ($M = 6.97$, $SD = 1.11$), $F(1, 295) = 328.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$. In addition, the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 1.18$) were significantly less favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Asian Americans ($M = 6.78$, $SD = 1.09$), $F(1, 294) = 193.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .40$. These findings indicated that cultural stereotypes and participants' personal beliefs about Native

Americans tended to be less favorable than stereotypes and personal beliefs about Asian Americans.

Within each racial group, additional repeated measures analyses were performed comparing the favorability of the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of that group to the most frequently selected adjectives comprising participants' personal beliefs about the group. The most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.18$) were significantly less favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 1.18$), $F(1, 298) = 48.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Conversely, the adjectives that participants most frequently associated with cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans ($M = 6.97$, $SD = 1.11$) were significantly more favorable than the adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Asian Americans ($M = 6.78$, $SD = 1.09$) $F(1, 296) = 23.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

Stereotype Content Model Analyses

To investigate how Native Americans compare to Asian Americans on the four dimensions of the SCM, repeated measures analyses with racial group (Native American versus Asian American) as the within-subject factor were performed (on the Study 1 sample). Table 6 summarizes the descriptive statistics for the four dimensions of the SCM for Native Americans and Asian Americans. Native Americans were rated significantly lower in perceived competence ($M = 2.73$, $SD = .83$) than Asian Americans ($M = 4.00$, $SD = .58$), $F(1, 56) = 117.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .68$. Native Americans were also rated significantly lower in perceived social status ($M = 2.13$, $SD = .89$) than Asian Americans ($M = 4.51$, $SD = .53$), $F(1, 56) = 261.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .82$. In addition,

Native Americans were rated significantly lower in perceived competitiveness ($M = 2.55$, $SD = .78$) than Asian Americans ($M = 2.80$, $SD = .87$), $F(1, 56) = 5.76$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. Contrary to the hypothesis that Native Americans would be perceived as warmer than Asian Americans, no significant differences in perceived warmth emerged between the groups.

Additional repeated measures analyses were performed comparing level of perceived competence to level of perceived warmth within each racial group. In accordance with previous research by Fiske et al. (2002), Asian Americans were perceived as significantly more competent ($M = 4.00$, $SD = .58$) than warm ($M = 2.89$, $SD = .79$), $F(1, 57) = 84.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .60$. The perceived competence of Native Americans, however, did not differ significantly from the level of perceived warmth of the group.

General Prejudice

To compare participants' general prejudice towards each group, the degree of general prejudice of Native Americans and Asian Americans were compared using repeated measures analyses. Complementing the above findings, participants reported significantly less positive attitudes towards Native Americans ($M = 8.00$, $SD = 2.49$) than Asian Americans ($M = 8.45$, $SD = 2.36$), $F(1, 57) = 4.49$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Additionally, post-hoc analyses were performed to investigate whether the correlation between the favorability of the cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs that a participant identified for each group varied as a function of their level of general prejudice towards that group. First, a regression was performed with the favorability of the adjectives a participant associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans, general prejudice towards

Native Americans, and their interaction as predictors of the favorability of the adjectives comprising a participant's personal beliefs about Native Americans.⁵ The correlation between the favorability of the adjectives reflecting participants' knowledge of Native American stereotypes and their personal beliefs did not vary as a function of their general prejudice towards Native Americans. A second regression analysis examining stereotypes and personal beliefs about Asian Americans revealed that the correlation between the favorability of the adjectives reflecting participants' knowledge of Asian American stereotypes and their personal beliefs did not vary based on their general prejudice towards Asian Americans.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 shed light on the content of cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about Native Americans and how that content compares to the content of cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about Asian Americans. Consistent with hypotheses, the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans was less favorable than the content of cultural stereotypes about Asian Americans. As further hypothesized, the adjectives most frequently associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans were less favorable than the adjectives identified most frequently as comprising participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans. The opposite relationship, however, was found for Asian Americans in that the adjectives selected most frequently as characteristic of cultural stereotypes about Asian Americans were more favorable than the adjectives identified most frequently as reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Asian Americans. Additionally, participants showed greater

⁵ The independent variables were standardized prior to calculating the interaction term.

consensus in identifying the content of cultural stereotypes of Asian Americans than in identifying the content of cultural stereotypes of Native Americans, as well as greater consensus in their personal beliefs about Asian Americans than in their personal beliefs about Native Americans. Drawing on the stereotype content model to examine differences in cultural stereotypes about the two groups, Native Americans were perceived as less competent, less of a source of competition, and lower in social status than Asian Americans. These findings are in line with research indicating that Asian Americans tend to be economically successful and are often viewed as a model minority (Lin et al., 2005).

