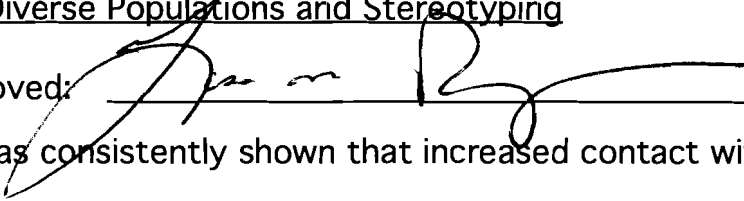


AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Sharon Mockenhaupt for the Master of Science
in Psychology presented on April 8, 1996

Title: An Examination of the Relationship between the Level of
Contact with Diverse Populations and Stereotyping

Abstract approved: 

Research has consistently shown that increased contact with members of a diverse group tends to reduce stereotyping. However, stereotypes formed towards members of racial and ethnic groups have not been studied in adolescents or in terms of gender or racial differences. The current study investigated the relationship between the level of contact with diverse groups of individuals and how these factors affected stereotypes among adolescents, different races/ethnicity, and different genders.

Four hundred fifty-one adolescents were given a demographic questionnaire, a level of contact questionnaire, a social distance scale, and an attitudinal measure (Taking America's Pulse Inventory). A simple factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed significant results based on the participants' level of contact and stereotypical attitudes, as measured by the Taking America's Pulse Inventory, ($F(1,392) = 16.66, p = .000$). A simple factorial ANOVA indicated significant results for level of contact and comfort level, measured by the Social Distance Scale, ($F(1,441) = 30.64, p = .000$). However, results indicate no significant results between the level of contact with diverse groups and race/ethnicity. Results also

indicate no significance for level of contact based on the gender of the participant.

The current study supports previous research; greater exposure leads to less negative stereotyping. This study examined stereotyping at the developmental stage of adolescence and found similar results. There were several limitations to the current study. First, this study lacks generalizability because the sample is not representative of the population due to the fact that the participants came from an urban environment. Second, it is unclear if exposure to one group, which produces less negative stereotypes, generalizes to other groups. These possibilities could be of great interest to future researchers and warrant further investigation.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LEVEL OF
CONTACT WITH DIVERSE POPULATIONS AND STEREOTYPING

A Thesis

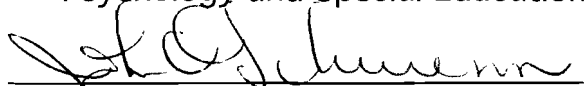
Presented to
the Division of Psychology and Special Education
EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Sharon Mockenhaupt
May 1996

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kenneth Alkave", written over a horizontal line.

Approved for the Division of
Psychology and Special Education

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John C. Schumann", written over a horizontal line.

Approved for the Graduate Council

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I must express my deepest gratitude to my three best friends; Charlene A. Johannsen, William J. Mockenhaupt, and Pamela A. Mockenhaupt. My family has continually supported, encouraged, understood, and loved. They will never know how grateful I am for these remarkable relationships. I could not have become what I am today without the open, hardworking, intelligent role models and friendships that my parents have provided. Thank you.

Dr. Stephen Davis has also been instrumental in my graduate education. I am thankful for his persistent guidance in teaching, academics, and research. He has been an outstanding mentor.

I would like to extend my appreciation to my thesis committee, Dr. Lisa Reboy, Dr. David Dungan, and Dr. Mikel Johnson for all their support, assistance, and guidance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
<u>CHAPTER</u>	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 METHOD	24
Participants	24
Instrumentation	27
Procedure	30
3 RESULTS	34
Hypotheses	32
4 DISCUSSION	40
REFERENCES	44
APPENDICES	50
Appendix A:	50
Appendix B:	52
Appendix C:	54
Appendix D:	56
Appendix E:	58
Appendix F:	62

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: Ethnic/Racial Composition of Participants	25
TABLE 2: Religious Composition of Participants	26
TABLE 3: Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for Level of Contact by Ethnic/Racial Group	35
TABLE 4: Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for Level of Contact by Gender	36
TABLE 5: Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for the Social Distance Scale by Level of Contact	38
TABLE 6: Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for Stereotypical Attitudes (TAP) by Level of Contact	39

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Situational Items from the Social Distance Scale 29

FIGURE 2: Example of Taking America's Pulse Inventory (TAP)

Attitudinal Items 32

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"E Pluribus Unum has never had more meaning than it has today . . . Because we are a diverse community, we must exercise more tolerance than ever before. Tolerance for each other's differences is the only way we can survive." - Whoopi Goldberg

It is a common observation that groups and individuals differ in their behavior. Differences in dress, food, language, or customs of social behavior across cultures and among individuals are readily apparent. Due to such differences, individuals make inferences about others from what they say and what they do. These inferences are often wrong, however, in part because of the perceived image we have of people, their words and behavior.

The survey, "Taking America's Pulse," (1994) asked people to respond to common racial, ethnic and religious stereotypes. The results of the survey were alarming. For example, Blacks "even if given a chance, aren't capable of getting ahead." Thirty-three percent of Latinos, 22% of Asians, and 12% of Whites agreed with that statement. Latinos "tend to have bigger families than they are able to support." Sixty-eight percent of Asians agreed, as did 44% of Blacks and 51% of White persons. When referring to the statements "When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money," 54% of Black persons, 43% of Latinos, 35% of Asians and 27% of non-Jewish Whites agreed.

Americans pride themselves on their beliefs of freedom and opportunity. Although America is commonly considered a "melting

pot," full of individuals with diverse cultures and backgrounds, people experience the impact of stereotyping and discrimination on a daily basis. Politically, stereotyping occurs regularly and infringes upon the rights of individuals. Socially, people refuse to get to know each other because of fears associated with differences. What can be done to reduce the occurrence of stereotypical attitudes and prejudicial actions? How do we address the negative and damaging stereotypes which make our societies less open-minded, fair, and accepting?

If people had an opportunity to engage in contact with others different from themselves, perhaps stereotyping would decline. Evidence suggests that individuals who have greater exposure or contact to diverse populations hold fewer stereotypical beliefs (Amir, 1969). The contact theory (Ben-Air & Amir, 1988) assumes stereotypes develop from the absence of sufficient information and/or the existence of misinformation. Contact provides the opportunity to gain accurate information and to adjust perceptions accordingly. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the level of contact with diverse members of a group and stereotypes individuals hold. How does contact with diverse groups affect stereotypical beliefs? Moreover, does contact have the same impact for people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds in the United States? Before addressing these questions, the nature of stereotypes, how stereotypes develop, and the research on the contact theory must be examined.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Stereotypes

What are stereotypes; how and when do they develop? Social cognitive research has shown that people use schemas to encode incoming information. One type of schema is a stereotype (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). People are exposed to numerous bits of information and to a wide variety of behavioral information, including what people say, how people dress, and how confident people act. However, people do not commit all of this information to memory (Kimble, 1990). On what basis do people decide which information to process or store and which information to discard?

People use schemas to encode incoming information. A schema is a knowledge structure in memory that organizes all of our knowledge about a particular domain (e.g., soccer, comedians, fashion styles) (Kimble, 1990). People have particular schemas stored in their memory and information containing all of the commonalities of an object, situation, or person are retained in a schema. Some schemas are unique to individuals, whereas others are shared. A stereotype, one type of a shared schema, tells us what traits, features, and behaviors are typical for a given group of people (e.g., all straight A students are geeks, wear glasses, and always study) (Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Schadron, 1994; McGuire, 1985). Knowing what characteristics are typical of a specific group enables us to make inferences about what traits, features, and behaviors are likely to be exhibited by any specific member of that stereotyped group. Hence, stereotypes are used to create expectations about

other people. Stereotypes are potentially useful because they decrease the flow of incoming information and make our overwhelming social environments more manageable. However, they are also potentially dangerous as they are often based on a biased processing of information (Kimble, 1990).

