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LOMA LINDA UNIVERSITY  
School of Science and Technology  
in conjunction with the  
Faculty of Graduate Studies

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Latino Students' Prejudice and Stereotypes toward African Americans

by

Amite Milner

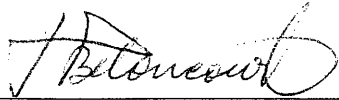
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A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

December 2006

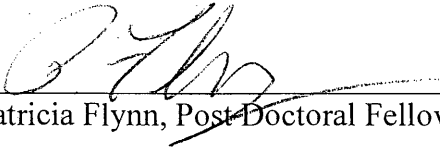
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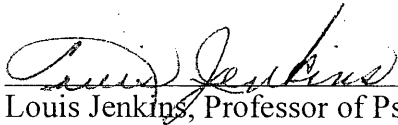


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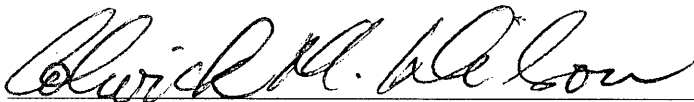
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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Latino Students' Prejudice and Stereotypes toward African Americans

by

Amite R. Milner

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Psychology

Loma Linda University, December 2006

Dr. Hector Betancourt, Chairperson

This study examined generational status and acculturation in relation to stereotyping and prejudice towards African Americans among Anglo and Latino American, high school students. A sample of 597 Anglo and Latino high school juniors and seniors from the Fontana and Redlands School Districts participated in this study. Participants completed a questionnaire that included demographic, acculturation, prejudice, and stereotype measures. A series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to test hypotheses predicting ethnic differences among Anglo and Latino Americans in prejudice and stereotype endorsement. Results showed that Latinos endorsed more stereotypes than Anglos. No ethnic difference was found on prejudice toward African Americans. Structural Equation Models (EQS) examining the relation among acculturation, generational status, stereotypes, and prejudice fit the data well. Prejudice was influenced by the endorsement of negative stereotypes and was predicted by dominant society immersion. Generation status did not influence endorsement of stereotypes.



## Introduction

Stereotypes are socially and culturally learned beliefs that are shared by a large number of people within a cultural group. They have been the subject of vast research (Katz & Braly, 1933; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Lippmann, 1992; Zarate & Smith, 1990). Previous research has shown that stereotypes are prone to errors and falsehoods that may lead to prejudice, racism, discrimination, and other forms of bias and may depend on the perceivers' prejudices, goals, cognitive resources, and learned associations (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Sinclair & Kunda, 1999). Therefore, it is important to gain a better understanding of the development of stereotypes among various populations.

The aim of this study is to provide a better understanding of positive and negative stereotypes and prejudices toward African Americans. Possible associations among acculturation, stereotypes, and prejudice toward African Americans among Latino high school students will be the focus of this study. It should be noted that although stereotypes contain both individual and cultural aspects, this study concentrates on the cultural nature and transmission of stereotypes and prejudice.

Within the United States, more needs to be learned about the social effects of our rapidly changing demographics. Increasing numbers of immigrants from Latin America, and the continuous process of their incorporation into mainstream culture, lend credence to the importance of understanding the relations between generational status, acculturation, stereotypes, and prejudice. As a part of the acculturation process immigrants may be developing stereotypes about minority populations. This may be

particularly important when examining the social impact and psychological consequence of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice toward African Americans. According to the 2000 census, Latino Americans are the fastest growing minority population in the United States, representing 12.5% of the total population, and within California they represent 32.4% of the state population (U.S. Census, 2000). Therefore, research addressing the association between acculturation, stereotypes, and prejudice appears to be particularly relevant. It is important to examine various attitudes, stereotypes, and prejudices of different ethnic populations and how these may change for them, as well as for their offspring and subsequent generations exposed to the media and society, as they adapt to this culture and become acculturated.

Although stereotypes can be both positive and negative, the majority of the literature focuses on negative stereotypes and their consequences in society. (Bargh et al., 1996; Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997). The current research is concerned with the two types of stereotypes that may evolve as individuals become acculturated. Specifically, this research examines the relations among generation, acculturation, stereotypes, and prejudice toward African Americans on the part of Latino immigrants in the U.S. Since adolescents are at a level of psychological development in which the general culture and acculturation have a significant impact in their psychological functioning and behavior, stereotypes and prejudice in high school students will be examined.

In addition, an effort is made to compare positive and negative stereotypes toward African Americans among Latino Americans and Anglo (mainstream) Americans. In the following sections, the foundations of the proposed research are examined based

on a review of the literature. First, current understanding of the cognitive nature of stereotypes with an emphasis on the study of racial and ethnic groups in the United States is examined. Then, research on the role of culture in the development, maintenance, and transmission of stereotypes, particularly concerning ethnic groups, is reviewed. Finally, a possible relationship between the development of stereotypes and acculturation among ethnic minority immigrants is discussed.

### *Nature of Stereotypes*

Stereotypes have been an intricate object of study in psychology for several years. The term “stereotype” was first used by Walter Lippmann (1922) to refer to beliefs about groups. Later Katz and Braly (1933) developed a more widely adopted definition of stereotypes. Their definition addressed stereotypes as fixed ideas that demonstrate very little conformity to the facts that they may represent. Furthermore, stereotypes may result from the individual defining or labeling first, and observing second. Stereotyping was later defined as expectations or assumptions relating to an individual based on the group or category association (Zarate & Smith, 1990). Various definitions of stereotypes in the literature appear to represent divisions among researchers as to specific aspects of the invention and perpetuation of stereotypes. For the purpose of this paper, emphasis will be given to the cognitive nature of both the Katz and Braly (1933) and Zarate and Smith (1990) definitions of stereotypes.

According to Brown (1958), the very nature of a stereotype is not rooted in direct experience and is often used to rationalize selfish behavior. Stereotypes appear to be insensitive to contradictory evidence that can lead to faulty thought processes, hostility,

and false racial attribution (Campbell, 1967). In other words, these strongly internalized and quickly recalled stereotypical ideals are negative stigmas about a given group that lend themselves to biases. A consequence of this idea is that we perceive and treat people differently based on our beliefs about their group. Therefore, the issue of stereotype usage, with its problems, is a major concern in our society as it may result in prejudice and discrimination and other forms of bias.

*Cognitive nature of stereotypes.* According to Allport (1954), we use stereotypes as a means to solve problems easily. Stereotypes may be used intentionally to understand, explain, or predict the behaviors of others (Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). Many have spoken of stereotypes as a means of categorizing membership in a particular group, which may evoke attributes and thus judgment of a particular group (Bodenhausen & Lichtenstein, 1987; Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Harding, Kutner, Proshansky, & Chein 1954; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Saenger & Flowerman, 1954; Sanford, 1956; Secord, 1959; Simpson and Yinger, 1958).

More recently Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, and Gaetner (1996) found that many stereotypes are created as a means to simplify our world. Similarly, information about individuals based on their group can provide practical information with minimal effort (Macrae, Stangor, & Milne, 1994b).

Others have described stereotypes as learned associations that link characteristics with a group (Devine, 1989, 1995; Dovidio & Gaetner, 1986). We use such information as “group schemas,” which are collections of beliefs about a given group (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Markus & Zajonc, 1985). An additional cognitive stereotype concept is the “group prototype,” in which stereotypes create mental forms of social groups (Schaller &

Latané, 1996). This approach also allows individuals to rapidly recall information about a group. Individuals find these stereotype schemas convenient to rely on when they have limited time (Kaplan Washula, & Zanna, 1993), are preoccupied (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991), tired (Bodenhausen, 1990), or emotionally aroused (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna 1994; Stroessner and Mackie, 1993).

However, this stereotype information is limited and not always accurate. As humans we are prone to make false assumptions and misjudgments of others.

Furthermore, stereotypes presume an illusory correlation between group membership and individual characteristics. In short, an individual may recall stereotypical information about an individual's group, and then assume that the individual characteristics are correlated with his or her group membership. In this way stereotypes may influence how we interpret someone's behavior (Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993), how we attribute behavior (Sanbonmatsu, Akimoto, & Gibson, 1994), and our memory of a given situation (Stangor & McMillan, 1992).

Once these stereotype schemas are created they are also difficult to extinguish (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Jetten, 1994a; Wegner & Erber, 1992). In essence our mind's cognitive mechanisms are proficient and adaptive, yet not infallible and they can be rigid. This combination may therefore lead to various problems in interactions among people.

### *Stereotypes and Prejudice among Ethnic Groups*

Throughout history, stereotypes have acted as vicious rumors that spread throughout society and affect both our attitudes and behaviors. The consequences in our



society may range from subtle to disastrous, although a vast literature on stereotypes of groups argues that stereotypes may be positive or negative (Jussim, McCauley, & Yueh-Ting 1995; Triandis, Lisansky, Stiedi, Chang, Marin, & Betancourt, 1982). Within the United States, many ethnic groups have been victim to negative stereotypes. Some of the groups that have attracted negative stereotypes are minorities or nondominant groups such as African Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans as well as women, homosexuals, the disabled, and the poor.

*Negative stereotypes about groups.* Throughout our history various ethnic groups have been the targets of negative stereotypes (Devine, 1989; Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Chen & Bargh, 1997; Lepore & Brown, 1997). As early as Katz and Braly (1933), research has shown a high degree of assigning negative stereotypes toward various ethnic groups.

For instance, with Anglo male and female participants a brief video or picture of an Asian or a Black person activated and assigned the relevant stereotypes for those groups (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Macrae, Stangor, & Milner, 1994b; Sinclair & Kunda, 1999).

The issue of negative stereotypes of Latino Americans became relevant as early as 1969 when Martinez asserted that there were numerous negative stereotypes about Mexican Americans. As the rate of immigration to the United States has increased, more attention has been paid to this issue. Currently, several researchers have found evidence of negative stereotypes toward various Latino groups (Bernat & Balch, 1979; Fairchild & Cozens, 1981; Guichard & Connolly, 1977).

However, the group that seems targeted most often for negative stereotypes within the United States is African Americans. Stereotypes that are attributed to African Americans include being on welfare, overly aggressive, lazy, stupid, carriers of disease, and more (Devine, 1989; Katz and Braly, 1933). Recent literature on implicit stereotyping suggests that participants respond more quickly to negative stereotypes about blacks than negative stereotypes about whites (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994; Buriel & Vasquez, 1982; Spencer et al., 1998). Brief exposure to highly prototypical Black faces has also been shown to elicit a negative affect in many Anglo participants (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995; Kawakami et al., 2002; Livingston & Brewer, 2002). However, this view of African Americans does not appear to be limited to the United States. Studies in Lebanon, Great Britain, Pakistan and other countries have also shown that negative stereotypes toward African Americans exist in these countries as well (Prothro & Melikian, 1955).

The research dedicated to the concept of stereotypes/attributes assigned to one's own group (autostereotypes) suggests that both African and Latino Americans have negative stereotypes about their groups (Bernat & Balch, 1979; Dworkin, 1965; Grebler, Moore, & Guzman, 1970; Montenegro, 1976; Simon & Hamilton, 1994; Triandis, Lisansky, Stiadi, Chang, Marin, and Betancourt, 1982).