The goal of Study 2 was to compare the content of the cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about Native Americans to a different reference group, African Americans. African Americans make for a distinct reference group when compared to Asian Americans for various reasons: The content of stereotypes associated with Asian Americans has been found to be primarily positive in valence (e.g., Lin et al., 2005; Madon et al., 2001), whereas the content of stereotypes associated with African Americans is often negative (e.g., Devine & Elliott, 1995; Madon et al., 2001). Furthermore, research has revealed that the generalized prejudice that European Americans explicitly report towards various social groups is similar in magnitude for Asian Americans, African Americans and Native Americans, but that the source of their prejudice varies based on the distinct threat that each group presents (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). For example, prejudice towards African Americans is frequently based on a perceived threat to safety, whereas prejudice towards Asian Americans is frequently based on perceived competition for desired jobs and resources. Prejudice towards

different racial groups may thus entail qualitatively different negative emotions, based in part on the unique threat that a target group poses to a perceiver (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Thus, a systematic understanding of the similarities and differences in the content of stereotypes about Native Americans in comparison to the content of stereotypes about African Americans will further inform the stereotyping and prejudice literature. The primary goal of Study 2 was to replicate and expand the findings from Study 1 by comparing the stereotypes associated with Native Americans to the stereotypes associated with African Americans.

Chapter 4

STUDY 2

Hypotheses

Many of the adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of African Americans tend to be negative in valence (e.g., *poor*, *low in intelligence*; Devine & Elliot, 1995) and low in overall favorability (Karlins et al., 1969). Furthermore, adjectives such as *aggressive* and *criminal*, which also comprise cultural stereotypes about African Americans (Devine & Elliot, 1995), tend to reflect European Americans' perceptions of African Americans as a threat to their physical safety (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Although stereotypes about Native Americans also tend to be somewhat negative in valence (Fryberg et al., 2008), I predict that the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans will be more favorable than the content of cultural stereotypes about African Americans. Similarly, I predict that the adjectives that participants personally believe characterize Native Americans will be significantly more favorable than the adjectives that they personally believe characterize African Americans.

Analyses of stereotypes of African Americans through the decades tend to reflect beliefs about low levels of competence (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Jackson et al., 1996). Prevailing stereotypes about Native Americans have been linked to low achievement (Fryberg et al., 2008), suggesting that the content of stereotypes about Native Americans is similarly associated with low levels of competence. Research also suggests that Native Americans and African Americans are perceived in similar ways on all four dimensions of the SCM (Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, I predict that no differences will emerge between

Native Americans and African Americans on perceived competence, social status, competitiveness, and warmth.

Summary of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The adjectives that participants associate with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans will be significantly more favorable than the adjectives that they associate with cultural stereotypes of African Americans.

Hypothesis 2. The adjectives that participants personally believe are characteristic of Native Americans will be significantly more favorable than the adjectives that they personally believe are characteristic of African Americans.

Hypothesis 3. No significant differences in perceived competence, social status, warmth, or competitiveness will emerge in the stereotype content model ratings of Native Americans versus African Americans.

In accordance with Study 1, additional exploratory analyses will be performed to examine differences in the degree of consensus across the sample in cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about each group. Additional analyses examining levels of general prejudice towards each group will also be performed.

Method

Participants

Participants were 59 undergraduate students (64% female) at Arizona State University who received course credit for taking part in the research. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 63 years ($M = 23.78$; $SD = 8.14$).⁶ For ethnicity, 76.3% of participants

⁶ Five participants did not report their age, one participant did not report his or her gender, and one participant was eliminated for not following instructions.

indicated that they were non-Hispanic / non-Latino, 20.3% indicated that they were Hispanic / Latino, and 3.4% did not answer. The racial composition of the sample was as follows: 69.5% White, 1.7% Black / African American, 5.1% American Indian / Alaskan Native, 3.4% Asian, 5.1% multiracial, 13.6% “other,” 1.7% did not answer.

Procedure & Materials

The procedure and materials used in Study 2 were identical to those used in Study 1, except that African Americans were the reference group instead of Asian Americans.⁷

Results

Content of the Cultural Stereotypes

The adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans and African Americans were investigated by examining the ten most frequently selected adjectives chosen by participants for each group (see Table 7). In a near replication of the findings from Study 1, the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans were *alcoholic, ancient, brave, gambling, family oriented, cultured, spiritual, traditional, artistic, and hunters*. That is, nine of the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with stereotypes about Native Americans in Study 1 were also among the most frequently selected adjectives in Study 2. (*Ritualistic*, one of the most frequently selected adjectives in Study 1, was replaced with *artistic* in Study 2.) In accordance with Study 1, seven of the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans were new

⁷ The SCM measures for Native Americans and African Americans showed adequate reliability ($\alpha = .74 - .88$). The items assessing perceived competence of African Americans showed relatively lower reliability ($\alpha = .61$), however, these items were used to be consistent with previous research on the stereotype content model.

additions to the list. In comparison, the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of African Americans were *athletic, aggressive, criminal, poor, violent, loud, arrogant, competitive, low in intelligence, and uneducated*. In addition, six of the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of African Americans were from Devine and Elliot's (1995) revisions to the original Katz and Braly list.