Stereotypes are typically narrow opinions or attitudes concerning individuals of a particular group. Furthermore, like all schemas, stereotypes are not innate but formed through experience as humans develop within a particular social context. The information received becomes part of a belief system about others which includes the personality, behavior, and attributes demonstrated by others (Kimble, 1990).

Stereotyping allows people to evaluate the probability with which something could happen and provide information concerning other individuals. Therefore, a person uses information about upcoming events or people to understand what is typical for a group (McCauley & Stitt, 1978). This helps a person prepare accordingly for a novel or familiar situation. For example, if Jane Doe is invited to a party Friday night, she might not know what to expect. However, Jane can reflect back upon previous experiences and parties to anticipate the upcoming event. This will determine, based on previous experiences, if Jane will attend the party. Also, this will assist Jane in deciding what to bring, what to wear, and how to act. Perhaps Jane's stereotype of parties is that everyone dresses up, eats appetizers, listens to music, socializes, and stays late.

Developing Stereotypes

One question that commonly arises is how stereotypes are formed, especially regarding people with whom one has never had contact. There are numerous hypotheses and theories concerning the development of stereotypes. This paper will examine the literature concerning the contact theory and discuss aspects that promote or decrease effective contact.

Hamilton and his colleagues conducted a series of experiments on stereotype formation (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976; Hamilton & Rose, 1980; Trolie & Hamilton, 1986). Hamilton proposed that minority groups are distinctive because they are, by definition, atypical. Therefore, when a member of a minority group performs an atypical behavior, observers may overestimate the degree of association between the atypical group and the atypical behavior.

To test this hypothesis, Hamilton and Gifford (1976) presented 29 sentences to participants. For example, participants would read the sentence, "John, a member of Group A, visited a sick friend in the hospital." Most of the sentences pertained to Group A (making group A the majority group), and Group B was the minority group. The labels A and B were assigned to ensure that prior knowledge about the groups did not influence participants' judgments. Although half of the behaviors associated with Group A were undesirable (atypical) and half of the behaviors associated with Group B were desirable, participants overestimated the extent to which the minority group performed undesirable, atypical behaviors. In a second study, atypical desirable behaviors were presented, and

again, participants overestimated the degree of co-occurrence between the minority group and the atypical desirable behaviors (Kimble, 1990). This demonstrated that people specifically remember when a person from a minority group engages in something negative, therefore, associating and generalizing that event with the entire minority group. This is called a correlational judgment (Jennings, Amabile, & Ross, 1982; Rothbart, Evans, & Fulero, 1979; Troler & Hamilton, 1986).

Distinctiveness of either groups or behaviors is only one factor that affects correlational judgments. Another factor is the degree to which people expect two events to co-occur. Because stereotypes affect expectations, people anticipate that all members of a group will behave in stereotype-consistent ways (e.g., we expect all overweight people to be jolly). Moreover, because people tend to overestimate the degree to which their expectations are confirmed based on limited available evidence (Jennings, Amabile & Ross, 1982; Rothbart, Evans, & Fulero, 1979; Troler & Hamilton, 1986), they believe their stereotypes are true and accurately reflect the world around them. In this way, stereotypes are self-perpetuating (Kimble, 1990).

People tend to notice those things that confirm rather than contradict stereotypes. This was illustrated in a study by Cohen (1981) where participants observed a videotape of a stimulus target. One-half of the participants were told the target person was a librarian and one-half were told the target person was a waitress. Next, participants watched a videotape in which the target person

displayed stereotypical librarian features (e.g., she wore glasses, she dressed conservatively, she liked to read, etc.) and stereotypical waitress features (e.g., she drank beer, she wore short skirts). Although all participants watched the same videotape, participants who believed the target person was a librarian subsequently recalled more librarian features, and participants who thought the target person was a waitress recalled more waitress features. Thus, information that is consistent with our stereotypes is more memorable than information that is inconsistent or irrelevant (Cantor & Mischel, 1977; Cohen, 1981; Hamilton & Rose, 1980; Rothbart, Evans, & Fulero, 1979). This is one aspect that allows stereotypes to develop and persist over time, even with contradictory information (Kimble, 1990).

Our own behavior is another factor that contributes to the persistence of stereotypes. Specifically, people may interact with others in a way that elicits stereotype-consistent behavior from others (Caspi, Elder, & Bem, 1989). For example, after being introduced to a person who has a reputation for being "a real jerk," one may be very cautious and defensive as they talk to that individual. As a result, this individual may reciprocate with defensiveness or rudely end the conversation. The person's expectations about the stranger they just met have now been fulfilled and they are convinced he "really is a jerk." People fail to realize how their own expectations and subsequent behavior affected the behavior of the other person. If one individual would have behaved differently, perhaps this person also would have

behaved differently. This sequence of events describes the phenomenon of the self-fulfilling prophecy (Darley & Fazio, 1980; Jones, 1986).

In conclusion, stereotypes can be distortions of reality and are biased views towards others. Stereotypes are influenced by outside, environmental factors and often perpetuated by a person's own actions (Kimble, 1990). It is not the presence of stereotypes nor the development of stereotypes which is of concern. Rather, what is disturbing is the prejudicial and discriminatory actions that often accompany stereotypes. Stereotypes often lead to extremely inappropriate acts based upon misinformation.

Social Conflict and Stereotyping

Social conflict results from three factors: (a) ethnocentrism, (b) negative stereotypical attitudes, and (c) an unfair distribution of resources (Brown, 1986). Ethnocentrism, defined as thinking more highly of your own group than other groups (Brown, 1986; Sumner, 1906), occurs among every group. Though ethnocentrism and stereotyping do not necessarily result in an unfair distribution of power and resources, they are often used to maintain and justify such an arrangement. This is especially true when resources are scarce and groups must compete for those resources.

Social conflict is best illustrated by the classic research conducted by Sherif and his colleagues (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961). In three consecutive years, Sherif and his colleagues organized special summer camps for adolescent boys. For each camp, the adolescents progressed through four phases. The first

phase consisted of creating two independent groups. The groups were purposefully chosen with little cohesiveness, separating friends in different groups. Each group established norms, leaders, a group identity, and a high degree of cohesiveness within five days. The second phase consisted of the two groups in contact with each other playing competitive games. According to Sherif, the competitive games served the function of "realistic conflict" because the campers were competing for limited resources. The outcome was an all or none, win or lose situation. The resources, which could not be distributed between both groups, were prizes that were real and scarce. As expected, the competition resulted in a high number of conflicts between the groups. During games, groups would fight and name-call. The groups raided each other's camps and restructured the hierarchy of the group to increase their chances of winning. Distancing and dehumanizing tactics developed quickly. Adolescent boys who attempted to continue friendship across group boundaries were considered traitors. Conciliatory leaders were replaced with more aggressive, ethnocentric leaders. Communication between groups was prohibited, except for name calling. Campers who only two weeks ago had been friends, were seeking and talking about each other as "them."

During the third phase of the camp, Sherif and his colleagues stopped intentionally programming competitive activities and instead, tried to promote more friendly activities for the campers in hopes of reducing conflict. The adolescents, however, continued to participate only with their group and distanced themselves from any

member of the opposing group. When the researchers provided each group with positive information concerning the other group, the campers either ignored or refused to acknowledge this information. Individual games organized by Sherif and his colleagues were still interpreted as competitions between the groups. Movies and special dinners, which attempted to promote a non-competitive atmosphere, resulted in competition. Once ethnocentric and discrimination had been instilled in these adolescent boys, it appeared their thinking was irreversible. Similar results have been documented with other groups of adolescents (Blake & Mouton, 1962) and adults (Diab, 1970).

Increasing Contact and Reducing Negative Stereotyping

Methods to reduce stereotyping have been a major concern of social psychologists. One approach has been to promote contact between people to reduce stereotypes. The contact theory, according to Amir (1969), posits that increased opportunity for interracial and intergroup contact enables individuals to get to know each other better, and contact reduces racial/ethnic stereotyping and intergroup tension.