One of the most dominant stereotypical views of minorities, particularly of Latino Americans and African Americans, has to do with perceived aggression. There is a large body of evidence supporting the idea that individuals tend to view African and Latino American men as more physically violent/aggressive than Anglo American men (Allport & Postman, 1947; Bargh et al., 1996; Bond, DiCandia, & MacKinnon, 1988; Chen &

Bargh, 1997; Duncan, 1976; Payne, 2001; Tiddle, Salvador, & Gemst, 1995; Willis, 1992).

Although very little research has been done on stereotypes across minority groups, Triandis et. al. (1982), found that Hispanics held negative stereotypes towards African Americans such as, unambitious, lazy and unethical. In essence, negative stereotypes appear to be very pervasive in our society. Thus it seems prudent to further investigate their perpetuation.

*Positive stereotypes about groups.* Although stereotypes have long been associated with negativity the idea that all stereotypes are negative is false. Furthermore, from a historical standpoint it appears that stereotypes of ethnic groups can shift from negative to positive and vice versa due to peak historical experiences such as times of war that may involve a member of a particular ethnic group (Cauthren, Robinson, & Krauss, 1971; Meenes, 1942; Seago, 1947;).

Gaertner and Mclaughlin (1983) found that reaction time to positive stereotypes associated with “Whites” was faster than to negative stereotypes paired with “Whites” or “Blacks” among Anglo males. Individuals responded to negative stereotypes about African Americans faster than they did to positive stereotypes. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that white students ascribe both positive and negative stereotypes to Blacks. Anglos have also been attributed with having some positive stereotypes about Latinos such as that they are hardworking and family orientated (Fairchild & Cozens, 1981; Humphrey, 1945). Hispanics have also indicated positive stereotypes towards African Americans such as, educated, friendly, and hardworking (Triandis et. al. 1982).

Some studies have indicated that Mexican Americans have shown a decline in positive stereotypes of their own ethnic group with each new generation (Buriel & Vasquez, 1982). This research suggests that as Mexican Americans become more acculturated; they adopt the stereotypes of the mainstream culture.

*Consequences— the problems with stereotyping groups.* Many would argue that stereotypes are at the very least a gateway to many of our societal problems. The very nature of stereotypes as being a cognitive categorization process that is often inaccurate, negative, and very rigid leads to speculation about how stereotypes may affect our attitudes, behaviors, and interactions. In its more subtle forms, stereotyping may influence self-esteem as well as close associations between individuals. Throughout history within the United States, stereotypes seem to be strongly connected to prejudice and discrimination. It is arguable that stereotypes may influence personal associations (as in the case of segregation), social conflict and violence, injustice, oppression, jury and Supreme Court decisions, hate crimes, enforcement of the death penalty, and job hiring.

Throughout U.S. history stereotypes have wreaked havoc on our judicial system. Minority members have received stronger sentences, are more often incarcerated, and have received the death penalty more often than their Anglo counterparts. Pfeifer and Ogloff (1991) as well as Allport and Postman (1947) have suggested that some of this may be a direct reflection of negative stereotypes being automatically activated in the minds of jurors to the extent that one is guilty until proven innocent, or proven to be a certain color. This type of stereotyping is also reflected in the ways that laws are enforced in the United States. “Arrests of African American people are 100% higher

than their crime rate, despite the national statistics of victims' reports showing that Anglo Americans are the assailants 66% of the time" (Stark, 1993).

Others have been concerned with the effects of stereotypes on the stereotyped individual. Stereotypes have been shown to be so well internalized that members of the group being stereotyped may stereotype themselves (Simon & Hamilton, 1994).

Furthermore, the stereotyped group members may even be more likely to stereotype themselves than the majority group. As early as 1947, Clark and Clark found that when they gave children a choice between Black and White dolls, even African American children preferred the White dolls. Also, adult African Americans were found to hold views of Africans Americans similar to the views that Whites held (e.g., intelligence, laziness, etc.), (Jackman & Senter, 1981; Smedley & Brayton, 1978). If group members hold such negative stereotypes about themselves, then what effect might that have on individuals and their self-esteem?

The study of "stereotype vulnerability" is aimed at that very issue. Based on the negative stereotypical view of the intellectual ability of African-Americans, experiments by Steele and Aronson (1994) attempted to pinpoint how African Americans can feel a greater risk of confirming a very negative stereotype about themselves. It was found that stereotype vulnerability depressed test performance in African Americans by prompting them to withdraw effort during various test situations. In a second experiment stereotype vulnerability appeared to be contributing to more anxiety in African American subjects in comparison to Anglo Americans during test taking.

When stereotypes are self-confirming, they can affect an applicant's performance in a job interview (Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974). In essence, stereotypes may affect

one's self-esteem to the degree that when placed in a situation where others expect one to perform poorly, anxiety may cause one to confirm the belief. This may lead to the connection between performance and self-esteem (Osborne, 1995).

One of the obvious effects of stereotypes on culture is that these categorical statements create discrimination, divisions, and conflict within and between groups in society. Myers (1999) asserts that prejudice is a disapproving prejudgment of the individual and his or her group. Prejudice may occur when biases are acquired against a person as a result of identifying the person as a member of a given group. Prejudice is noted as an attitude with clear opinions and beliefs.

According to Brigham (1971), "the most basic characteristic linking stereotypes to ethnic prejudice is the awareness of discrete groups." Brigham goes on to assert that in order for prejudice to exist, one must perceive differences/characteristics that lead to a categorization of a given person to an ethnic group. A good deal of psychological investigation has been dedicated to ways in which stereotypes may create or facilitate prejudice among/within societies (Butler & Gies, 1990; Pfeifer & Ogloff, 1991; Tiddle, Salvador, & Gemst, 1995). To this end many researchers have suggested that stereotypes may represent a cognitive component of prejudice (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Harding, Kutner, Proshansky, & Chein, 1969; Katz & Stotland, 1959; Secord & Backman, 1964).

Vinacke (1949) asserts that stereotypes may provide convenient verbal labels or rationalization for the expression of prejudice. Most research on this matter would concur that it does appear that prejudice does not exist without stereotypes. Furthermore, stereotypes seem to function as a means of rationalizing prejudice. Further evidence for

the previous assertion may be found in studies that have described prejudiced persons as being more accurate in their categorization of object-group members (Allport & Kramer, 1946; Elliott & Wittenberg, 1955; Himmelfarb, 1960; Lindzey & Rogolsky, 1950; Scodel & Austrin, 1957; Secord, 1959; Secord, Bevan & Katz, 1956).

Therefore, stereotypes may lead to prejudice. Such prejudice may appear more bluntly as in the case of hate crimes or more subtly as through our preferences for what is familiar, similar, and comfortable (Donvidio, Gaetner, Anastasio, & Sanitosa, 1992; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). Prejudice may operate as an unconscious, unintentional response, as in a study by Vanman, Paul, Kaplan, and Miller (1997) where Anglo subjects reported themselves as liking an African American more than an Anglo person. However, their frowning facial muscles tended to be more active than their smiling muscles when shown pictures of African Americans. The next logical consequence would be prejudicial behavior, which is labeled as discrimination.

Current research suggests there is a complex relationship between discrimination and stereotypes. Furthermore, racial attitudes appear to be powerful predictors of discrimination (Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980). Studies that “prime” (automatically activate) stereotypes of some racial, gender, or age group have been shown to bias the subjects’ behavior (Bargh, Chen & Burrows, 1996; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). In short, stereotypes appear to guide discrimination.

### *Cultural Nature of Negative Stereotypes and Prejudices about Groups*

Within the United States, we have a very diverse multi-ethnic population. Immigration and an increase in ethnic minority population has led to greater cultural diversity. Latino and Asian Americans are the fastest growing populations within the United States and Latino Americans are becoming the largest ethnic minority group in the country (U.S. Census, 2000).

Although the effects of stereotypes have been studied on various levels, the role of culture in psychology in general and in psychological processes relevant to social judgments and behavior in particular are of great importance. More attention should be paid to the relationship between the cultural transmission of stereotypes and that of acculturation and prejudice.

*Socially and culturally learned aspects of stereotypes.* Stereotypes are socially and culturally learned beliefs that are shared by a large number of people within a cultural group. They are culturally transmitted by our media and immediate social environment (i.e., parents, schools, relative, peers, mass media, society's customs and ideas) (Boster, 1991; Duveen & Loyd, 1990; Farr & Moscovici, 1984; Tajfel, 1981). In fact, in order for a stereotype to be given value or legitimacy, it must be culturally shared (Gardner, Kirby, & Findlay, 1973; Katz & Braly, 1933; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Forgas, 1981).

Research has shown many correlations between stereotypes of parents and those of their children (Epstein & Komorita, 1966; Fagot, Leinbach, & O'Boyle, 1992). Young children have been shown to have negative racial attitudes very early in life (Goodman, 1952). Blake and Dennis (1943) found that young Anglo American children



acquire a “generally unfavorable attitude” toward African Americans. However, their research indicated that older children, through socialization, apply negative stereotypes by approximately the tenth grade. Sagar and Schofield (1980) found that even children (Anglo and African American) have a tendency to rate African American actors’ behavior as more threatening than that of Anglo Americans. More recently others have found evidence of knowledge of and personal beliefs in negative stereotypes by Anglo children toward Blacks (Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Barron & Banaji, 2006). This evidence suggests that as children grow older they adopt stereotypes through the cultural norms of others with whom they interact. Dewey and Humber (1966) in a study that was similar to that of Katz and Braly (1933), found that high school students were aware of and accepted negative stereotypes about Jews.

Stereotypes seem to be developed and maintained through social norms and the need to conform to those norms (Allport, 1956; Eagly, 1987; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Pettigrew, 1958, 1959; Sherif, 1936; Stouffer, Schman, DeVinney, Star & Williams, 1949). The mass media has been observed as a means for suggesting social and cultural norms in our society. Moreover, there is a large volume of evidence that most stereotypes are transmitted through the mass media (Hartmann & Husban, 1974; Pasadeos, 1987; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1985). Language communication has also provided for the categorization of individuals, which is then shared with others (Allport, 1954; Fishman, 1956).

*Cultural stereotypes transmission and maintenance formation.* Rohner (1984) proposed a conceptualization of culture in terms of “highly variable systems of meanings, which are learned and shared by a people or identifiable segment of a population.”

Culture appears to represent the design pattern for ways of life that are normally conveyed from one generation to another. According to Triandis et al. (1980), culture includes elements of social norms, roles, beliefs, and values. Cultural elements may include familial roles, communication, affective styles, and personal values. This appears to be particularly important in the case of psychological processes relevant to social judging and behaviors toward individuals and groups of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This relationship is considered the basis for viewing stereotypes and prejudices as culturally transmitted social diseases. According to Lui, Pope, Nevitt, and Toporek, (1999), group stereotypes lead to expectation of patterns of behavior for stereotyped group members.