Similar to Study 1, participants showed greater consensus in the adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes about the reference group than they did for adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes about Native Americans, although there was a less of a contrast between groups. That is, five of the ten most frequently chosen adjectives as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of African Americans (*athletic, aggressive, criminal, poor, and violent*) were selected by 50% or more of the sample. In contrast, only four of the ten most frequently chosen adjectives as characteristic of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans (*alcoholic, ancient, brave, and gambling*) were selected by 50% or more of the sample. This pattern suggests that participants were in slightly greater consensus about the content of cultural stereotypes about African Americans than the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans.

Personal Beliefs Assessment

Consistent with previous research and Study 1, a small percentage (10%) of participants chose not to complete the personal beliefs task for either group, with one participant stating that “none of the adjectives are appropriate to place on a person purely based on a group they were born into.” Again, this may reflect participants' motivation to control prejudice towards the two target groups. Thus, analyses involving personal beliefs

included only those participants who selected at least one adjective ($N = 53$) on the personal beliefs versions of the adjective tasks.

To investigate the adjectives associated with participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans and African Americans, the ten most frequently selected adjectives were examined for each group (see Table 8). Similar to Study 1, seven of the ten most frequently chosen adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans were also personally believed to be characteristic of the group. Although there was less consensus among participants with respect to personal beliefs about Native Americans than was found for the cultural stereotype version of the task, there was still at least some agreement. For instance, 45% of participants characterized Native Americans as *cultured* and *spiritual*. Comparatively, only four of the ten adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of African Americans were also personally believed to be characteristic of the group. A large percentage (77%) of participants personally believed that African Americans are *athletic*. In addition, *family oriented* and *religious* were identified as characteristic of both Native Americans and African Americans.

Adjective Favorability Ratings

The favorability indices used in Study 1, obtained from the same independent sample of MTurk participants, were also used in Study 2.

Favorability of adjectives: Participant-level analyses. To examine the overall favorability of the adjectives that each participant identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about Native Americans and African Americans, four separate variables were once again computed. These four variables were calculated based on the average favorability (determined using the favorability indices from the MTurk

sample) of all of the adjectives that a Study 2 participant had identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Native Americans, cultural stereotypes of African Americans, his or her personal beliefs about Native Americans, and his or her personal beliefs about African Americans.

To investigate whether the adjectives that participants identified as comprising cultural stereotypes about Native Americans were more favorable than the adjectives that they associated with stereotypes about African Americans, a repeated measures analysis was performed (for descriptive statistics see Table 4). As predicted, the adjectives that participants identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.0$) were significantly more favorable than the adjectives that they identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes about African Americans ($M = 4.19$, $SD = .89$), $F(1, 58) = 29.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .34$. In addition, the adjectives identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of Native Americans ($M = 5.10$, $SD = .98$) were significantly less favorable than adjectives identified as reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans ($M = 5.66$, $SD = 1.15$) $F(1, 52) = 17.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .26$. Adjectives identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes of African Americans ($M = 4.16$, $SD = .91$) were significantly less favorable than adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about African Americans ($M = 5.58$, $SD = 1.19$) $F(1, 52) = 68.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$.

Favorability of the most frequently selected adjectives. Turning to the MTurk sample again, additional analyses were performed to investigate the favorability of the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about each of the racial groups in Study 2. Four variables were created to reflect

the average favorability of the ten most frequently selected adjective chosen as characteristic of the cultural stereotypes of Native Americans, of the cultural stereotypes of African Americans, of participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans, and of participants' personal beliefs about African Americans (for descriptive statistics see Table 5). Repeated measures analyses revealed that the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 1.19$) were significantly more favorable than the ten most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of African Americans ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.26$), $F(1, 293) = 332.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$. Moreover, the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans ($M = 5.79$, $SD = 1.25$) were significantly more favorable than the most frequently identified adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about African Americans ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.27$), $F(1, 296) = 9.05$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Replicating the findings from Study 1, the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of Native Americans ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 1.19$) were significantly less favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans ($M = 5.79$, $SD = 1.25$), $F(1, 297) = 10.81$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Similarly, the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes of African Americans ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.24$) were significantly less favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about African Americans ($M = 5.57$, $SD = 1.27$), $F(1, 292) = 326.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$. Taken together, these findings suggest that the content of cultural stereotypes and participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans is more

favorable than the content of cultural stereotypes and participants' personal beliefs about African Americans.