A great deal of research has evaluated the assumption that intergroup contact tends to produce better intergroup attitudes and relations (Amir, 1969). At present, there are conflicting views and evidence regarding the validity of the contact hypothesis. Some goodwill programs are founded on the belief that contact between people, merely interacting, is likely to change participant's beliefs and feelings toward each other. If individuals have the opportunity

to communicate with others and to appreciate their way of life, understanding and consequently a reduction of stereotyping would follow (Amir, 1969).

This view is exemplified in the objectives of various international exchange programs: student exchanges or those of professional people, organized tours and visits to foreign countries, and the sending of foreign students to visit or live with native families. These contacts allow a foreign individual the opportunity to see and evaluate life from a native person's perspective, and thus, is able to appreciate, understand, and perhaps even adopt that person's way of life. International seminars, international conferences and exhibitions, and the Olympic games are all thought to be effective because of the opportunities for contact which they offer.

On the other hand, some evidence indicates that intergroup contact does not necessarily reduce intergroup tension or stereotypes, and it may even increase tension and cause violent outbreaks or social riots. Historical documentation of anti-Semitism in Europe or the attitude toward Blacks in the southern United States are cases in point. In these instances, contact did not appear to have fostered friendly relations and mutual understanding (Amir, 1969).

The inconsistency in the effects of contact on attitude change observed in everyday life is also found in the results of more systematic social psychological research. There has been increasing research interest in the effects of contact between groups on

changes in intergroup attitudes (Brophy, 1945; Kelman, 1962; Mannheimer & Williams, 1949; Williams, 1948; Yarrow, Campbell, & Yarrow, 1958). Most of the studies, however, have dealt with contact between a White majority group and a minority group. In most cases, the minority group members were Black.

A review of the literature concerning the contact hypothesis have been produced. Both Allport (1954) and Saenger (1953) devoted a chapter in their respective books to contact in intergroup relations. Harding, Kutner, Proshansky, and Chein (1954) provided a less extensive discussion. Cook (1962) dealt with some of the theoretical aspects of the contact hypothesis. Amir (1969) explained that when Cook (1962) analyzed more than 30 studies, at least three reported no significant differences in attitude related to contact experience. Of the remaining studies, approximately one-half reported overall favorable changes. The other one-half reported a range of attitudinal changes and behaviors.

Although most studies have found positive effects from contact, many social psychologists have remarked that "contact" is an ambiguous term. Therefore, any discussion of the effects of contact on intergroup attitudes should consider (a) what kind of contact and (b) in what capacity the contact occurs (Sherif, 1953). Instead of asking: "Does intergroup contact reduce stereotypes," according to Cook (1962), researchers should ask "In what types of contact situations, with what kinds of representatives of the disliked group, will interaction and attitude change of specific types occur and how will this vary for participants of differing characteristics" (p. 76)?

Cook (1962) proceeded to establish relevant variables, namely, (a) the characteristics of the contact situation, (b) the characteristics of the individuals who are in contact, and (c) the attitudinal and behavioral results. Each of these components can be subdivided into several categories, which include seven concepts describing potentially significant variations to the contact situation itself. These concepts are (1) degree of proximity between races, (2) direction and strength of the norms of one's own group within the situation toward interracial association, (3) expectations regarding interracial association believed to be characterized authority figures in the situation, (4) relative status within the situation, (5) interdependence requirements (of the interacting individuals), (6) acquaintance potential and (7) implications for social acceptance (Amir, 1969).

In the following sections, the effect of contact on intergroup relations is discussed under several subheadings. Topics related to the contact situation are discussed first, under the following subtitles: the principle of equal status, contact with high-status representative of a minority group, cooperative and competitive goals, casual versus intimate contact and institutional support. Following this, a discussion on characteristics of the interacting individual, personality factors, direction and intensity of initial attitude will be presented. An introductory section on the opportunities for contact needs to be addressed initially because opportunities for contact may be regarded as prerequisite for intergroup contact.

Opportunities for Contact

Cook (1962) emphasized what he called the acquaintance potential, which refers to the opportunity offered by a situation for individuals to get to know and understand one another. One may encounter another person every day for months in a coffee shop with no more than minimal talk. Such contact undoubtedly provides little opportunity for attitude change. On the other hand, contacts of the same proximity and frequency in a different social setting, or with different individuals, may produce more psychologically meaningful communications and, thereby, promote attitudinal or behavioral changes. A number of studies support this notion. For example, one study revealed that in various housing projects it was possible for White participants who made contact with Blacks to positively adjust their initial stereotypes as a result of their contact (Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1952). However, White participants living in segregated projects have little opportunity for intergroup contact, and thus, no adjustments of attitude can be expected.

Jansen and Gallagher (1966) studied an integrated school where they asked students to make choices regarding seating, working, and playing companions. They found that ". . . it should not be automatically assumed that greater contact with students of another race would increase positive feelings toward that race" (p. 225). However, Jansen and Gallagher felt that without integration of schools, which allows for greater social contact, change could not be expected at all.

The Principle of Equal Status

Allport (1954) pointed out that for contact to serve as a factor in reducing stereotypes, it must be based on ". . . equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals" (Allport, 1954, p. 281). If such contact is also supported by social institutions (such as the law or community) its effect on attitude change should increase.

One of the most impressive studies in the area of equal status was reported by Mannheimer and Williams (1949). They collected data during World War II which indicated that White soldiers changed their attitudes toward Black soldiers markedly after the two ethnic groups had been together in combat. When asked how they would feel if their company had included Black as well as White platoons, 62% of the White soldiers who were in completely segregated units answered that they would dislike this very much, whereas only 7% of the White soldiers who had Black platoons in their company gave the same answer.

The effect of equal status contact between White and Black sailors was studied by Brophy (1945). He found a marked reduction in anti-Black stereotyping among White seamen who had sailed one or more times with Black sailors. Thirty-three percent of those who had never sailed with Blacks were rated as unstereotypical on an attitude scale. This percentage increased to 46% for those who had sailed once with Blacks, 62% for those who had sailed twice with Blacks, and 82% for those who had sailed five or more times.

Equal status contact also served as the basis of an experiment on intergroup contact in a summer camp. Yarrow, Campbell, and Yarrow (1958) found the importance of racial origin in the establishment of friendships between White and Black children decreased as a result of a two week stay in an interracial camp. Although the children, at the end of the camp, still preferred their White cabin mates as friends, there was a significant drop in negative attitudes towards Blacks. At the end of the camp, White and Black campers were almost equally desired as friends by the White group.

Similar results concerning equal status contact were also obtained in an international setting. Bjerstedt (1962) summarized two studies conducted with children in international summer camps. He concluded the most important observation with reference to social structure was that all differences between mean self-preference indices at the beginning and end of camp went in one direction -- toward lower segregation. To summarize, from the foregoing studies, it seems evident that in cases where no hindering conditions are present, equal status contact is likely to produce positive attitude changes.

Contact with High-Status Representatives of a Minority Group

Several studies have indicated that friendly contact between members of a majority group and high-status individuals of a minority group tends to reduce prejudice toward the whole minority group. The Army study (Mannheimer & Williams, 1949) previously mentioned, showed how contact between White soldiers and Blacks

who volunteered for combat units was highly effective in positively changing the attitude of the Whites toward the Blacks.

In a similar study, Irish (1952) asked residents of Boulder, Colorado how they felt about the Japanese American newcomers. He found that the combination of a highly selected group of newcomers, a favorable atmosphere in the community, and friendly personal contact produced positive changes in the attitudes of the residents of Boulder towards the newcomers.

Finally, Sherif and Sherif (1953) observed that contact is likely to produce favorable attitude changes between members of socially distant groups only when the contact involves their

"joint participation as members of an in-group whose norms favor such participation . . . In situations in which in-group members meet with members of an out-group held at considerable distance on a very limited scale . . . there is little likelihood of change in attitudes of in-group members" (pp. 221-222).