The next logical step in understanding the interaction between stereotypes and their cultural transmission and maintenance would be to identify a population that is being introduced to a new culture. Acculturation is the process of introduction and adoption of cultural norms. However, there is little research on the formation of cultural norms with regard to stereotypes within immigrant populations and how these stereotypes may change as they acculturate to mainstream U.S. culture.

*Acculturation and stereotypes among ethnically diverse immigrants.* Acculturation has been defined as a product of cultural learning due to contacts between members of two groups (Berry, 1980; Social Science Research Council, 1954). It has been stated further that acculturation is a process by which individuals adopt attitudinal and behavioral aspects of the mainstream/dominant culture (Berry et al., 1980). It has been suggested that acculturation processes occur on three levels: the superficial, the intermediate, and the significant (Marin, 1992). Acculturation may consist of learning facts, traditions, behaviors, preferences,

interactions, belief values, and cultural norms (Berry et al., 1980), and may be both directional and bidirectional by influencing both immigrants and the mainstream culture (Berry et al., 1986; Padilla, 1995; Perez & Padilla, 2000).

According to Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980), acculturation is a “linear function” of the amount of time a person is exposed to the host culture. Therefore, it has been suggested that first generation immigrants may show different levels of acculturation than third generation immigrants (Suzuki, Vraniak, & Kugler, 1986). Some have asserted that specifically among Mexican Americans, generation is the most important variable in predicting degree of acculturation (Clark et al., 1976; Buriel & Vasquez, 1982). In addition, an increase in generational status may affect whether one holds more positive or more negative stereotypes toward a group (Buriel & Vasquez, 1982). Yet, others have suggested that it would be inaccurate to assume that generational status may directly influence acculturation (Garza & Gallegos, 1995). Acculturation by definition asserts that attitudes of the dominant society (mainstream culture) toward particular groups will determine, in part, the acculturation experience, process, and ultimate adaptation of said groups (Berry, 1980).

Psychological literature has many examples of measures of acculturation that include variables such as behavior, values, social relationships, language use and food preferences, cultural awareness, and ethnic loyalty (Stephenson, 2000; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Others have measured acculturation on a bicultural scale with several dimensions of adopting versus shifting or incorporating mainstream culture that separate distinct acculturation types (Magana et al. 1996).

Although acculturation measurement and definition has been debated in the literature, the nature/definition of acculturation appears to be fairly consistent in respect to its inclusion of assimilation or learned norms of the mainstream/dominant culture. Acculturation has been tied to a number of both physical and psychological constructs within scientific literature (Montgomery, Arnold, & Orozco, 1990). A large amount of research deals with issues surrounding acculturation to the majority culture, yet it does not address the effects of acculturation and social interaction on minority cultures (Lui, Pope, Nevitt, & Toporek, 1999). Stereotypes are learned and transmitted by the same socioecological and socio-cultural influences that are being learned through acculturation. Therefore, if an individual is becoming acculturated to the mainstream culture and the mainstream culture includes negative stereotypes about a group, it is possible that the immigrant adopts the ethnic stereotypes and prejudices of the mainstream culture as part of the acculturation process, further perpetuating societal problems.

Some of the literature that addresses this matter states that Latinos have also shown a generational effect of positive stereotypes toward Anglos (Dworkin, 1965; Portes et al., 1980). More specifically it appears that there is a trend toward more negative stereotypes of themselves with each consecutive generation and resemble that of mainstream (Anglo) culture (Knight et. al., 1978; Buriel & Vasquez, 1982). The questions that need to be addressed are, to what extent are these stereotypes adopted, what may be some of the societal ramifications of this adoption, and which of these stereotypical beliefs are more or less likely to be adopted?

## *Hypotheses*

The overall purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between acculturation to U.S. mainstream culture, and stereotypes of and prejudices toward African Americans among Anglo and Latino American high school students. The central objective is to examine potential changes in stereotypes (both negative and positive) and prejudice associated with acculturation, in relation to generational status among Latino Americans living in the United States.

More specifically the following hypotheses are to be tested:

1. Anglo and Latino American students will differ in stereotypes and the level of prejudice toward African Americans in the United States.
  - 1.1 Anglo Americans will endorse higher levels of negative stereotypes about African Americans than Latino Americans.
  - 1.2 Anglo Americans will endorse higher levels of positive stereotypes about African Americans than Latino Americans.
2. A structural equation model including hypothesized and theory-based relations among generational status, acculturation, endorsement of stereotypes, and prejudice toward African Americans among Latino high school students will fit the data.
  - 2.1 Prejudice toward African Americans will be predicted by endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes, and acculturation as measured by Ethnic Society Immersion and Dominant Society Immersion. Lower scores on Ethnic Society Immersion and higher scores on Dominant Society Immersion will determine higher scores on prejudice.

2.2 Endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes about African Americans will be predicted by Ethnic Society Immersion, Dominant Society Immersion, and generational status. Higher scores on Dominant Society Immersion will result in higher scores on endorsement of negative stereotypes.

2.3 Dominant Society Immersion will be more predictive of negative and positive stereotypes than generational status.

## Methods

### *Participants*

The data for this study was collected from 597 male and female high school students (eleventh and twelfth grade) from the Fontana and Redlands School Districts in San Bernardino County, California. High school students were chosen over college students because of the likely hood to include recent immigrants (college students need legal residency in order to be enrolled). Of the 588 participants, 267 were Anglo Americans and 321 were Latino Americans. Ages ranged from 16 to 19, with 249 males and 338 females.

Of the Latino participants, 220 were first-generation immigrants, 45 second-generation, and 56 who were third or more generation. The Latino population was 83.9% Mexican, 3.2% Puerto Rican, 2.4% South American, 8.3% Central American, 3.2% Cuban, and 1.3% Spanish. The mean age for all ethnic groups was 17. Table 1 highlights the differences among samples based on ethnicity, age, gender, and generational status.

Nine participants who were missing two or more items on the Acculturation subscale were eliminated from further analyses (see Table1). Additional, participants were eliminated from EQS analyses due to missing data on various items (see Table 2). In particular, missing data was predominantly found on the positive and negative stereotype measure. Implications of this missing data will be reviewed in the discussion.

Table 1  
*Demographics of Participants for ANOVAS*

	Latino	Anglo	Totals
	N = 321	N = 267	N = 588
Age (16-19)			
<i>Mean</i>	17	17	17
<i>Stdv.</i>	.77	.70	.75
Gender			
Male	40 % (N=129)	45 % (N=120)	42 % (N=249)
Female	60 % (N=192)	55 % (N=146)	58 % (N=338)
Generational status			
1 <sup>st</sup>	69 % (N=220)	8 % (N=21)	41 % (N=241)
2 <sup>nd</sup>	14 % (N=45)	13 % (N=34)	13 % (N=79)
3 <sup>rd</sup> or More	17 % (N=56)	79 % (N=212)	46 % (N=268)



Table 2  
*Omitted and Retained Demographics of Participants for EQS Models*

	Latino Participants Negative Stereotype Model		Latino Participants Positive Stereotype Model		Latino Participants Post Hoc Model		Anglo Participants Post Hoc Model	
	Omitted	Retained	Omitted	Retained	Omitted	Retained	Omitted	Retained
	N = 54	N = 267	N = 88	N = 233	N = 89	N = 232	N = 56	N=211
Age (16-19)								
Mean	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
Stdv.	.87	.75	.79	.76	.79	.76	.65	.71
Gender								
Male	43% (N=23)	40% (N=106)	53% (N=47)	35% (N=82)	53% (N=47)	35% (N=82)	57% (N=32)	42% (N=88)
Female	57% (N=31)	60% (N=161)	47% (N=41)	65% (N=151)	47%(N=42)	65% (N=150)	41% (N=23)	58% (N=123)
Generational status								
1 <sup>st</sup>	70% (N=38)	70% (N=182)	66% (N=58)	70% (N=162)	66% (N=59)	69% (N=161)	9% ((N=5)	8% (N=16)
2 <sup>nd</sup>	11% (N=6)	15% (N=39)	13% (N=11)	15% (N=34)	12% (N=11)	15% (N=34)	16% (N=9)	12%(N=25)
3 <sup>rd</sup> or More	19% (N=10)	17% (N=46)	22% (N=19)	16% (N=37)	21% (N=19)	16% (N=37)	75% (N=42)	81%(N=170)

### *Instruments*

The instrument consisted of a questionnaire that included the following measures:

*Demographics* (Appendix A). Data were collected on aspects such as ethnicity, age, length of time in the United States, gender, and dominant language.

*Generational Status*. Generational status was determined by the following criteria. First-generation participants included individuals born outside the United States or both parents were born outside the U.S. Second-generation participants were comprised of individuals with at least one parent born outside the United States. Third-generation participants included individuals who had both parents that were born in the United States.

*Acculturation*. The Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (Stephenson, 2000) (SMAS: Appendix B) was used to collect information about individuals' level of acculturation. The SMAS includes two subscales, Dominant Society Immersion (DSI), which assesses adoption of the cultural norms of the dominant/mainstream culture, and Ethnic Society Immersion (ESI), which assesses the level of immersion in one's own ethnic group. Acculturation was assessed across a variety of domains including dominant language spoken, choice in music and literature, current affairs, and history. The SMAS includes a total of 29 items with 16 items designed to assess ESI (for example, "I know how to speak my native language") and 15 items designed to assess DSI (e.g., "I am informed about the current affairs in the United States"). A 4-point Likert response format was used with four response options: *false*, *partly false*, *partly true*, and *true*.

Factor analysis of the items was conducted using principal axis factoring with oblique rotation. The decision was made to exclude two items from the DSI scale since

these items cross-loaded on the ESI factor. Results indicated a two-factor solution that accounted for 43% of the variance for the overall sample, 44% for Anglos, and 39% for Latinos. Factor scale reliabilities were as follows: for ESI: both ethnic groups,  $\alpha = .92$ , Anglo,  $\alpha = .92$ , Latino,  $\alpha = .92$ ; for DSI: both ethnic groups,  $\alpha = .81$ , Anglo,  $\alpha = .75$ , Latino,  $\alpha = .80$ .

*Stereotypes.* Katz and Brawly's (1933) Princeton Trilogy adjective checklist, as revised by Devine and Elliot (1995) (Personal Beliefs Assessment [PBA: Appendix C]), was further revised to include adjectives used by Triandis and associates (1982). The resulting instrument was used to assess participants' stereotype endorsement toward African Americans. Participants chose from a list of 106 adjectives that reflected their own awareness of stereotypes toward African Americans. Participants could also include their own adjectives. The following are examples of some of the stereotype adjectives included: loud, lazy, criminal, hardworking, musical, and rhythmic. Participants were then asked to indicate the degree to which they endorsed the chosen stereotypes on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *low belief* to *strong belief*.

Prior to data analysis, a group of expert judges divided the adjectives into two groups representing positive and negative stereotypes toward African Americans. Approximately 11 adjectives were not included in the analysis due to their ambiguous nature. A total of 49 positive and 49 negative adjectives were kept for analyses of the participants' level of endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes toward African Americans. Mean scores on positive and negative stereotypes were calculated for data analyses.