Stereotype Content Model Analyses

To investigate how Native Americans compare to African Americans on the four dimensions of the SCM, repeated measures analyses with racial group (Native American versus African American) as the within-subject factor were performed. Table 6 summarizes the descriptive statistics for the four dimensions of the SCM by racial group. Contrary to the hypothesis that Native Americans and African Americans would not differ on any of the SCM dimensions, Native Americans were perceived as significantly lower in competence ($M = 3.04$, $SD = .74$) than African Americans ($M = 3.26$, $SD = .55$), $F(1, 57) = 3.91$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Similarly, Native Americans were rated significantly lower in perceived social status ($M = 2.32$, $SD = .88$) than African Americans ($M = 2.61$, $SD = .82$), $F(1, 57) = 5.50$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. No significant differences in perceived competitiveness or warmth, however, emerged between the two groups.

Additional repeated measure analyses were performed comparing levels of perceived competence to levels of perceived warmth within each racial group. Contrary to Study 1 and previous research by Fiske et al. (2002), Native Americans were perceived as significantly more competent ($M = 3.04$, $SD = .74$) than warm ($M = 2.70$, $SD = .75$), $F(1, 58) = 12.21$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. In accordance with previous research, African Americans were also perceived as significantly more competent ($M = 3.26$, $SD = .55$) than warm ($M = 2.54$, $SD = .77$), $F(1, 57) = 57.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .50$.

General Prejudice

To assess general prejudice towards Native Americans versus African Americans, a repeated measures analysis was performed. No significant differences in participants' general prejudice towards Native Americans ($M = 7.81$, $SD = 2.83$) and African Americans ($M = 8.12$, $SD = 2.51$) emerged. As in Study 1, post-hoc analyses indicated that the correlation between the favorability ratings of adjectives selected for the cultural stereotypes task and personal beliefs task for each group did not vary as a function of participants' general prejudice towards that group.

Discussion

The results of Study 2 provide additional insight into the content of cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about Native Americans and how that content compares to the content of cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about African Americans. The most frequently selected adjectives identified as characteristic of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans were significantly more favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes about African Americans. Similarly, the most frequently selected adjectives identified as reflective of participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans were significantly more favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about African Americans. Consistent with Study 1, the most frequently selected adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes about Native Americans were significantly less favorable than the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans. Similarly, the content of cultural stereotypes about African Americans

were also significantly less favorable than participants' personal beliefs about African Americans.

Support was not, however, obtained for the hypothesis that there would be no difference in the levels of perceived competence and social status associated with Native Americans versus African Americans. That is, contrary to predictions, Native Americans were perceived as significantly less competent and lower in social status than African Americans. This finding may be explained, at least partially, by the existence of a subgroup of professional African Americans that may be viewed as relatively high in competence and status (Fiske et al., 2002). That is, although previous research suggests that low competence is a trait associated with both Native Americans and African Americans, as broad social groups, a subgroup of African Americans that are viewed as being high in competence may help explain why Native Americans were perceived as less competent and, relatedly, lower in social status than African Americans. In a similar vein, differences may exist in the visibility of positive role models within each racial group. Consider prominent African American role models, such as President Barack Obama, actor Denzel Washington, and professional basketball player, LeBron James. Whereas these figures represent salient African American figures who are high in perceived competence in their respective fields and high in status within society, there are relatively fewer prominent Native American figures demonstrating high competence or high social status. Thus, the greater cognitive accessibility of contemporary African American role models may help to account for the greater perceived competence and social status associated with this racial group compared to Native Americans.

Previous research suggests that Native Americans and African Americans are perceived as demonstrating moderate levels of competence and warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). Although the present findings revealed a similar trend, the two groups were both rated as significantly higher in competence than warmth. However, as expected, no differences in the perceived warmth and competitiveness of Native Americans versus African Americans emerged.

Chapter 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The primary goal of the present studies was to examine the content of stereotypes about Native Americans in comparison to the content of stereotypes about Asian Americans and African Americans. Results indicated that cultural stereotypes about Native Americans were less favorable than cultural stereotypes about Asian Americans, but were more favorable than cultural stereotypes about African Americans. Similarly, participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans were less favorable than their personal beliefs about Asian Americans, but were more favorable than their personal beliefs about African Americans. Combined, these findings suggest that Native Americans are perceived in a less favorable light than Asian Americans, but a more favorable light than African Americans.

Additionally, SCM measures provided greater insight into the similarities and differences between stereotypes associated with Native Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans. As predicted, Native Americans were perceived as less competent and lower in social status than Asian Americans. Native Americans were also perceived as less competitive than Asian Americans. These findings are consistent with previous research indicating that Asian Americans are perceived as economically successful (Lin et al., 2005). However, contrary to hypotheses, Native Americans and Asian Americans did not differ in ratings of perceived warmth. Also contrary to hypotheses, Native Americans were perceived as less competent and lower in social status than African Americans. Although initially puzzling, as both groups have been associated with relatively lower levels of competence (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fryberg et

al., 2008), this finding may be due in part to highly visible successful African American figures (e.g., President Obama) or a subgroup of professional African Americans that people may bring to mind.