Cooperative and Competitive Factors

Contact situations may differ in the degree to which they involve cooperative and competitive factors, such as questions of common or conflicting goals, shared concerns and activities, mutual interdependence or competition in the achievement of objectives and needs. Both Williams (1947) and Allport (1954) regard cooperative and competitive factors in general, as important considerations in intergroup contact. Schild (1962) evaluated the effects of overseas study tours and concluded that the most effective way of inducing

lasting attitude changes is through participation involving joint interaction, mutual interests, common goals, and active give-and-take contact situations. Cooperative and competitive factors are significant and decisive in situations of intergroup contact: cooperative factors seem to further relations; competitive factors generally hinder them.

Casual versus Intimate Contact

Better acquaintance and a more intimate relationship between members of different ethnic groups reduces stereotyping (Amir, 1969). Several studies found that frequency of contact, sometimes through proximity in living quarters, is related to reduction in prejudice (Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Wilner et al., 1952).

Merton, West and Johoda (cited in Jahoda & West, 1951) studied an area-segregated housing project where Whites and Blacks lived in the same project, but had segregated buildings that were intermixed racially throughout the project. Merton et al. found that previous experience living in an unsegregated project leads to a more favorable attitude toward biracial housing. Results from this study indicate a positive relationship between length of one's residency and the number of their friends among the tenants of the other race. Moreover, the stronger the informal contact between the race the lesser the stereotyping between them.

Wilner et al. (1952) did not detect any overall differences in prejudice toward Blacks by White tenants of a segregated and an integrated housing project. They did, however, find a relationship between the relative proximity in living arrangements between a

White and a Black family and the amount of attitude change: the closer a White and Black family lived to one another, the more frequent the contact between them and the larger the favorable shift in attitude of the White residents toward the Blacks.

To summarize, proximity and frequency of contact may directly influence the amount of intergroup contact as well as indirectly influence the nature of the contact. The outcome of casual intergroup contact has little or no effect on a basic attitude change. Intimate contact, on the other hand, tends to produce favorable changes. When intimate relations are established, the ingroup member no longer perceives the member of the outgroup in a stereotypical way but begins to consider them an individual and, therefore discovers many areas of similarity (Amir, 1969).

Institutional Support

The effectiveness of interracial contact is greatly increased if the contact is sanctioned by institutional support. This support may come from the law, a custom, a spokesman for the community or any authority who is accepted by the interacting group. In many cases, institutional support simply comes from a social atmosphere or a general public agreement. A few other studies, according to Amir (1969) described situations where institutional support produced favorable attitude change (e.g. Brophy, 1945; James, 1955; Wilner et al, 1952; Yarrow et al., 1958).

In a study on segregated projects by Deutsch and Collins (1951), White people expressed the view that they would not mix with Blacks because, "It just isn't done" or "They'd think you're crazy." In

many cases, it was clear the White residents had no objection to mixing with the Blacks, but would not dare do so publicly. In the integrated project, on the other hand, the social atmosphere and the official policy of the housing authority was in favor of social integration, and the people resented unfriendly relations between the races. There was a marked reduction in stereotyped opinions among the residents of the integrated project.

Personality Factors

It is unrealistic that contact will be so effective as to change the attitudes of all members of interacting groups. Certain personalities will not be effected positively by interracial contact. According to Amir (1969) "Their inner insecurity will not permit them to benefit from the contact with a group against whom they are stereotypical because they will always need a scapegoat" (p. 335).

An informative study of the opportunity variable can be found in the summary of the Cornell studies of contact by Williams (1964). In these studies, among other things, the relationship between personality characteristics and intergroup contact was investigated. Williams concluded that those exposed primarily to opportunities for intergroup contact are the relatively sociable, relatively nonauthoritarian, and receptive individuals. It appears the more stereotypical a person is and the more vulnerable their personality make-up, the less likely they will have inter-ethnic contacts (Amir, 1969).

Direction and Intensity of Initial Stereotypes

The intensity of the contact can also have an effect on stereotypical change, which will be reviewed here briefly. Taylor (cited in Cook, 1963, p.46) studied a predominantly White neighborhood where Blacks came to live and reported that residents who were relatively favorable toward Blacks at the time the first Black family was about to move in became more favorable after the Blacks had been living there for a few weeks. However, those who were initially unfavorable became still more unfavorable.

Guttman and Foa (1951) demonstrated the importance of the intensity of an attitude. By investigating the attitudes of the Israel population toward government employees the respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they had contact with government officials. It was found that about one-half the sample expressed favorable attitudes, the other one-half expressed unfavorable ones. The same 50-50 distribution held true for each level of contact. After further analysis it was found that although there was no overall change in the direction of attitude, its intensity had increased with the amount of contact. The more contact with government officials, the more extreme, on average, the attitude was towards them.

Shift in attitude toward the extreme as a result of specific contact situations was also reported by Deutsch and Collins (1951). Most women in integrated housing projects showed positive attitudes toward the interracial aspects of their communities, many having come to like them more than they had prior to moving into the

community. However, in the segregated projects, most of the women liked the interracial aspects less than they did before they moved into the community. Similar results were also reported by Wilner et al. (1952).

In summary, previous research has found increasing evidence that contact between members of ethnic groups tends to produce changes in stereotypes among these groups. The amount of change in stereotypes depends largely on the conditions under which contact has taken place. "Favorable" conditions tend to reduce stereotypes; "unfavorable" ones may increase stereotypes and intergroup tension. Finally, if change is produced, it does not necessarily follow that change will be in terms of a positive direction. Change may be found in the intensity of the attitude. Thus far, stereotypes formed towards members of racial and ethnic groups have not been studied in adolescents or in terms of gender or racial/ethnic differences. The current study investigated the relationship between the independent variable of contact with diverse groups of individuals, and how these factors affected stereotypes among adolescents, different races/ethnic groups, and different genders.

Purpose of the current study.

There are two primary purposes of this study. The first is to simply assess the degree of contact adolescents have with others from different groups. The second is to examine the relationship between level of contact and individual's stereotypical attitudes.

Hypothesis

The first hypothesis is whether the level of contact with diverse groups will differ significantly among race/ethnicity. The second hypothesis will be that there will be a gender difference in terms of stereotypical attitudes. With respect to the relationship between contact and stereotypical attitudes, it was predicted that contact and attitudes will have a significant relationship. The third hypothesis will be that adolescents with increased contact will hold fewer stereotypes as measured by the TAP Inventory. The fourth hypothesis was whether adolescents with more contact will express greater comfort with members of other groups as measured by the SDS.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

The participants were enrolled in a camp called ANYTOWN which is a week long program for adolescents addressing and confronting issues of oppression, prejudice, and multiculturalism. Sponsored by The National Conference (TNC), the program reflects TNC's objectives to produce an atmosphere that enables people to participate in a pluralistic society. The data was collected at the beginning of the ANYTOWN camp, prior to any significant activities. The only significance of the ANYTOWN camp is that it is the setting in which the data were collected. Four hundred fifty-one adolescents from 10 ANYTOWN camps participated in this study. The average age was 15.9 years old (range of 13 to 19 years of age). Thirty-seven percent (n=170) of the participants were male, whereas 63% (n=281) were female. Ethnic/racial and religious composition are described in Tables 1 and 2.

The regional camps included in the study were: Birmingham (AL), Charlotte (NC), Des Moines (IA), Detroit (MI), Greensboro (NC), Jacksonville (FL), Kansas City (MO), Nashville (TN), St. Louis (MO), and Tulsa (OK). All adolescents volunteered to participate in this study.

Instrumentation

The instrumentation consisted of an informed consent document (Appendix A) and a demographic questionnaire (Appendix B). The

Table 1
Ethnic/Racial Composition of Participants

Group	Number	Percent
African American	136	30.5
Native American	6	1.3
Southeast Asian/Indian	11	2.5
Multi-Racial	47	10.5
Hispanic/ Latino	23	5.2
Asian/Pacific Islander	32	7.2
Caucasian	177	39.7
Middle Eastern	6	1.3

Table 2

Religious Composition of Participants

Religion	Number	Percent
Protestant Christian	224	51.0
Catholic Christian	96	21.9
Jewish	20	4.6
Muslim	16	3.6
Sihk	3	0.7
B'hai	2	0.5
Latter Day Saints	4	0.9
Atheist	13	3.0
Agnostic	20	4.6
Other	30	6.8
None	4	0.9

measures contained in the instrumentation include: Level of Contact (Appendix C), Social Distance Scale (SDS) (Appendix D), and Taking America's Pulse (TAP) attitudinal items (Appendix E). Appendix F is the complete survey.