*Prejudice.* Four items from the Modern Racism Scale, McConahay (1986) (MSD: Appendix D) were used. The MSD is a nine-item scale used to assess the respondent's level of prejudice against minority ethnic groups within the United States. Four items from the MSD were selected as indicators of prejudice toward African Americans. Level of prejudice orientation was assessed across a variety of domains including discrimination, minority influence, and equal rights. The following is a sample item from MSD: "Over the past few years, African Americans have gotten more economically than they deserve." Responses were rated on a 5-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Initial results indicated a single-factor solution that accounted for 56% of the variance for the overall sample, 56% for Anglos, and 57% for Latinos. Reliability indices indicated that this instrument was found to be reliable and valid for all groups ( $\alpha = .82$ ), Anglos ( $\alpha = .82$ ), and Latinos ( $\alpha = .82$ ).

### *Procedures*

Consent forms that described the study (Appendix E2) were sent home with students (via individual teachers) for parent's signature and returned to the student's school/instructor. Those students who did not return the parental consent forms received a quiet activity (i.e., homework, ditto, or other class work) to perform from their teacher(s). Each participant was entered into a drawing for a \$50 gift certificate donated by Wal-Mart. An assent form was read aloud by the investigator. Students were given and signed individual assent forms. After signing the assent form, (Appendix E1) participants were instructed to complete the questionnaire.

The investigator was present for the administration of the questionnaire and responded to any questions concerning completion of the questionnaire. Upon completion of the instruments, the participants were given a chance to ask questions or give comments to the investigator concerning the study and its purpose

## Results

### *Preliminary Data Analysis*

A series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs) and correlations were conducted to test for potential effects of the demographic factors age and gender (see Table 3) on the study variables. Significant main effects for gender were noted for the overall sample population for ESI ( $F [1,583] = 4.43, p \leq .04, \eta^2 = .01$ ) and prejudice ( $F [1, 561] = 41.32, p = .00, \eta^2 = .07$ ). Group means indicated that women (3.18, .79) tended to be more immersed in their own ethnic group than men (2.77, 1.11). In addition, men (3.18, .79) held more prejudicial beliefs about African Americans than women (2.22, .90). Although statistically significant, all group mean differences were small and did not account for a large percentage variance.

### *Screening of the Data and Preliminary Checks*

Data analyses were done using SPSS 11.5. Univariate outliers for the observed variables were screened through the examination of means and standard deviations. Findings indicated one outlier based on age that was eliminated from further analyses. Histograms for each of the measured variables appeared to approximate normal distribution.

Bivariate correlations for generational status, ESI, DSI, stereotype endorsement and prejudice were reviewed to determine if multicollinearity existed (see Tables 4 & 5). Assumptions for structural equation modeling were not violated as correlations among items from each scale and their latent factors range from .31 to .96. Correlations among

the variables were not greater than .70 and there were a few correlations above .30 thereby indicating that it was appropriate to proceed with structural equation modeling.

Table 3  
*Means and Standard Deviations for Measured Variables (n = 597)*

	Acculturation (SMAS)				Stereotype Endorsement				Prejudice	
	ESI		DSI		Positive		Negative		Mean	SD
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
<b>Gender</b>										
Male	3.03	.92	3.67	.48	3.77	.96	3.32	.97	2.77	1.11
Female	3.18	.79	3.67	.40	3.84	.83	3.16	.98	2.22	.90
Total	3.11*	.85	3.67	.44	3.82	.88	3.23	.98	2.45***	1.03
<b>Ethnicity</b>										
Anglo	3.21	1.01	3.83	.39	3.81	.87	3.08	.95	2.38	1.04
Latino	3.04	.69	3.53	.42	3.82	.90	3.36	.99	2.52	1.02
Total	3.12*	.85	3.67***	.44	3.82	.88	3.23***	.98	2.45	1.03
<b>Generation</b>										
1 <sup>st</sup>	3.22	.54	3.50	.42	3.81	.90	3.42	.97	2.54	1.02
2 <sup>nd</sup>	2.77	.86	3.74	.60	3.87	.93	3.20	.92	2.56	1.04
3 <sup>rd</sup>	3.12	1.04	3.80	.33	3.81	.85	3.07	.99	2.35	1.03
Total	3.12***	.85	3.67***	.44	3.82	.88	3.23***	.98	2.45	1.03
<b>Latino</b>										
1 <sup>st</sup>	3.20	.55	3.48	.42	3.83	.91	3.43	.98	2.54	1.01
2 <sup>nd</sup>	2.77	.74	3.64	.36	3.83	.91	3.27	.97	2.53	1.05
3 <sup>rd</sup>	2.63	.88	3.67	.44	3.75	.83	3.16	1.04	2.40	1.09
Total	3.04***	.69	3.53**	.42	3.82	.90	3.36	.99	2.52	1.02
<b>Anglos</b>										
1 <sup>st</sup>	3.47	.42	3.70	.33	3.54	.76	3.28	.86	2.45	1.17
2 <sup>nd</sup>	2.76	1.01	3.86	.80	3.93	.96	3.11	.85	2.59	1.03
3 <sup>rd</sup>	3.25	1.04	3.83	.29	3.82	.86	3.05	.98	2.34	1.02
Total	3.21*	1.01	3.83	.39	3.81	.87	3.08	.95	2.38	1.04

\* $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; \*\*\* $p \leq .00$



Table 4

*Correlations among study variables for Latino Americans (n = 346)*

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Generation					
2. SMAS ESI	-.34 **				
3. SMAS DSI	.19**	-.06			
4. Stereotypes Negative	-.11	-.08	-.10		
5. Stereotypes Positive	-.03	.01	.13*	.15*	
6. Prejudice	-.05	-.08	-.18**	.35**	-.09

\* $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; \*\*\* $p \leq .001$

Table 5

*Correlations among study variables for Anglo Americans (n = 260)*

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Generation					
2. SMAS ESI	.02				
3. SMAS DSI	.07	-.03			
4. Stereotypes Negative	-.06	.00	.00		
5. Stereotypes Positive	.05	.02	.07	.32**	
6. Prejudice	-.06	-.02	.01	.42**	-.04

\* $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; \*\*\* $p \leq .001$

*Ethnic differences in levels of prejudice and stereotype endorsement.*

To test the hypothesis predicting ethnic differences among Anglo and Latino Americans in stereotype endorsement and prejudice toward African Americans, a series of ANOVAS were run (hypotheses 1, 1.1, and 1.2). Anglos and Latinos did not appear to differ on endorsement of positive stereotype (hypotheses 1, 1.2,  $F [1,472] = .001$ ,  $p = .97$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ ) or level of prejudice, ( $F [1,562] = 2.53$ ,  $p = .11$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ ) (hypothesis 1).

However the two groups did differ on negative stereotype endorsement (hypothesis 1.1,  $F$

[1,529] = 11.44,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ ), yet the direction of this difference was contrary to the hypothesis. Latino High School students endorsed more negative stereotypes ( $M = 3.36$ ) compared to Anglo ( $M = 3.08$ ). Therefore, hypotheses 1, 1.1, and 1.2 were not supported.

### *Structural Equation Modeling*

The hypothesized models were analyzed using Bentler's (1995) statistics package for the analysis of structural equations (EQS). Two hypothesized models were tested through the simultaneous analysis of all variables to determine the degree to which the models were consistent with the data (Hoyle, 1995). Latent and observed variables were compared for differences between the two matrices and the overall goodness of fit.

Two absolute fit indices were used to test the hypothesized model, the chi-square statistic and the  $\chi^2/df$  for large samples (nonsignificant =  $p > .05$ ) (Bryne, 1994).

Acceptable ratios included those that are less than 2.0 for the fit indices. The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) was utilized as a measure of the average error parameter estimates. Values less than .05 indicate acceptable models. Overall fit indices were measured for the explanation of covariance using the comparative fit index (CFI, Bentler, 1988). Scores of .90 or greater indicate a better fit of the specified models.

### *Measurement Model*

Two models were tested including generation status, ESI, DSI, and the endorsement of stereotypes, and prejudice among Latino Americans in order to test hypotheses 2, 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3. Models were run with Latino students only because

acculturation and generational status were issues relevant only to the Latino population. Generational status was included as an observed variable. Dominant society immersion (DSI) was included as a latent variable comprised of 3 indicators with 11 items. Ethnic society immersion (ESI) was a latent variable with 4 indicators comprised of 16 items. The latent variable prejudice was comprised of 4 indicators. Model 1 included negative stereotypes as a measured variable which was computed by averaging all the negative stereotypes. Model 2 included positive stereotypes as a measured variable which was computed similarly. The structure of relations among these variables for Latino participants is highlighted in Figures 1 and 2. Circles in the models represent latent variables and rectangles indicate measured variables.

According to the model testing hypotheses 2, 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3, prejudice toward African Americans will be influenced by the endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes toward African Americans, Ethnic Society Immersion (ESI), and Dominant Society Immersion (DSI). Negative and positive stereotypes toward African Americans will be influenced by ESI, DSI, and generational status. ESI and DSI will be predicted by generational status.