In contrast to the high visibility of a subset of prominent African American figures, few visible Native American figures exist in contemporary society. Furthermore, the low visibility of Native Americans (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010), broadly, may result in individuals relying on stereotypic depictions of Native Americans when forming personal beliefs about members of the group to a greater extent than they do for racial groups with higher visibility. This may explain the high degree of overlap among participants in the adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes and participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans, because stereotypic depictions may be relied upon to a greater extent for Native Americans than for Asian Americans and African Americans.

Many of the adjectives associated with cultural stereotypes about Native Americans seemed to reflect two primary categories: historic representations and contemporary behavioral outcomes. For instance, 47% of participants in Study 1 and 64% of participants in Study 2 associated the word *ancient* with the cultural stereotypes of Native Americans. This association suggests that Native Americans are broadly perceived by some to be primarily a part of history. This finding is consistent with research by Tan et al. (1997), who found that people associate words like *pioneers*, *uncivilized*, and *mystic*—which evoke more historical images of Native Americans—with portrayals of Native Americans in movies and television and the research by Hanson and Rouse (1987), in which Native Americans were associated with the *past*. Furthermore,

the majority of Indian mascots portray Native Americans in traditional historic regalia (Clarkson, 2003). Also consistent with previous research (Fryberg et al., 2008), perceptions of Native Americans seemed to reflect negative behaviors and outcomes associated with more contemporary representations of the group (e.g., *alcoholic*, *gambling*). For instance, in both studies, *alcoholic* was the most frequently identified adjective as a component of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans and was one of the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans. Approximately half of participants in both studies associated *gambling* with cultural stereotypes about Native Americans and *gambling* was also identified as one of the most frequently selected adjectives reflecting participants' personal beliefs about Native Americans in Study 1. The association of contemporary Native Americans with negative behavioral outcomes may stem from media portrayals of the group, which have also been shown to convey Native Americans as having *dysfunctional families* and being *drunken* (Tan et al., 1997).

Interestingly, both historic representations and more contemporary representations of negative behavioral outcomes may limit perceptions of Native Americans and negatively impact Native American targets in a converging way. Stereotypes pertaining to negative behavioral outcomes highlight a specific set of negative expectations that society has for contemporary Native Americans, whereas even positive historic depictions of Native Americans limit contemporary Native Americans' involvement and identity within society because it deprives the group of a sense of belonging within society (Fryberg & Townsend, 2007).

Limitations and Future Directions

The use of the adjective checklist to assess the content of stereotypes has some limitations (see Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986). One potential criticism is that participants' responses on the adjective list tasks were restricted to the 145 adjectives that were included by researchers in the list. Although participants did have an opportunity after each task to add any words that they believed had been omitted from the list to their responses, fewer than ten participants across both studies actually did. A free writing methodology that allows participants to characterize the target group in their own words would address the restrictiveness of the adjective list methodology. Another limitation of the current research was a lack of racial diversity within the two samples. Both samples were comprised primarily of participants who identified themselves as non-Hispanic, White individuals. Future research should explore the content of cultural stereotypes from the perspective of a more diverse sampling of social groups. It may be particularly interesting to explore how various stigmatized groups view one another.

Furthermore, the present studies assessed participants' knowledge of stereotypes and personal beliefs about Native Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans as broad social categories. Previous research has argued that categories such as race are too broad to capture the complexity of the content of stereotypes (Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, a distinction between the different subgroups within a broader racial category (e.g., contemporary Native Americans, professional African Americans) would enhance the understanding of the stereotypes associated with particular groups (Devine & Baker, 1991; Fiske et al., 2001; Richards & Hewstone, 2001). Along these lines, research suggests that race, age, and gender interact in ways that can have meaningful implications

for how people are viewed (e.g., Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). Thus, a distinction between stereotypes associated with young versus old and male versus female Native Americans would enhance the understanding of the stereotypes associated with the larger group. It would also be particularly interesting to investigate similarities between the stereotypes associated with specific racial subgroups (e.g., young male Native Americans and young male African Americans). Racial groups that are characterized differently (e.g., Native Americans versus African Americans) may be associated with similar attributes when subgroups based on age and gender are incorporated with race.