The demographic questionnaire requested personal information from the participants. The questionnaire inquired about information regarding age, gender, living environment, race/ethnicity, religion, educational aspirations, and life goals.

The level of contact scale was constructed using the SDS as a model. The level of contact scale measures the contact the participant has engaged in, whereas the SDS measures what the participant would engage in with members of a diverse group. These instruments are similarly scored (refer to scoring of SDS).

The SDS is an adapted version of Borgardus' Social Distance Scale (Borgardus, 1925). The scale measures the construct of social distance and the degree to which individuals are comfortable with members of groups other than their own. Social distance refers to the degree of understanding and feeling people experience regarding one another. It explains the nature and type of a person's interaction with various ethnic members (Bogardus). The SDS, and modified versions of it, has an extensive history for monitoring social attitudes towards groups in the United States. Specifically, the SDS is a measure of prejudice as opposed to stereotypes because it attempts to assess the actions or discriminatory practices of individuals based on group membership.

The SDS measures how accepting a person is under various levels of contact with other groups; ranging from close contact to another group (e.g. roommate) to more distant relationships (e.g. excluded from the country). Thirteen groups were targeted on both the level of contact scale and the SDS. The represented target groups were: African American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, Native American, Middle Eastern, Caucasian, Multiracial, Jewish, Muslim, Christian, Heterosexual, Gay and Lesbian, the disabled. For each target group, respondents indicated whether they would be comfortable with individuals from each group in hypothetical situations. Figure 1 lists the situations from the SDS.

Scoring occurs along a continuum of seven variables differing in social contact. If the rater is comfortable with another group in close social contacts, the rater would be likely to accept the group member in more distant contacts (e.g. neighborhood, occupational, and citizenship contacts). If the rater does not feel comfortable with another group at a distance it is unlikely the rater would accept the group member in closer social situations. The SDS has been used in variety of settings and with many different populations (Bogardus, 1925).

Scores from the level of contact and the SDS were calculated for each target group. Additionally, the total social distance scores were calculated. For each target group, scores could range from 0 (the greatest degree of social distance) to 13 (no social distance between the respondent and the target group). A maximum of 104 points were possible for the level of contact score and the Total

Figure 1

Situational Items from the Social Distance Scale

I would be comfortable if a ____ family moved into my neighborhood.

I would be comfortable if a ____ person attended my school.

I think ____ couples have the right to attend my high school prom.

I would be comfortable playing on a sports team with a ____ person.

I would go to the movies with a ____ person.

I would be comfortable if someone in my family married a ____ person.

I would room with a ____ person.

Social Distance (SDS) score. Higher scores on the SDS indicate greater comfort with people from other groups. Higher scores for the level of contact scale indicate greater contact and exposure with people of diverse backgrounds.

The TAP (The National Conference, 1994) is an inventory measuring racial and ethnic attitudes that was drawn from a study sponsored by the National Conference to assess attitudes regarding race and ethnicity. The TAP has been commonly used in a variety of settings to estimate the attitudes of individuals. For example, the TAP has been used to assess stereotypical attitudes of United States citizens; questions such as, "Has the United States succeeded in reducing stereotypical attitudes?" The TAP also has been used to assess educational systems, political strategies, gender differences, equality for opportunity, institutional interest in full equality, contact with diverse members from the United States population, affirmative action, and stereotypes. (The National Conference, 1994). The TAP is a frequently utilized instrument resulting in valuable information.

Statements on the TAP addressed stereotypes from the following American groups: Caucasians, African Americans, Hispanic/Latinos, Jewish, Muslims, Asian, Gay and Lesbian, and the disabled. Items referring to Gays and Lesbians were adapted from Herek's (1988) attitudes towards Gays and Lesbians to fit the TAP format. For each of the 56 items, participants read a statement and indicated on a five-point Likert scale the degree to which they agreed or disagreed

with each statement. Possible scores on the TAP ranged from 56 to 280. Figure 2 lists the items for the target groups Hispanic/Latinos and Muslims.

Procedure

The procedure was the same for each participating camp. Each camp received one copy of: (a) a participant survey and (b) instructions for administering the surveys. Each program was responsible for duplication and distribution of the survey materials. All participants completed an informed consent document and the paper and pencil survey. Participants completed the survey upon arrival at ANYTOWN prior to any significant programming activities.

Each participant's responses were coded and given a score that indicated the corresponding answer. This score was entered into an SPSS data file for statistical analysis.

Statistical Analysis

In the hypotheses tested level of contact was either an independent variable or a dependent variable. Level of contact was divided into three percentile groups: high, moderate, and low. The high category ranged from a score of 31 through 79. The moderate category ranged from 22 through 30, whereas the low category ranged from 0 through 21.

The first hypothesis tested was whether the level of contact with diverse groups would differ significantly among race/ethnicity. A simple factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to test

Figure 2

Example of TAP Attitudinal Items

Target Group: Hispanic/Latino

Latinos/as don't try to learn English and are slow to fit in with the larger culture.

Latinos/as are highly emotional and are apt to lose their temper.

Latinos/as tend to have larger families than they are capable of supporting.

Latinos/as really suffer from discrimination.

Target Group: Muslim

Muslims are anti-Western and anti-American.

Muslims segregate and suppress women.

Muslims usually condone and support terrorism.

Muslims really suffer from discrimination.

this hypothesis. The independent variable was racial/ethnic background of the participant, the dependent variable was level of contact.

The second hypothesis was that there would be a gender difference in terms of stereotypical attitudes. A simple factorial ANOVA was used to test this hypothesis. The independent variable was gender of participant. The dependent variable was level of contact.

With respect to the relationship between contact and stereotypical attitudes, it was predicted that contact and attitudes would have a significant relationship. If the results yield significance then a post hoc Pearson Product Moment correlation would be computed to determine the direction and degree of significance. The third hypothesis was adolescents with increased contact would hold fewer stereotypes as measured by the TAP Inventory. A simple factorial ANOVA was used to test this hypothesis. The independent variable was level of contact. The dependent variable was the TAP measure of stereotypical attitudes.

The fourth hypothesis was whether adolescents with more contact would express greater comfort with members of other groups as measured by the SDS. A simple factorial ANOVA was used to test this hypothesis. The independent variable was level of contact. The dependent variable was the SDS score.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

As a reminder, for all hypotheses involving level of contact participants were assigned to one of three groups: high, moderate, and low. The high category ranged from a score of 31 through 79 (66 percentile and above). The moderate category ranged from 22 through 30 (33 percentile-66 percentile), and the low category ranged from 0 through 22 (32 percentile and below).

The first hypothesis tested was whether the level of contact with diverse groups would differ significantly among race/ethnicity. A simple factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed with race/ethnicity (see Table 1) as the independent variable and level of contact as the dependent variable. Results of the analysis revealed no significance for level of contact based on race of the participants, ($E(1, 434) = 1.88, p = .071$). A comparison of the mean scores for race/ethnicity and level of contact is shown on Table 3.

The second hypothesis tested was whether there would be a gender difference in level of contact. A simple factorial ANOVA was employed with gender (men/women) as the independent variable and level of contact (high, moderate, or low) as the dependent variable. Again, results of the analysis revealed no significance for level of contact based on the gender of the participant, ($E(1, 447) = 3.12, p = .078$). A comparison of the mean total scores for gender and level of contact is shown on Table 4.