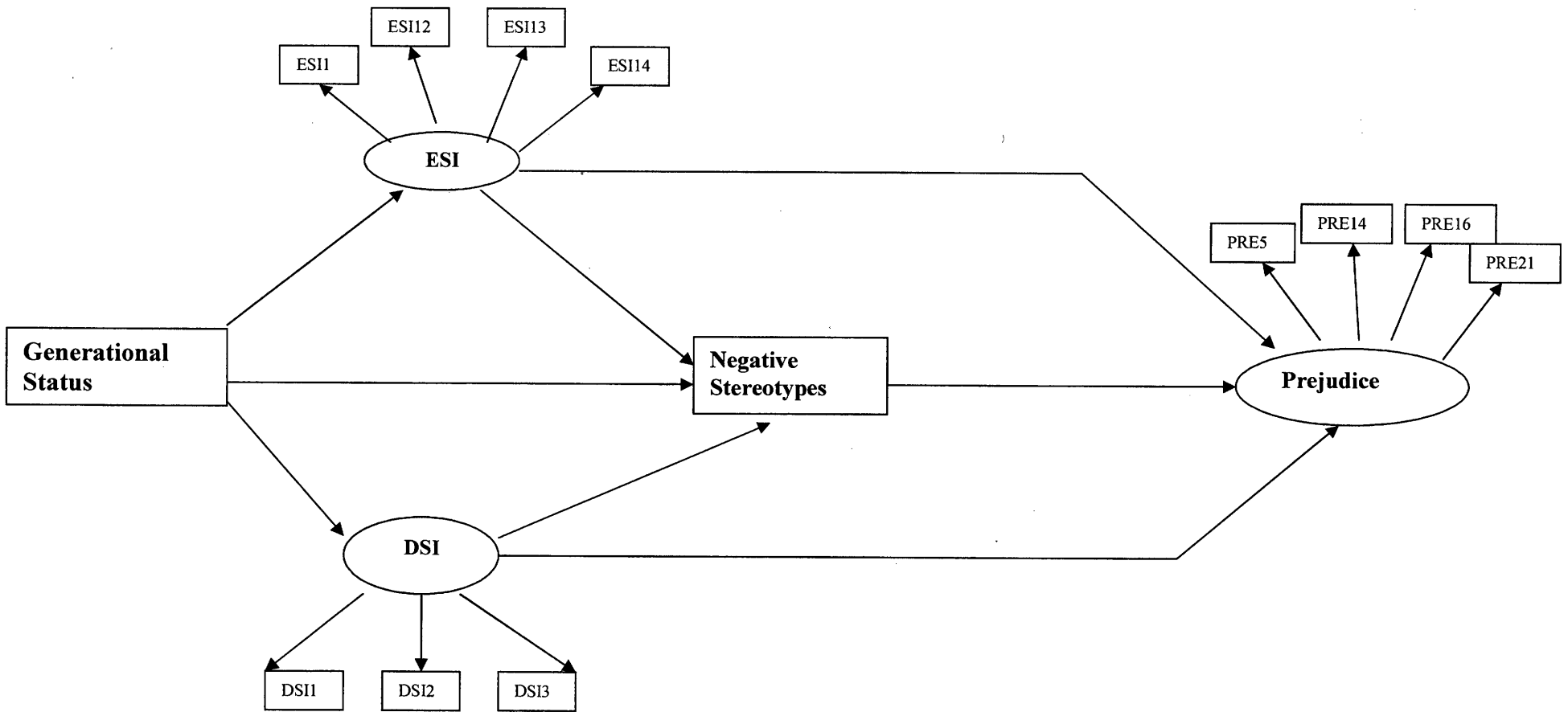


Figure 1. Measurement Model of Latino Americans acculturation, negative stereotypes, and prejudice for hypotheses 2, 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3.

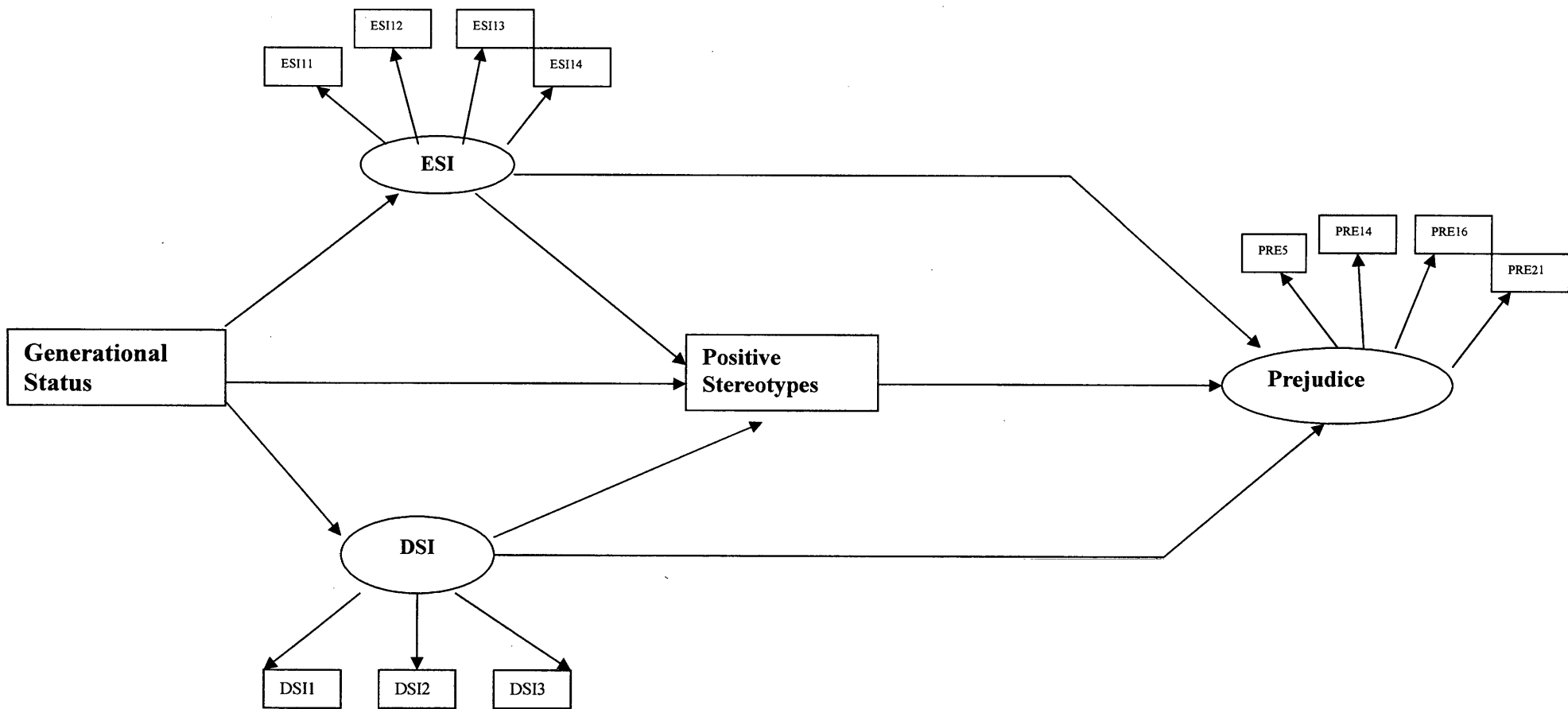


Figure 2. Measurement Model of Latino Americans acculturation, positive stereotypes, and prejudice for hypotheses 2, 2.1, 2.2., 2.3.

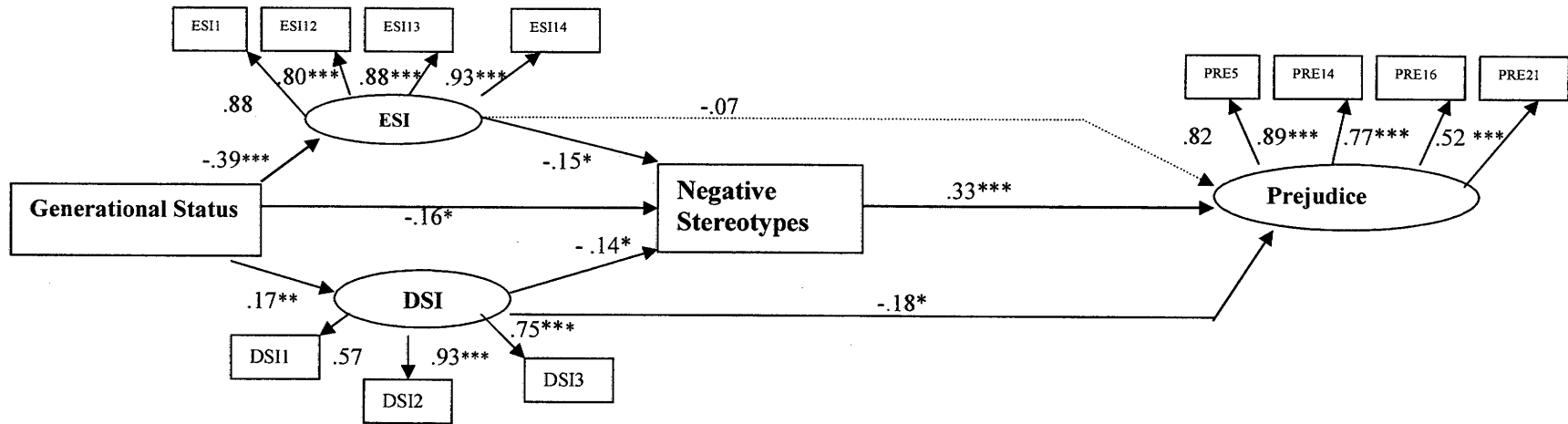
*Model 1 for Generation, Acculturation, Negative Stereotype Endorsement, and Prejudice.* The initial model testing the relations among generation, acculturation, negative stereotypes, and prejudice among Latino American students fit the data well ( $\chi^2$  [59,  $N=267$ ] = 49.82,  $p = .80$ ;  $\chi^2/df = .84$ ; CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00). As expected, the model supported the general hypothesis (hypothesis 2), integrating the relations among generational status, acculturation, stereotype, and prejudice (see Figure 3).

According to Model 1 hypothesis 2.1 was partially supported. Prejudice was influenced by the endorsement of negative stereotypes toward African Americans. Higher scores on prejudice were predicted by higher scores on negative stereotypes ( $\beta = .33$ ,  $p \leq .001$ ). In addition, prejudice was predicted by dominant society immersion, however, contrary to the hypothesis, higher scores on DSI influenced lower scores on prejudice ( $\beta = -.18$ ,  $p \leq .05$ ). Contrary to hypothesis 2.1, lower scores on ESI were not related to higher scores on prejudice ( $\beta = -.07$ ,  $p = \text{NS}$ ).

Hypothesis 2.2 indicated that endorsement of negative stereotypes toward African Americans would be influenced by ESI, DSI, and generational status. Endorsement of negative stereotypes was negatively influenced by ESI ( $\beta = -.15$ ,  $p \leq .05$ ) and generation status ( $\beta = -.16$ ,  $p \leq .05$ ). However, the hypothesized direction of the relation among DSI and positive and negative stereotypes was not confirmed. It was predicted that higher scores on negative stereotype endorsement would be predicted by higher scores on DSI, however, the opposite was true ( $\beta = -.14$ ,  $p \leq .05$ ).

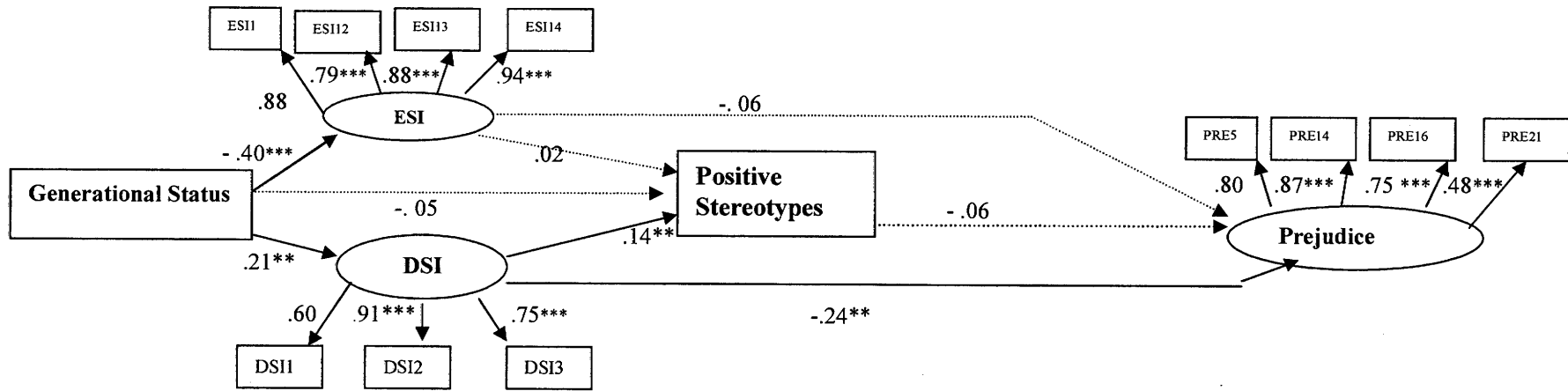
Hypothesis 2.3, predicted that DSI would influence negative stereotype endorsement more than generational status, however this was not the case. DSI ( $\beta = -.14$ ,

$p \leq .05$ ) and generation status ( $\beta = -.16, p \leq .05$ ), equally predicted negative stereotype endorsement.