The current research used explicit measures to assess the stereotypes associated with Native Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans. Research suggests that implicit and explicit measures of stereotypes do not necessarily correlate (Devine, 1989; Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005; Payne, Burkley, & Stokes, 2008). Furthermore, participants are often reluctant to report unfavorable attitudes towards various social groups on explicit tasks, such as the adjective list task employed in the present research (also see Madon et al., 2001). Thus, it is possible that participants who are high in the motivation to control prejudice may have monitored their responses in the present studies to present their views in a more favorable light. This may have been particularly likely to occur when assessing participants' personal beliefs, which may help to explain why roughly 10 to 12% of participants refused to complete the personal beliefs task altogether. The motivation to control prejudice may also explain the greater favorability of the traits chosen on the personal beliefs tasks for Native Americans and African Americans than on the corresponding cultural stereotype tasks. Thus, it

would be interesting to explore more implicit forms of stereotyping and prejudice towards Native Americans. For instance, future research might explore peoples' implicit associations (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) between Native Americans and positive versus negative stimuli or even historical versus contemporary events.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

Although social psychological research has begun to examine the effects that stereotypical portrayals of Native Americans have on both Native American perceivers and targets (Fryberg et al., 2008; Kim-Prieto et al., 2010), a systematic investigation of the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans had yet to be performed. The low visibility of Native Americans in contemporary society and the perpetuation of historic portrayals of Native Americans make them a unique and important racial group to research. The goal of the present research was to fill a gap in the literature by exploring the content of cultural stereotypes about Native Americans using a classic paradigm and a complementary theoretical framework. The findings shed light not only on prevailing stereotypes and individuals' personal beliefs about Native Americans, but also on how views of Native Americans compare to views of other racial groups that have received greater empirical attention. A comprehensive understanding of the content of stereotypes about Native Americans is essential for examining intergroup relations between Native Americans and other social groups.

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TABLES

Table 1

Ten Most Frequently Selected Adjectives Associated with the Cultural Stereotypes of Native Americans and Asian Americans (Study 1, N = 58)

Adj. Associated with Native Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected	Adj. Associated with Asian Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected
alcoholic	66	academic	90
spiritual	59	highly educated	74
brave	52	ambitious	71
cultured	50	family oriented	59
family oriented	48	disciplined	55
gambling	48	brilliant	52
traditional	48	intelligent	52
ancient	47	analytical	50
hunters	41	competitive	50
ritualistic	41	conservative	36

Table 2

Ten Most Frequently Selected Adjectives Identified with the Personal Beliefs about Native Americans and Asian Americans (Study 1, N = 51)

Adj. Associated with Native Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected	Adj. Associated with Asian Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected
spiritual	49	academic	86
brave	45	family oriented	49
family oriented	37	highly educated	49
ritualistic	37	intelligent	49
cultured	35	ambitious	35
ancient	31	disciplined	33
artistic	31	competitive	29
traditional	31	quiet	27
gambling	29	analytical	24
alcoholic	27	workaholics	24

Table 3

Favorability Index: Average Favorability Ratings of 145 Adjectives (by Amazon Mechanical Turk Participants)

Adjectives	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
academic	102	6.77	1.319
aggressive	96	3.63	1.438
alcoholic	104	2.87	1.711
alert	100	6.46	1.290
ambitious	102	7.26	1.250
analytical	102	6.61	1.846
ancient	106	5.15	1.504
argumentative	105	2.96	1.386
arrogant	105	2.56	1.285
artistic	104	6.88	1.426
athletic	105	6.56	1.176
bitter	101	2.86	1.312
blood-thirsty	106	2.24	1.716
boastful	105	3.30	1.379
brave	106	7.54	1.197
brilliant	107	7.84	1.109
carefree	103	5.97	1.346
combative	105	3.16	1.642
competitive	107	5.73	1.470
conceited	103	2.85	1.324
conservative	99	5.10	1.651
conventional	102	5.31	1.266
courteous	105	7.70	1.178
cowardly	106	3.25	1.293
crazy	105	3.73	1.728
criminal	104	2.23	1.662
cruel	105	1.84	1.388
cultured	107	6.80	1.377
deceitful	106	1.90	1.041
depressed	103	3.89	1.501
deprived	101	4.39	1.536
diabetic	105	5.22	1.308
dignified	105	6.90	1.418
disciplined	102	7.07	1.261
efficient	106	7.31	1.166
evasive	104	3.42	1.384
expressionless	105	3.97	1.397

extinct	102	4.29	1.805
extreme	106	4.57	1.580
faithful	104	7.27	1.742
family oriented	106	7.07	1.675
freeloader	97	2.55	1.507
frivolous	104	4.03	1.376
gambling	104	3.74	1.643
generous	106	7.80	1.230
gluttonous	104	3.48	1.526
greedy	102	2.39	1.329
highly educated	105	7.73	1.112
honest	106	8.26	1.098
honorable	106	7.72	1.209
hostile	101	2.04	1.148
humorless	105	2.67	1.320
hunters	103	4.66	1.958
ignorant	103	2.51	1.327
imaginative	105	7.44	1.208
impulsive	103	4.64	1.488
individualistic	101	6.44	1.633
industrious	104	6.43	1.519
intelligent	105	8.09	1.066
isolated	101	4.28	1.415
jovial	106	6.86	1.470
kind	104	7.99	1.170
lazy	101	3.07	1.465
liberal	101	6.04	1.708
loud	106	3.58	1.394
low in intelligence	100	3.48	1.592
manipulative	104	2.20	1.368
materialistic	103	3.70	1.514
meditative	103	6.17	1.431
methodical	106	5.88	1.185
musical	104	7.02	1.344
naive	102	4.17	1.358
naturalistic	104	6.13	1.282
neat	103	7.08	1.109
nomadic	96	5.16	1.225
open-minded	105	7.64	1.241
opportunistic	104	5.55	1.712