The third hypothesis tested was whether there would be a difference in participant's stereotypical attitudes (as measured by

Table 3

Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for Level of Contact by Ethnic/Racial Group

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Category Level</u>
African American	25.10	11.16	Moderate
Native American	20.66	15.04	Low
Southeast Asian/Indian	32.64	*7.12	High
Multi-Racial	29.38	11.04	Moderate
Hispanic/Latino	26.87	9.69	Moderate
Asian/Pacific Islander	26.19	11.75	Moderate
Caucasian	28.11	10.74	Moderate
Middle Eastern	26.66	12.24	Moderate
Other	17.16	7.94	Low
Total	26.93	11.04	Moderate

Note. Higher numbers indicate more contact with diverse groups of people.

Table 4
Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for Level of Contact by Gender

Gender	Mean	SD	Category Level
Boys	27.99	13.03	Moderate
Girls	26.08	9.70	Moderate
Total	26.80	11.10	Moderate

the Taking America's Pulse Inventory (TAP)) based on the participants' level of contact. A simple factorial ANOVA was employed with level of contact (high, medium, or low) as the independent variable and stereotypical attitudes, as measured by the TAP, as the dependent variable. Results of this analysis, as shown on Table 5, revealed a significance in stereotypical attitudes as a function of contact ($F(1, 392) = 16.66, p < .05$).

The fourth hypothesis predicted that adolescents with more contact would express greater comfort with members of other groups as measured by the Social Distance Scale (SDS). A simple factorial ANOVA was employed with level of contact (high, moderate, or low) as the independent variable and comfort level as measured by the SDS as the dependent variable. Results of this analysis, as shown on Table 6, indicated that level of contact made a significant difference in expressed comfort level ($F(1, 441) = 30.64, p < .05$).

Table 5
Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for the Social Distance
Scale by Level of Contact

<u>Level of Contact</u>	<u>Social Distance Scale</u>	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Low	68.63	28.86
Moderate	82.69	17.04
High	*86.80	*14.58
Total	79.00	22.85

Table 6
Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations for Stereotypical Attitudes (TAP) by Level of Contact

<u>Level of Contact</u>	Taking America's Pulse Score	
	Mean	SD
Low	111.17	10.35
Moderate	114.82	12.81
High	*118.92	*10.27
Total	115.09	11.56

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this research project was to examine the effects of exposure to diverse members of a group on stereotypical attitudes. Does level of exposure promote fewer stereotypical attitudes? Also, do certain genders or race/ethnic groups react to exposure or increased contact differently?

Level of Contact and Race/Ethnicity

Results indicated no significant difference in terms of a participant's racial/ethnic background and a person's level of contact. Although the differences were minimal and nonsignificant, it is noteworthy that Southeast Asian/Indian and Caucasian participants reported the greatest level of contact. Southeast Asian/Indian participants reported the highest amount of contact. The group with the least amount of contact with diverse groups was Native American participants and participants who marked the Other category ("Other" indicated that none of the racial categories applied). Participants from all other groups reported moderate levels of exposure.

One concern in interpreting these data is the small number of participants in certain racial/ethnic categories. For example, there were only 6 Native American participants, 11 Southeast Asian/Indian participants, and 6 Middle Eastern participants. The largest groups were African Americans (134 participants) and Caucasians (177 participants). It is unlikely that this study can generalize from this small sample of diverse racial/ethnic groups

and is representative of the population. Thus, caution is warranted concerning generalizing these results to the broader population.

Level of Contact and Gender

Results of the study indicated no significant difference in male and female participants' exposure to members of diverse groups. It is noteworthy that, although the differences were minimal and nonsignificant, men had slightly more contact than women. However, both men and women reported moderate levels of contact.

Caution should be taken in interpreting this data, however. There was a larger sample of women ($n=279$) in this study than men ($n=169$). Due to the ANYTOWN setting in which the data were collected, there was no control over how many individuals signed up to participate in the camp. ANYTOWN is a camp which confronts issues of oppression and stereotyping. It is interesting to note more women signed up for the ANYTOWN camp. Hence, a stronger sampling bias might be operating with the men attending ANYTOWN.

Social Distance Scale and Level of Contact

Full results of the study indicated that the Social Distance Scale (SDS), which measures attitudinal comfort and the level of contact with diverse groups, is significant. This indicates that as people increase their contact with members of diverse groups, their comfort level with these groups increases. However, this does not indicate if exposure to a certain member of one group enables the person to feel more comfortable with other racial/ethnic groups. Further research should be conducted to clarify the generalizability of exposure to diverse groups of people.

Stereotypical Attitudes and Level of Contact

Results of the Taking America's Pulse Inventory (TAP), which measures stereotypical attitudes and level of contact yielded significant differences. Therefore, the more a person is exposed to diverse groups of people, the less likely they are to display negative stereotypical attitudes. Participants who have lower levels of contact ranked high on the TAP indicating more negative stereotypical attitudes. Participants who had more exposure to diverse groups of individuals had less negative stereotypical attitudes.

Limitations

The first limitation of this study is that it is unclear if a participant's viewpoints towards one group carry over to other racial/ethnic groups. That is, if a participant has frequent contact and reduced negative stereotypes with one particular group it is unclear if the participant will view other racial/ethnic groups differently also.

A second limitation is that the population mainly consists of urban participants which could hinder the generalizability due to the lack of random sample. If the sample of participants came from rural and urban areas this no longer would be a limitation.

Another limitation is that people could be responding in socially acceptable ways which could affect the results. That is, in their attempt to provide socially desirable responses an individual may at times confabulate a response.

Future Research and Conclusion

The current study supports Amir's (1969) research; greater exposure leads to less negative stereotyping. This study examined stereotyping at the developmental stage of adolescence and found similar results.

Future studies should focus on the specific effects of exposure to one particular racial/ethnic group. Does this exposure promote less stereotyping for one group only or does the effect of the experience generalize into other racial/ethnic groups?

REFERENCES

- Allport, G. W. The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954.
- Amir, Y. (1969). Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. Psychological Bulletin, 71, 319-342.
- Ben-Air, R., & Amir, Y. (1988). Intergroup contact, cultural information, and change in ethnic attitudes. In W. Stroebe, A. W. Kruglanski, D. Bar-Tal & M. Hewstone (eds.), The social psychology of intergroup conflict (pp. 151-165).
- Björstedt, A. (1962). Informational and non-informational determinants of nationality stereotypes. Journal of Social Issues, 18(1), 24-29.
- Blake, R. R., & Mouton, J. S. (1962). Over evaluation of own group's product in intergroup competition. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 64, 237-238.
- Bogardus, E. S. (1925). Measuring social distances. Journal of Applied Sociology, 9, 299-308.
- Brophy, I. N. (1962). The luxury of anti-Negro prejudice. Public Opinion Quarterly, 9, 456-466.
- Brown, R. (1986). Social psychology: The second edition. New York: The Free Press.
- Cantor, N., & Mischel, W. (1977). Traits as prototypes: Effects on recognition memory. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35, 38-48.
- Caspi, A., Elder, G., Jr., & Bem, D. J. (1989). Interactional continuity. Journal of Personality, 57(2), 375-406.

Cohen, C. E. (1981). Person categories and social perception: Testing some boundaries of the processing effects of prior knowledge. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 40, 441-452.

Cook, S. W. The systematic analysis of socially significant events: A strategy for social research. Journal of Social Issues, 18(2), 66-84.

Cook, S. W., & Sellitiz, C. (1955). Some factors which influence the attitudinal outcomes of personal contacts. International Sociological Bulletin, 7, 51-58.

Darley, J. M., & Fazio, R. H. (1980). Expectancy confirmation processes arising in the social interaction sequence. American Psychologist, 35, 867-881.

Deutsch, M., & Collins, M. E. (1951). Interracial housing: A psychological evaluation of a social experiment. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Diab, L. N. (1970). A study of intra-group and intergroup relations among experimentally produced small groups. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 82, 49-82.

Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). Social cognition: The second edition. New York: Graw-Hill.

Guttman, L., & Foa, U. G. (1951). Social attitude and intergroup attitude. Public Opinion Quarterly, 15, 43-53.

Hamilton, D. L., & Gifford, R. K. (1976). Illusory correlation in interpersonal perception: A cognitive basis of stereotypic judgments. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 12, 392-407.