CFI = 1.00;  $\chi^2 (59, N = 267) = 49.82, p = .80; \chi^2/df = .84; RMSEA = .00$

Figure 3. Latino Americans negative stereotypes beliefs: Model testing hypotheses 2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3



CFI = 1.00;  $\chi^2 (59, N = 233) = 54.73, p = .63; \chi^2/df = .93; RMSEA = .00$

Figure 4. Latino Americans positive stereotypes endorsement: Model testing hypotheses 2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3



*Model 2 for Generation, Acculturation, Positive Stereotype Endorsement, and Prejudice.* The model for generation, acculturation, positive stereotypes, and prejudice also fit the data well ( $\chi^2 [59, N = 233] = 54.73, p = .63; \chi^2/df = .93; CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00$ ). As expected, the model supported the general hypothesis (hypothesis.2), integrating the relations among generational status, acculturation, stereotypes, and prejudice (see Figure 4).

Hypothesis 2.1 indicating that prejudice would be predicted by positive stereotypes, ESI and DSI was partially supported. Endorsement of positive stereotypes ( $\beta = -.06, p = NS$ ) and ESI ( $\beta = -.06, p = NS$ ) minimally influenced prejudice. Once again, prejudice predicted DSI, however the direction of this effect was contrary to the hypothesis. Higher scores on DSI influenced lower score on prejudice ( $\beta = -.24, p \leq .05$ ).

Hypothesis 2.2 indicated that the endorsement of positive stereotypes toward African Americans would be influenced by ESI, DSI, and generational status. Higher scores on positive stereotype endorsement were minimally influenced by lower scores on ESI ( $\beta = .02, p = NS$ ) and generational status ( $\beta = -.05, p = NS$ ). Yet positive stereotypes toward African Americans was positively influenced by DSI ( $\beta = .14, p \leq .01$ ).

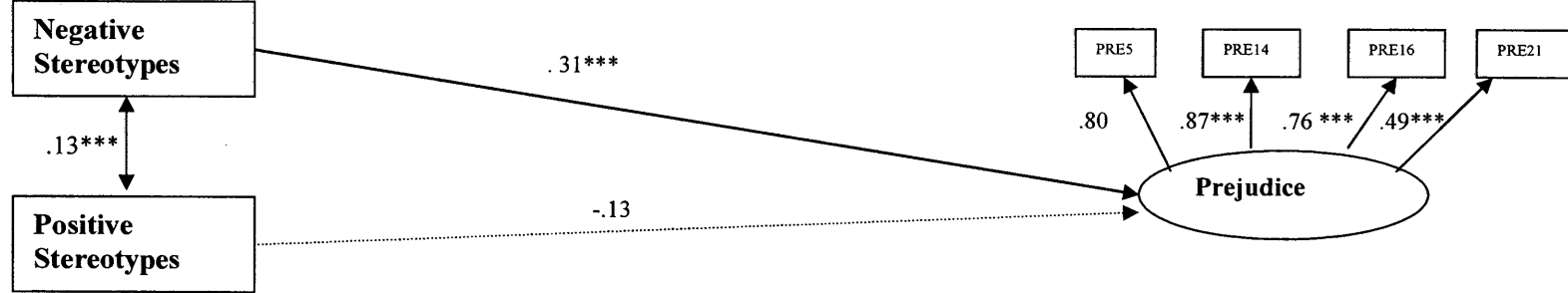
Finally, data supported Hypothesis 2.3, indicating that DSI was more predictive of positive stereotype endorsement ( $\beta = .14, p = p \leq .01$ ) than generational status ( $\beta = -.05, p = NS$ ). However, higher scores on DSI influenced higher scores on positive stereotypes, whereas later generational status influenced lower scores on positive stereotypes.

### *Post-hoc Analyses*

Two post-hoc models were analyzed for Anglo and Latino participants individually to test the relations between endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes and prejudice. These models were compared without generation status or acculturation primarily because generation status and acculturation were not relevant variables for Anglos. Negative and positive stereotype endorsement was covaried as suggested by Wald. The first model, which included Latino participants, revealed a good fit of the data ( $\chi^2 [8, N = 232] = 4.27, p = .83; \chi^2/df = .53; CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00$ ) (Figure 5). There was a strong positive relationship between endorsement of negative stereotypes and prejudice ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ), a weaker, negative relationship existed between endorsement of positive stereotypes and prejudice ( $\beta = -.13, p = NS$ ).

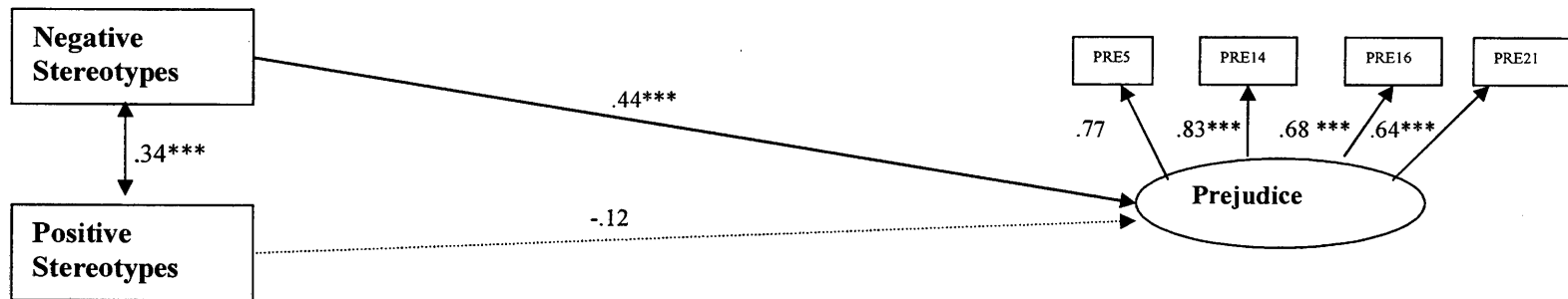
Similar results were found in the model for the Anglo participants, which also demonstrated a good fit of the data ( $\chi^2 [8, N = 211] = 14.32, p = .07; \chi^2/df = 1.79; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .06$ ) (Figure 6). Once again endorsement of negative stereotypes exerted a strong impact on prejudice ( $\beta = .44, p < .001$ ) and, endorsement of positive stereotypes exerted a negative, although nonsignificant impact on prejudice ( $\beta = -.12, p = NS$ ).

According to these models higher levels of endorsement of negative stereotypes and lower levels of endorsement of positive stereotypes predicted increasing levels of prejudice for both Anglo and Latino High School students.



CFI = 1.00;  $\chi^2 [8, N = 232] = 4.27, p = .83; \chi^2/df = .53; RMSEA = .00$

Figure 5. Latino Americans' endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes and prejudice



CFI = .98;  $\chi^2 [8, N = 211] = 14.32, p = .07; \chi^2/df = 1.79; RMSEA = .06$

Figure 6. Anglo Americans' endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes and prejudice.

## Discussion

Stereotypes are cognitive structures that are a product of what is learned through interactions among people and developed over time (Gardner et.al., 1973). The central aim of the current research was to add to the understanding of the cultural and social development of stereotypes and prejudice by examining these constructs in relation to acculturation and generational status among Latino American students in the U.S.

The relationship between stereotypes and prejudice is an important aspect of this study because of the strong theoretical connection between these two constructs. It has been argued that negative stereotypes are a cognitive component that facilitates prejudice. Yet, the majority of the literature has examined the individuals' knowledge of the stereotypes and rarely their personal beliefs or endorsement of the stereotypes. In addition, this study investigated the possible connection between positive stereotype endorsement and prejudice which has not been traditionally examined in this field of research. As expected both models including positive and negative stereotype toward African Americans influenced prejudice.

The current findings suggest that personal endorsement of negative stereotypes is consistent with prejudice. Both Anglo and Latino students who endorsed more negative stereotypes were more prejudiced towards African Americans. These findings are similar to results found by Devine (1989, 1995) and are consistent with others that have suggested that a strong relationship exists between stereotypes and prejudice (Butler & Gies, 1990; Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Harding, Kutner, Proshansky, & Chein, 1969; Katz & Stotland,

1959; Pfeifer & Ogloff, 1991; Secord & Backman, 1964; Tiddle, Salvador, & Gemst, 1995; Vinacke, 1949). There is no shortage of possible negative consequences to these findings. One of these consequences may include discrimination.

Discrimination is a negative behavior that is usually derived from stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes (Donvidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaetner, 1996). It is strongly linked to preferential or differential treatment of individuals based on group membership. Examples of discrimination can be seen throughout U.S. history. It was not so long ago, in 1942, when most Americans agreed that “Negroes” should have separate seating sections on streetcars and buses (Hyman & Sheatsley, 1956). In 1942, only 1 in 50 Anglo Americans in the south supported school integration. The history of prejudice in the United States, is evident among the 8,433 people involved in reported hate crime incidents during 1955 (FBI, 1977). Such people help to explain why half of African Americans surveyed perceived themselves as having faced discrimination within the previous thirty days (Gallup, 1997). In essence, prejudice divides groups of people and leaves them with feelings of exclusion (Hurtado, Dey, & Trevino, 1994).

Findings also indicated that participants who endorsed more positive stereotypes held fewer prejudicial views of African Americans. This finding may have important implications for the fight against prejudice and discrimination in the U.S. For instance interventions could benefit from incorporating the social learning of positive stereotypes. Theoretically it may be advantageous to further study the development and perpetuation of positive stereotypes in society.

Secondly, the majority of research on stereotypes focuses on negative ethnic stereotypes from the vantage point of Anglo Americans toward various ethnic groups.

This research sheds light on the relationships among stereotypes and prejudice ascribed to African Americans by both Anglo and Latino Americans. Findings were consistent across both ethnic groups. However, contrary to our theoretical assertions, Latinos appeared to be slightly more prejudiced and more strongly endorsed negative stereotypes toward African Americans than Anglo Americans.