ostentatious (showy)	106	3.50	1.482
overweight	106	4.36	1.462
passionate	103	7.29	1.318
patriotic	105	5.98	1.850
peaceful	105	7.72	1.312
persistent	104	6.04	1.631
physically dirty	104	2.52	1.372
pleasure-loving	103	6.51	1.385
ponderous	105	5.82	1.392
poor	105	4.97	1.390
power hungry	106	2.83	1.540
practical	106	7.00	1.568
pretty	106	6.96	1.386
primitive	103	3.74	1.546
progressive	105	6.66	1.480
promiscuous	105	4.05	1.528
quarrelsome	97	2.8	1.525
quick-tempered	105	3.15	1.499
quiet	104	5.80	1.444
religious	103	4.34	2.247
reserved	101	5.73	1.165
respectful	106	7.89	1.333
revengeful	105	2.70	1.618
rhythmic	106	6.17	1.444
ritualistic	103	4.67	1.451
rude	105	1.97	1.189
savage	102	2.60	1.464
scientifically-minded	103	6.94	1.371
selfish	105	2.49	1.309
sensitive	104	5.96	1.607
sensual	106	6.59	1.466
serious	106	5.68	1.313
sexually perverse	104	4.11	1.960
shrewd	103	4.19	1.727
shy	102	5.49	1.200
slovenly	105	3.85	1.518
sly	101	4.34	1.699
smooth	105	5.95	1.496
sociable	105	6.96	1.480
socially awkward	102	4.73	1.568

sophisticated	105	6.34	1.480
spiritual	102	5.83	1.888
straightforward	104	6.96	1.299
stubborn	107	3.98	1.566
stupid	104	2.98	1.481
submissive	105	4.46	1.494
suggestible	104	5.14	1.437
suicidal	104	3.29	1.929
superstitious	103	4.28	1.511
suspicious	102	3.30	1.585
talkative	103	5.22	1.407
traditional	105	5.65	1.461
traitor	102	1.68	1.007
unassimilated	106	4.67	1.378
uncivilized	105	2.85	1.35
uncooperative	106	2.50	1.157
uncultured	105	3.80	1.266
uneducated	105	3.70	1.570
ungrateful	105	2.24	1.197
unmotivated	105	3.05	1.304
unoriginal	101	4.07	1.344
unreliable	101	2.47	1.254
untrustworthy	106	1.92	0.977
uptight	106	3.37	1.260
violent	106	1.67	1.144
weak	106	3.96	1.621
witty	100	7.42	1.191
workaholics	96	5.31	1.531

Note. Favorability was measured using a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*extremely unfavorable*) to 9 (*extremely favorable*).

Table 4

Average Favorability of All Adjectives Identified as Characteristic of Cultural Stereotypes and Personal Beliefs (Studies 1 & 2)

Adjectives Identified as Characteristic of:	Native Americans (Study 1)	Native Americans (Study 2)	Asian American (Study 1)	African Americans (Study 2)
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Cultural Stereotypes	5.67 (3.59) _a	5.05 (1.00) _{c, d}	6.55 (2.42) _a	4.19 (.89) _{c, e}
Personal Beliefs	5.66 (.93) _b	5.66 (1.15) _d	6.69 (.51) _b	5.58 (1.19) _e

Note. Favorability was measured using a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*extremely unfavorable*) to 9 (*extremely favorable*). Means with subscripts *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e* differ at $p < .001$, mean with subscript *a* differ at $p < .05$, based on repeated measures analyses.

Table 5

Average Favorability of the Ten Most Frequently Selected Adjectives Identified as Characteristic of Cultural Stereotypes and Personal Beliefs (Studies 1 & 2)

Adjectives Identified as Characteristic of:	Native Americans (Study 1)	Native Americans (Study 2)	Asian Americans (Study 1)	African Americans (Study 2)
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Cultural Stereotypes	5.43 (1.18) _{a, c}	5.62 (1.19) _{e, g}	6.97 (1.11) _{a, d}	3.81 (1.26) _{e, h}
Personal Beliefs	5.62 (1.18) _{b, c}	5.79 (1.25) _{f, g}	6.78 (1.09) _{b, d}	5.56 (1.27) _{f, h}

Note. Favorability was measured using a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*extremely unfavorable*) to 9 (*extremely favorable*). Means with subscripts *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *g*, and *h* differ at $p < .001$, mean with subscript *f* differ at $p < .05$, based on repeated measures analyses.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations for the Stereotype Content Model Dimensions (Studies 1 & 2)