Hamilton, D. L., & Rose, T. L. (1980). Illusory correlation and the maintenance of stereotypic beliefs. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39, 832-845.

Harding, J., Kutner, B. M., Proshansky, H., & Chein, I. (1954). Prejudice and ethnic relations. In the Lindzey (Ed.), Handbook of social psychology. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Irish, D. P. (1952). Reactions of Caucasian residents to Japanese-American neighbors. Journal of Social Issues, 8(1), 10-17.

Jahoda, M., & West, P. S. (1951). Race relations in public housing. Journal of Social Issues, 7(1&2), 132-139.

James, H. E. O. (1955). Personal contact in school and change in intergroup attitudes. International Social Science Bulletin, 7, 66-70.

Jansen, V. G., & Gallegher, J. J. (1966). The social choices of students in racially integrated classes for the culturally disadvantaged talented. Exceptional Children, 33, 221-226.

Jennings, D. L., Amabile, T. M., & Ross, L. (1982). Informal covariation assessment: Data-based versus theory-based judgments. In D. Kahneman, P. Slovic, & A. Tversky (Eds.), Judgment under uncertainty: Heuristics and biases (pp. 211-230). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, E. E. (1986). Interpreting interpersonal behavior: The effects of expectancies. Science, 234, 41-46.

Kimble, C. (1990). Social psychology: Studying human interaction. Dubuque, IA: Brown Publishers.

Leyens, J. P., Yzerbyt, V., & Schadron, G. (1995). Stereotypes and social cognition. London: Sage Publications.

Mannheimer, D., & Williams, R. M., Jr. (1949). A note on Negro troops in combat. In S. A. Stouffer, E. A. Suchman, L. C. Devinney, S. A. Star, & R. M. Williams, Jr. The American Soldier. Vol. A. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

McCauley, C., & Stitt, C. L. (1987). An individual and quantitative measure of stereotypes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39, 929-940.

McGuire, W. J. (1985). Attitudes and attitude change. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), The handbook of social psychology (3rd ed., Vol. 2, pp. 233-346). New York: Random House.

Miller, N. E., & Brewer, M. B. (1984). Groups in contact: The psychology of desegregation. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Reboy, L. M. (1995). ANYTOWN: A national evaluation. Kansas City, MO: The Greater Kansas City Region of the National Conference.

Rothbart, M., Evans, M., & Fulero, S. (1979). Recall for confirming events: Memory of social stereotyping. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 17, 113-120.

Saenger, G. (1953). The social psychology of prejudice. New York: Harper.

Schild, E. O. (1962). The foreign student, as stranger, learning the norms of the host culture. Journal of Social Issues, 13, 41-54.

Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1961). Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The Robbers' Cave experiment. Norman: University of Oklahoma Book Exchange.

Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). Groups in harmony and tension: An integration of studies in intergroup relations. New York: Harper.

Sumner, W. G. (1906). Folkways. Boston: Ginn.

The National Conference. (1994). Taking America's Pulse: The National Conference survey on inter-group relations. Kansas City, MO: The National Conference.

Triandis, H. C. (1972). The analysis of subjective culture. New York: Wiley & Sons.

Triandis, H. C. (1977). Interpersonal behavior. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing.

Triandis, H. C. (1994). Culture and social behavior. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing.

Trolier, T. K., & Hamilton, D. L. (1986). Variables influencing judgments of correlational relations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50, 879-888.

Williams, R. M., Jr. (1947). The reduction of intergroup tensions. (Bull. 57) New York: Social Science Research Council.

Williams, R. M., Jr. Strangers next door. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Wilner, D. M., Walkley, R. P., & Cook, S. W. (1952). Residential proximity and intergroup relations in public housing projects. Journal of Social Issues, 8(1), 45-69.

Wolf, E. P. (1957). The invasion-succession sequence as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Journal of Social Issues, 13(4), 7-20.

Yarrow, M. R., Campbell, J. P., & Yarrow, L. J. (1958). Acquisition of new norms: A study of racial desegregation. Journal of Social Issues, 14(1), 8-28.

APPENDIX A
Informed Consent Form

Participation Consent Form

Read this consent form. If you have any questions ask the experimenter and she/he will answer the question.

You are invited to participate in a study investigating the relationship between level of contact and stereotypical attitudes. You will be completing a questionnaire about your views concerning other people. Please be as honest as you can, all information is confidential.

Information obtained in this study will be identified only by code number. Your name will be used only to indicate that you participated in the study. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Should you wish to terminate your participation, you are welcome to do so at any point in the questionnaire. There is no risk or discomfort involved in completing the study.

If you have any questions or comments about this study, feel free to ask the experimenter. If you have any additional questions, please contact Sharon Mockenhaupt, 341-5801.

Thank you for your participation.

I, _____, have read the above information and have decided to participate (please print name).

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without prejudice after signing this form should I choose to discontinue participation in this study.

(signature of participant)

(date)

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY THE EMPORIA STATE
UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR TREATMENT OF
HUMAN SUBJECTS FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

APPENDIX B

Demographic Information Form

Name _____

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your gender? ___ Male ___ Female

3. What kind of community do you live in: ___ Urban ___ Suburban
 ___ Rural/Small Town

4. What is your race/ethnic heritage?

___ African American ___ Hispanic/Latino ___ Middle Eastern
 ___ Caucasian/European-American ___ Asian/Pacific Islander ___ Native American
 ___ Southeast Asian/Indian/Palestine ___ Multiracial -- please tell us: _____

5. What is your Religion? _____

6. If you could do exactly what you wanted to, how far would you go in school?

___ 9th to 11th grade ___ Graduate from a business School or Junior College
 ___ Graduate from high school ___ Graduate from a 4 year college
 ___ Technical school after high school ___ Get a Masters Degree
 ___ Some college ___ Get a Law Degree, a Ph.D. or an MD

7. We can't always do what we most want to do. How far do you think you will actually go in school?

___ 9th to 11th grade ___ Graduate from a business School or Junior College
 ___ Graduate from high school ___ Graduate from a 4 year college
 ___ Technical school after high school ___ Get a Masters Degree
 ___ Some college ___ Get a Law Degree, a Ph.D. or an MD

8. Do you know what you'd like to do with your life? YES NO

If you do, tell us! _____

9. What might stop you from reaching your goal? _____

APPENDIX C
Level of Contact Scale

For each of the following questions, check all that apply.

In the last 3 months, I have eaten lunch with someone who is:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have gone to the movies or to the mall with someone who is:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have gone to a party with someone who is:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have invited someone to my home who is:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have gone to the home of someone who is:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have dated someone who is:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I made a negative comment against people who are:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have been uncomfortable when I have been around people who are:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

APPENDIX D
Social Distance Scale

For each of the following questions, check all that apply.

I would be comfortable if a(n) _____ family moved into my neighborhood.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable if a(n) _____ person attended my school.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I think _____ couples have the right to attend my high school prom.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable playing on a sports team with a _____ person.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I would go to the movies with someone who was _____.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable if someone in my family married a _____ person.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable if a(n) _____ person was a member of my family.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I would room with a(n) _____ person.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

APPENDIX E

Taking America's Pulse Inventory

Indicate how you feel about the following statements

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Unsure 4=Disagree 5=Strongly Disagree

The physically challenged cannot work as hard as able-bodied people. 1 2 3 4 5

Home economics courses should be as acceptable for male students as for female students.
1 2 3 4 5

There should be equal opportunity for all jobs regardless of sex. 1 2 3 4 5

Jewish Americans really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

African Americans are less intelligent than Whites. 1 2 3 4 5

Women have as much ability as men to make major business decisions. 1 2 3 4 5

The husband should decide whether the couple will go to a party. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as don't try to learn English and are slow to fit in with the larger culture. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims are Anti-Western and Anti-American. 1 2 3 4 5

High school counselors should encourage qualified women to enter technical fields like engineering. 1 2 3 4 5

A woman should be careful not to appear smarter than the man she is dating. 1 2 3 4 5