A possible explanation for these findings is that Latinos may have been socialized to have a more negative view of African Americans or peoples of darker skin tone than mainstream Anglo Americans. In many cultures the darker skinned individuals within that cultural group have been victimized with various prejudices. This trend appears to be evident in the social structures of many different cultures. There may also be historical relevance for this line of socialization as darker skinned cultures have historically been used as slaves in various countries. Similar findings are also consistent with research by Vega (2003), who found that Latino American college students endorsed more negative stereotypes and higher levels of prejudice toward African Americans than Anglo American students. Furthermore, Anglo and Latino students who endorsed more positive stereotypes held fewer prejudices.

Another explanation may be that prejudices are culturally and socially learned through the impact of American media within the individuals' primary country of origin. This is supported by research that has identified negative stereotypes toward African Americans in countries such as Lebanon, Great Britain, Pakistan and other countries (Prothro & Melikian, 1955). In essence, the socialization processes towards various minority groups, that exist in the United States may also in other countries. For this

reason it was important to gain a better understanding of the effects of acculturation on the views of Latinos toward a minority culture.

Acculturation refers to the assimilation or learned norms of the mainstream/dominant culture (Montgomery, Arnold, & Orozco, 1990). Therefore it is fair to assume that as a social group becomes acculturated to a dominant society, individuals may assimilate the prejudices and stereotypes of that society. A large amount of research deals with issues surrounding acculturation to the majority culture, yet it does not address the effects of acculturation and social interaction on other minority cultures (Lui, Pope, Nevitt, & Toporek, 1999). The current findings did not support the hypothesis that acculturation may include the adoption of prejudicial views from the dominant society within the U.S. More acculturated Latino Americans held less prejudicial views of African Americans. This finding suggests that as immigrant groups become more immersed in dominant society they may be relinquishing previous prejudicial views of African Americans. Acculturation appears to directly influence prejudicial views of African Americans in a positive manner. The lessening of these stereotypes and prejudices may also be a function of positive interaction between these groups. This is consistent with Gordon Allport's (1954), contact theory and other research that has asserted that interaction among groups can reduce prejudice (Sherif, 1961; Stouffer, et.al., 1949). These findings may be very important in the further understanding of group relations. Future research should be conducted to gain a better understanding of specific prejudicial views that may have been attained previously to entering the United States versus those that may be attained as a function of acculturation towards the mainstream culture within the United States.

The assertion has been made that stereotypes are developed and maintained through social and cultural norms (Allport, 1956; Boster, 1991; Duveen & Loyd, 1990; Eagly, 1987; Farr & Moscovici, 1984; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990; Pettigrew, 1958, 1959; Sherif, 1936; Stouffer, Schman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams, 1949; Tajfel, 1981). It has also been suggested that as Mexican Americans become more acculturated, they adopt the stereotypes of the mainstream culture (Clark et al., 1976; Buriel & Vasquez, 1982). The current findings suggest a definite relationship between the endorsement of both negative and positive stereotypes toward African Americans and Ethnic Society Immersion and Dominant Society Immersion. However, contrary to our expectations acculturation appeared to decrease endorsement of negative stereotypes yet, increase the endorsement of positive stereotypes. It may be suggested that if these results are stable and can be confirmed, one could speculate that as individuals become more acculturated to mainstream society they do not necessarily endorse more negative stereotypes of African Americans. Considering that positive stereotypes are related to less prejudice this finding could have positive implications for intergroup relations among African and Latino Americans as the latter become more acculturated. These data support the proposition that some stereotypes may become adopted as a function of acculturation while other stereotypes may be lost.

The literature suggests that acculturation is a “linear function” of the amount of time a person is exposed to the host culture (Suzuki, Vraniak, & Kugler, 1996; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). In addition, an increase in generational status may affect whether one holds more positive or more negative stereotypes toward a group (Buriel & Vasquez, 1982). It has been suggested that future generations may adopt more of the



values of the mainstream society. Therefore it was expected that future generations would show higher levels of the adoption of stereotypes than previous generations.

Findings indicate that generational status influences negative stereotypes. However, contrary to expectations, future generations demonstrated lower levels of negative stereotype endorsement. The magnitude of the pathway between generations status and positive stereotypes was however, weaker. Future generations did not appear to be gaining more positive stereotypes. Overall, there appears to be a decrease in stereotypes with future generations. It could be speculated that positive interactions between the ethnic groups may lead to casting away of old stereotypical beliefs within the general population. Furthermore, group means indicated that first-generation Latinos endorsed more negative stereotypes than second and third generations. It is possible that earlier generations may have been influenced by the stereotypes and prejudices learned while in their country of origin. Future generations may have rebelled from the stereotypes and prejudices of their predecessors and formed views based on current interactions with African Americans, therefore, reducing their endorsement of negative stereotypes. This is a direct contradiction to research that suggests a trend toward more negative stereotypes with each consecutive generation, to resemble that of mainstream (Anglo) culture (Knight et. al., 1978; Buriel & Vasquez, 1982).

Finally, generational status was a slightly stronger predictor of negative stereotype endorsement, yet a weaker predictor of positive stereotype endorsement than acculturation. Furthermore, generation status was not strongly related to DSI. This finding is contrary to the assertion that acculturation is a “linear function” of the amount of time a person is exposed to the host culture (Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1980) and that

generation may be the most important variable in predicting degree of acculturation (Clark et al., 1976; Buriel & Vasquez, 1982). This finding supports others who have suggested that it would be inaccurate to assume that generational status may directly influence acculturation (Garza & Gallegos, 1995). This research suggest that what matters is what happens during the time in the U. S., and not necessarily the time or generation itself.

### *Additional Findings*

In an effort to gain a better understanding of the role of ethnicity on stereotypes and prejudice among Anglo and Latino participants, two models were tested to compare both negative and positive endorsement of stereotypes with prejudice. The models for each ethnic group showed that the endorsement of negative stereotypes was a highly significant indicator of higher levels of prejudice. Although the endorsement of positive stereotypes was not significant, the relationship was negative once again among both Anglos and Latinos.

### *Limitations, Intervention, and Implications for Future Research*

Overall the findings appear to support previous research on stereotype endorsement in relation to prejudice (Katz & Braly, 1933; Devine, 1989; Dovidio & Gaertner 1986). However, whereas much of the literature examined the endorsement of stereotypes and prejudice toward African Americans by only Anglo Americans the present research goes a step further by investigating the stereotypes and prejudices of Latino American students, based on their level of acculturation and generation in the U.S.

Similar to the study done by Devine (1995) there were several participants who did not respond to the stereotype and prejudice measures. Both the modern racism scale and the adjective list may consist of questions that are too blatant in their nature. It appears that future research in this area could be improved by using a more implicit measure of stereotypes and fewer adjectives particularly when examining younger populations. There were indications that the number of adjectives may have been overwhelming for these students. In addition several students mentioned that they did not understand the meaning of some of the adjectives used. This problem may have been further exasperated for the primarily Spanish speaking students. Therefore, future studies should use a Spanish version of the instrument and ensure the reading level is appropriate for the sample population.

Much of missing data appeared to be among the 1<sup>st</sup> generation Latino students. This may have been due to language differences, as many of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation students that participated were from English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. For Anglo students, the majority of the missing data was found within the 3<sup>rd</sup> or more generations. It is unclear as to why these students chose to not respond to this measure. It is speculated that the measure may have been too blatant for this group, as there were comments written by the students as "I refuse to stereotype anyone."

Although the data appear to indicate a relationship among endorsement of stereotypes, prejudice, and acculturation, it may be more complex than previously thought. Psychological literature has many examples of measures for acculturation that include variables such as behavior, values, social relationships, language use, food preferences, cultural awareness, and ethnic loyalty (Stephenson, 2000; Szapocznik &

Kurtines, 1980). Others have measured acculturation on a bicultural scale with several dimensions of adopting versus shifting or incorporations of mainstream culture that separate distinct acculturation types (Magana et al., 1996). Stephenson's (2000) was a relatively new measure of acculturation and it may be fraught with some limitations. First of all the given population resided in the state of California, where there appears to be a major entwining of cultural values from biracial and various ethnic groups. Some of the questions may have been problematic. For example, in the case of the item "I know how to speak my native language", some Latino students viewed both English and Spanish as their native language, particularly if they were bicultural. Also the question, "I eat traditional foods" may be confusing for some participants as eating foods of Latino origin is traditional for many Californians. Although this measure is valid and reliable it still may not be getting to the complete question of acculturation.

In conclusion, although the endorsement of stereotypes exist and can influence prejudice in both immigrant and mainstream cultures, this research appears to support the assertion that Latinos may have stereotypes and prejudices toward African Americans before they enter the United States, (Vega, 2003). Furthermore, it is hopeful that this study sheds light on the relationship between acculturation and the adoption of mainstream values on the part of Latino American high school students.

Finally, while Latinos may be adopting the values of mainstream culture they may also be adopting the values of other ethnic groups. Future research should be concerned with separating out the effects of immersion into diverse social norms from acculturation into a mainstream value system.

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Appendix A  
Demographic Data Sheet

1. Age \_\_\_\_\_
2. In what country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
3. How long have you lived in the United States? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What country were your parents born in? (mother) \_\_\_\_\_ (father) \_\_\_\_\_
5. Generation in the United States? \_\_\_\_ 1<sup>st</sup> \_\_\_\_ 2<sup>nd</sup> \_\_\_\_ 3<sup>rd</sup> \_\_\_\_ 4<sup>th</sup> or more
6. Are you a refugee? \_\_\_\_ yes \_\_\_\_ no
7. My ethnic or racial origin is:  
African American \_\_\_\_ Native American \_\_\_\_ Anglo American \_\_\_\_  
Hispanic/Latino American  
Mexican \_\_\_\_ Puerto Rican \_\_\_\_ Cuban \_\_\_\_ Other Hispanic (describe) \_\_\_\_  
Asian American  
Japanese \_\_\_\_ Korean \_\_\_\_ Chinese \_\_\_\_ Cambodian \_\_\_\_ Indian \_\_\_\_  
Filipino \_\_\_\_ Other (describe) \_\_\_\_
8. Gender: \_\_\_\_ Male \_\_\_\_ Female
9. My native language is \_\_\_\_\_
10. Is English your second language, how many years have you spoken English? \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix B  
Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (SMAS)  
(Stephenson, 2000).

*Instructions:* Below are a number of statements that evaluate changes that occur when people interact with others of different cultures or ethnic groups. For questions that refer to "NATIVE COUNTRY" or "COUNTRY OF ORIGIN", please refer to the country from which your family originally came. For questions referring to "NATIVE LANGUAGE", please refer to the language spoken where your family originally came.

**Please circle the answer that best matches your response to each statement.**

1. I know how to speak my native language.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE.

2. I like to speak my native language.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE.

3. I speak my native language with my friends and acquaintances from my county of origin.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE.