SCM Dimensions	Native Americans (Study 1)	Native Americans (Study 2)	Asian Americans (Study 1)	African Americans (Study 2)
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Competence	2.73 (.83) _a	3.04 (.74) _{e, g}	4.00 (.58) _{a, d}	3.26 (.55) _{e, h}
Status	2.13 (.89) _b	2.32 (.88) _f	4.51 (.53) _b	2.61 (.82) _f
Warmth	2.66 (.81)	2.70 (.75) _g	2.89 (.79) _d	2.54 (.77) _h
Competition	2.55 (.78) _c	2.44 (.97)	2.80 (.87) _c	2.44 (.96)

Note. SCM dimensions were measured using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 5 (*extremely*). Means with subscripts *a*, *b*, *d*, and *h* differ at $p < .001$, means with subscripts *c*, *e*, and *f* differ at $p < .05$, based on repeated measures analyses, mean with subscript *g* differ at $p = .001$.

Table 7

Ten Most Frequently Selected Adjectives Associated with the Cultural Stereotypes of Native Americans and African Americans (Study 2, N = 59)

Adj. Associated with Native Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected	Adj. Associated with African Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected
alcoholic	68	athletic	78
ancient	64	aggressive	73
brave	61	criminal	61
gambling	56	poor	51
family oriented	47	violent	52
cultured	46	loud	49
spiritual	46	arrogant	44
traditional	44	competitive	44
artistic	41	low in intelligence	42
hunters	41	uneducated	42

Table 8

Ten Most Frequently Selected Adjectives Identified with the Personal Beliefs about Native Americans and African Americans (Study 2, N = 53)

Adj. Associated with Native Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected	Adj. Associated with African Americans	Percentage of Sample that Selected
family oriented	53	athletic	77
cultured	45	family oriented	49
spiritual	45	religious	36
brave	40	loud	32
artistic	38	musical	30
religious	38	aggressive	26
ritualistic	38	competitive	26
alcoholic	32	sociable	25
traditional	30	ambitious	21
naturalistic	26	argumentative	21

APPENDIX A
SURVEY MATERIALS

Feeling Thermometers

1. To what extent are your feelings towards Asians Americans generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
2. To what extent are your feelings towards Republicans generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
3. To what extent are your feelings towards Hispanics generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
4. To what extent are your feelings towards liberals generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
5. To what extent are your feelings towards Blacks / African Americans generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
6. To what extent are your feelings towards Democrats generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
7. To what extent are your feelings towards Whites / Caucasians generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
8. To what extent are your feelings towards conservatives generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
9. To what extent are your feelings towards Republicans generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
10. To what extent are your feelings towards American Indians/Native Americans generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?
11. To what extent are your feelings towards Muslim Americans generally warm and favorable or cold and unfavorable?

Response Scale

0 = cold and unfavorable

11 = warm and favorable

Adjective List Tasks

Cultural stereotype task instructions: Please read through the list carefully and select and identify those adjectives that *make up the cultural stereotype of...* [*Native Americans, African Americans, Asian American*]. Note, these characteristics may or may not reflect your personal beliefs. So, select those adjectives that you know to be part of the cultural stereotype whether or not you believe the stereotype to be true. (for a list of the adjectives see Table 5).

Personal beliefs task instructions: Please read through the list carefully and identify those adjectives that you *personally believe characterize...* [*Native Americans, Asian Americans, African Americans*]

Stereotype Content Scale

Please answer the following questions about [*Native Americans / Asian Americans / African Americans*]. For the following questions we are not interested in your personal beliefs, but in how you think they are viewed by others.

Competence:

As viewed by society, how competent are members of this group?

As viewed by society, how confident are members of this group?

As viewed by society, how independent are members of this group?

As viewed by society, how competitive are members of this group?

As viewed by society, how intelligent are members of this group?

Warmth:

As viewed by society, how tolerant are members of this group?

As viewed by society, how warm are members of this group?

As viewed by society, how good natured are members of this group?

As viewed by society, how sincere are members of this group?

Social Status:

1. How prestigious are the jobs typically achieved by members of this group?

2. How economically successful have members of this group been?

3. How well educated are members of this group?

Competitiveness:

1. If members of this group get special breaks (such as preference in hiring decisions), this is likely to make things more difficult for people like me.

2. The more power members of this group have, the less power people like me are likely to have.

3. Resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.

Response Scale

1=not at all likely to

5=extremely

APPENDIX B

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

To: Deborah Hall
2102 West

From:  Mark Roosa, Chair
Soc Beh IRB 

Date: 02/09/2012

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 02/09/2012

IRB Protocol #: 1202007385

Study Title: Content of the American Indian/Native American Stereotype

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