4. I know how to read and write in my native language.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE.

5. I feel comfortable speaking my native language.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE.

6. I speak my native language at home.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE.

7. I like to listen to music of my ethnic group.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE.

8. When I pray, I use my native language.

FALSE    PARTLY FALSE    PARTLY TRUE    TRUE

9. I have never learned to speak the language of my native country.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

10. I am informed about current affairs in my native country.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

11. I attend social functions with people of my native language.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

12. I stay in close contact with family members and relatives in my native country.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

13. I am familiar with the history of my native country.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

14. I think in my native language.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

15. I regularly read magazines of my ethnic group.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

16. I eat traditional foods from my native culture.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

17. I attend social functions with (Anglo) American people.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

18. I have many (Anglo) American friends.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

19. I speak English at home.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

20. I know how to prepare (Anglo) American foods.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

21. I am familiar with important people in American history.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

22. I think in English.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

23. I feel totally comfortable with (Anglo) American people.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

24. I understand English, but I am not fluent in English.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

25. I am informed about the current affairs in the United States.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

26. I like to eat American foods.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

27. I feel comfortable speaking English.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

28. I feel accepted by (Anglo) Americans.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

29. I feel at home in the United States.

FALSE      PARTLY FALSE      PARTLY TRUE      TRUE.

## Appendix C

### Personal Beliefs Assessment

(Katz & Braly, 1933; Devine & Elliot, 1995).

*Instructions:* Below is a list of adjectives that may describe ethnic groups in the United States. Please read through the list carefully and identify those adjectives that make up cultural stereotypes of African, Latino and Asian Americans. Note that these characteristics may or may not reflect your personal beliefs about each ethnic group. So, select those that you know to be part of the cultural stereotype whether or not you believe them to be true. Please list them in the blanks on the next few pages. If you don't find all the necessary adjectives in the list (i.e. the list is incomplete), you may add any other information that you think is necessary to represent the cultural stereotypes. Use as many or as few blanks as you need. After you have selected these adjectives than indicate the extent to which you personally believe these adjectives describe the indicated ethnic.

Superstitious	Neat	Boastful	Jovial
Low in Intelligence	Faithful	Naïve	Poor
Sexually Perverse	Criminal	Practical	Efficient
Suave	Lazy	Conservative	Cowardly
Happy-go-lucky	Rude	Arrogant	Mercenary
Physically Dirty	Musical	Sensitive	Sensual
Ignorant	Artistic	Argumentative	Athletic
Intelligent	Tradition -loving	Frivolous	Ponderous
Sportsmanlike	Violent	Ostentatious (showy)	
Industrious	Meditative	Rhythmic	
Neat	Very Religious	Quick-tempered	
Loud	Reserved	Straight-forward	
Witty	Uneducated	Quarrelsome	
Sophisticated	Individualistic	Ambitious	
Slovenly (messy/untidy)	Brilliant	Progressive	
Alert	Educated	Hostile	
Shrewd	Friendly	Loyal to family ties	
Sly	Unfriendly	Hostile	
Imaginative	Hardworking	Impulsive	
Stupid	Cooperative	Materialistic	
Honest	Dependent	Radical	
Deceitful	Independent	Evasive	
Unreliable	Humorless	Frivolous	
Stolid	Grasping	Gregarious	
Extremely nationalistic	Methodical	Suggestible	
Treacherous	Cowardly	Persistent	
Cruel	Kind	Imitative	
Generous	Aggressive	Pleasure-loving	
Conceited	Ambitious	Disloyal (treacherous)	
Talkative	Courteous	Scientifically Minded	

Suspicious  
Stubborn

Quiet  
Passionate

Pugnacious (eager to fight)  
Revengeful

*Instructions:* Please refer to the adjectives on the previous page to select those adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype for **AFRICAN AMERICANS**. Please list these in the blanks provided.

**\*Note: Use as many or as few blanks as you need.**

Please **circle** the degree of your belief in the adjective you have selected according to the following scale: 1 = "Low Belief" to 5 = "Strong Belief"

1. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
2. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
3. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
4. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
5. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
6. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
7. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
8. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
9. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
10. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
11. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
12. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
13. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
14. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
15. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
16. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
17. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)

*Instructions:* Please refer to the adjectives on the previous page to identify those adjectives that *you personally believe* characterize **ASIAN AMERICAN**. Please list these in the blanks provided.

**\*Note: Use as many or as few blanks as you need.**

Please **circle** the degree of your belief in the adjective you have selected according to the following scale: 1 = "Low Belief" to 5 = "Strong Belief"

1. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
2. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
3. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
4. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
5. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
6. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
7. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
8. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
9. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
10. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
11. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
12. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
13. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
14. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
15. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
16. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
17. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)



*Instructions:* Please refer to the adjectives on the previous page to identify those adjectives that *you personally believe* characterize **LATINO AMERICANS**. Please list these in the blanks provided.

**\*Note: Use as many or as few blanks as you need.**

Please **circle** the degree of your belief in the adjective you have selected according to the following scale: 1 = "Low Belief" to 5 = "Strong Belief"

1. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
2. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
3. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
4. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
5. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
6. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
7. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
8. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
9. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
10. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
11. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
12. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
13. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
14. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
15. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
16. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)
17. \_\_\_\_\_ (Low Belief) 1----- 2 -----3 -----4 ----- 5 (Strong Belief)

## Modern Racism Scale

On the pages that follow are a number of opinion statements about your beliefs of the world in general. You will agree with some and disagree with others. Please rate the strength of your opinion by circling 1,2,3,4, or 5. Number 1 = “disagree strongly” up to 5 = “agree strongly”.

1. Teachers should be held accountable for student achievement.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
2. Americans have the responsibility to vote for political issues.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
3. Mexican immigrants should be legal residents before they are allowed to work.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
4. One must engage in relaxation time to be physically and mentally healthy.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
5. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to African Americans than they deserve.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
6. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Asian Americans than they deserve.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
7. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Latino Americans than they deserve.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
8. Women and men should earn equal salaries if they have the same job description.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
9. It is easy to understand the anger of people in minority groups in America  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
10. Condoms should be distributed in public high schools  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)
11. Discrimination against any Americans is no longer a problem in the United States.  
(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

12. University students have the right to engage in peaceful demonstrations (e. g. picketing).

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

13. Local governments do not have the responsibilities to teach Hispanics their native language.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

14. Over the past few years, African Americans have gotten more economically than they deserve.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

15. Restricting smoking in certain places was a good idea.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

16. African Americans have more influence on school desegregation plans than they ought to have.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

17. If an adult is arrested for drunk driving, the individual should receive a mandatory jail sentence.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

18. Minority groups are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

19. Eating a fast food meal tastes better than eating a home cooked meal.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

20. Asian business owners should speak English well enough to be understood by their customers.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

21. African Americans should not push themselves were they are not wanted.

(Disagree Strongly) 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 (Agree Strongly)

Appendix E  
Consent forms  
ASSENT FORM

Dear Student,

You are invited to participate in a survey on views and opinions concerning cultural or ethnic relationships. As 11<sup>th</sup> and 12 grade students you have been chosen because of their developmental ability/maturity to answer the questions contained in this survey. The purpose of this study is to gain information about how students see people of different ethnic backgrounds. Participation is expected to take approximately 30 minutes. You will be asked to complete a questionnaire. Of course, there are NO right or wrong answers. By participating in this study you will not be exposed to any particular risks.

Your participation is voluntary and if at any time you wish to stop, you may do so without penalty. Your responses will remain ANONYMOUS, so please do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire. Your answers will be used as part of a set of data from a large number of respondents to the questionnaire.

If after you participate in this study you have any further questions regarding the study you may contact.

Amite Milner, M.A., Graduate Student Researcher or  
Dr. Hector Betancourt, Research Supervisor,  
Loma Linda University. Loma Linda, CA. 92354  
Phone (909) 558-8577

If you have any further questions regarding the survey or other concerns, you may contact the following third party, not associated with this study, for information and assistance:

Office of Patient Relations  
Loma Linda University Medical Center  
Loma Linda, CA. 92354  
Phone (909) 558-4647

If you agree to participate, please check on the space below. By checking below, I acknowledge that I have read and understood the above information and freely consent to participate in this study.

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## Parental Consent Form

Dear Parent,

Your student will be invited to participate in a survey on cultural or ethnic relationships unless you instruct us not to do so. Your students have been chosen because of their developmental ability/maturity to answer the questions contained in this survey. The purpose of this study is to gain information about how students see people from different ethnic backgrounds. The survey contains questions related to beliefs and attitudes about different ethnic groups. Participation is expected to take approximately 30 minutes and only requires that they complete a questionnaire. The students will answer the survey in their own during class time at their school. Of course, there are NO right or wrong answers. By participating in this survey they will not be exposed to any particular risks.

Participation in this study is voluntary and if at any time a student wishes to stop, he/she may do so without penalty. Responses will remain ANONYMOUS, and students will be asked not to write their name anywhere on the survey. Answers will only be used as part of a set of data from a large number of respondents to the survey. Students who participate in the survey may enter in a drawing for a \$50 gift certificate. If you have any further questions or comments regarding the study you may contact. Amite Milner, M.A. Graduate Student Researcher or Dr. Hector Betancourt, Professor of Psychology, Research Supervisor Loma Linda University. Loma Linda, CA. 92354 (909) 558-8577.

If you wish to contact an impartial third party not associated with this study regarding any complaint or question you may have about this study, you may contact the following for information and assistance

Office of Patient Relations  
Loma Linda University Medical Center, Loma Linda, CA 92354  
Phone (909) 558-4647

Please keep one of these forms for your records. Sign the other form and return it with your student to give to their instructor at school.

**By signing below, I acknowledge that I have read and understood the above information and I DO consent to my child's participation in this study.**

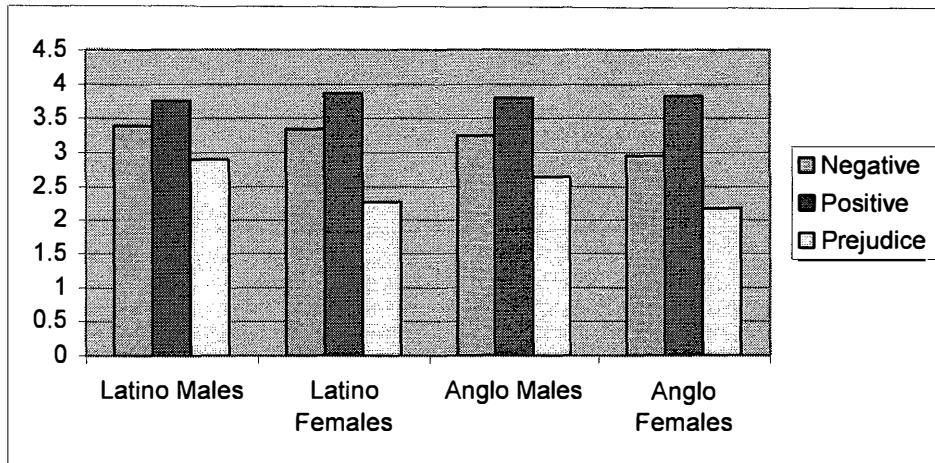
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By signing below, I acknowledge that I have read and understood the above information and DO NOT consent to my child's participation in this study.

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## Appendix F Histograms for Measured Variables

Latino and Anglo gender by endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes, and prejudice.



Latino generation status by negative and positive stereotypes, and prejudice