Race relations have not improved because of racist White people. 1 2 3 4 5

Asians are naturally gifted in math and science. 1 2 3 4 5

Cleaning up dishes should be shared responsibilities of husbands and wives. 1 2 3 4 5

Whites believe they are superior and can make rules for other people. 1 2 3 4 5

Jewish Americans are more loyal to Israel than to the United States. 1 2 3 4 5

Physically challenged people are usually slow learners. 1 2 3 4 5

A husband should leave the care of young babies to his wife. 1 2 3 4 5

Men and women should be treated equally when applying for student loans. 1 2 3 4 5

Women are more likely than men to gossip about people they know. 1 2 3 4 5

Homosexuals are more likely to molest children than heterosexuals. 1 2 3 4 5

Asians really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

The family will run better if the father, rather than the mother, sets the rules for the children. 1 2 3 4 5

A husband should not have many household responsibilities. 1 2 3 4 5

Whites control power and wealth in America and do not want to share it. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims segregate and suppress women. 1 2 3 4 5

It is a mother's responsibility, not a father's, to plan a child's birthday party. 1 2 3 4 5

African Americans really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

Homosexuals are detrimental to society. 1 2 3 4 5

When a child wakes at night, the other should take care of the child. 1 2 3 4 5

When men and women date, it is best if they base their social life around the man's friends. 1 2 3 4 5

Asians believe they are superior to other ethnic groups. 1 2 3 4 5

The physically challenged really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

Men and women should be given equal chance for professional training. 1 2 3 4 5

It is more appropriate for a mother to change a baby's diaper. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as are highly emotional and apt to lose their temper. 1 2 3 4 5

Lesbians just can't fit into our society. 1 2 3 4 5

It is worse for a woman to get drunk than a man. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims usually condone and support terrorism, 1 2 3 4 5

When it comes to planning a party, women are better judges of who to invite. 1 2 3 4 5

Women are just as capable as men to run a business. 1 2 3 4 5

Whites have learned to live side by side with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. 1 2 3 4 5

The entry of women into traditionally male jobs should be discouraged. 1 2 3 4 5

African Americans are more likely to commit crimes and violence. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as tend to have bigger families than they are able to support. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims are really discriminated against. 1 2 3 4 5

Expensive job training should be given mostly to men. 1 2 3 4 5

African American want to live on welfare. 1 2 3 4 5

Asians are untrustworthy and devious in business. 1 2 3 4 5

The husband should be head of the house. 1 2 3 4 5

Gay and Lesbian people really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

The physically challenged want too much special attention. 1 2 3 4 5

It is wrong for a man to enter a traditionally female career. 1 2 3 4 5

If forced to make a choice, Jewish Americans will choose money over people. 1 2 3 4 5

Jewish Americans have too much control over business and media in this country. 1 2 3 4 5

Important career decisions should be left to the husband. 1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX F

Complete Survey

Name _____

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your gender? ___ Male ___ Female

3. What kind of community do you live in: ___ Urban ___ Suburban
 ___ Rural/Small Town

4. What is your race/ethnic heritage?

___ African American ___ Hispanic/Latino ___ Middle Eastern
 ___ Caucasian/European-American ___ Asian/Pacific Islander ___ Native American
 ___ Southeast Asian/Indian/Palestine ___ Multiracial -- please tell us: _____

5. What is your Religion? _____

6. If you could do exactly what you wanted to, how far would you go in school?

___ 9th to 11th grade ___ Graduate from a business School or Junior College
 ___ Graduate from high school ___ Graduate from a 4 year college
 ___ Technical school after high school ___ Get a Masters Degree
 ___ Some college ___ Get a Law Degree, a Ph.D. or an MD

7. We can't always do what we most want to do. How far do you think you will actually go in school?

___ 9th to 11th grade ___ Graduate from a business School or Junior College
 ___ Graduate from high school ___ Graduate from a 4 year college
 ___ Technical school after high school ___ Get a Masters Degree
 ___ Some college ___ Get a Law Degree, a Ph.D. or an MD

8. Do you know what you'd like to do with your life? YES NO

If you do, tell us! _____

9. What might stop you from reaching your goal? _____

Level of Contact Scale

For each of the following questions, check all that apply.

In the last 3 months, I have eaten lunch with someone who is:

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have gone to the movies or to the mall with someone who is:

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have gone to a party with someone who is:

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have invited someone to my home who is:

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have gone to the home of someone who is:

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have dated someone who is:

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I made a negative comment against people who are:

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

In the last 3 months, I have been uncomfortable when I have been around people who are:

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

Social Distance Scale

For each of the following questions, check all that apply.

I would be comfortable if a(n) _____ family moved into my neighborhood.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable if a(n) _____ person attended my school.

☐ African American ☐ Latino ☐ Asian ☐ Native American ☐ Muslim
☐ Multiracial ☐ Jewish ☐ White ☐ Gay ☐ Lesbian
☐ Christian ☐ Heterosexual Man ☐ Heterosexual Woman

I think _____ couples have the right to attend my high school prom.

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable playing on a sports team with a _____ person.

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

I would go to the movies with someone who was _____.

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable if someone in my family married a _____ person.

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

I would be comfortable if a(n) _____ person was a member of my family.

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

I would room with a(n) _____ person.

___ African American ___ Latino ___ Asian ___ Native American ___ Muslim
 ___ Multiracial ___ Jewish ___ White ___ Gay ___ Lesbian
 ___ Christian ___ Heterosexual Man ___ Heterosexual Woman

Taking America's Pulse

Indicate how you feel about the following statements

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Unsure 4=Disagree 5=Strongly Disagree

The physically challenged cannot work as hard as able-bodied people. 1 2 3 4 5

Home economics courses should be as acceptable for male students as for female students.

1 2 3 4 5

There should be equal opportunity for all jobs regardless of sex. 1 2 3 4 5

Jewish Americans really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

African Americans are less intelligent than Whites. 1 2 3 4 5

Women have as much ability as men to make major business decisions. 1 2 3 4 5

The husband should decide whether the couple will go to a party. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as don't try to learn English and are slow to fit in with the larger culture. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims are Anti-Western and Anti-American. 1 2 3 4 5

High school counselors should encourage qualified women to enter technical fields like engineering. 1 2 3 4 5

A woman should be careful not to appear smarter than the man she is dating. 1 2 3 4 5

Race relations have not improved because of racist White people. 1 2 3 4 5

Asians are naturally gifted in math and science. 1 2 3 4 5

Cleaning up dishes should be shared responsibilities of husbands and wives. 1 2 3 4 5

Whites believe they are superior and can make rules for other people. 1 2 3 4 5

Jewish Americans are more loyal to Israel than to the United States. 1 2 3 4 5

Physically challenged people are usually slow learners. 1 2 3 4 5

A husband should leave the care of young babies to his wife. 1 2 3 4 5

Men and women should be treated equally when applying for student loans. 1 2 3 4 5

Women are more likely than men to gossip about people they know. 1 2 3 4 5

Homosexuals are more likely to molest children than heterosexuals. 1 2 3 4 5

Asians really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

The family will run better if the father, rather than the mother, sets the rules for the children. 1 2 3 4 5

A husband should not have many household responsibilities. 1 2 3 4 5

Whites control power and wealth in America and do not want to share it. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims segregate and suppress women. 1 2 3 4 5

It is a mother's responsibility, not a father's, to plan a child's birthday party. 1 2 3 4 5

African Americans really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

Homosexuals are detrimental to society. 1 2 3 4 5

When a child wakes at night, the other should take care of the child. 1 2 3 4 5

When men and women date, it is best if they base their social life around the man's friends.

1 2 3 4 5

Asians believe they are superior to other ethnic groups. 1 2 3 4 5

The physically challenged really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

Men and women should be given equal chance for professional training. 1 2 3 4 5

It is more appropriate for a mother to change a baby's diaper. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as are highly emotional and apt to lose their temper. 1 2 3 4 5

Lesbians just can't fit into our society. 1 2 3 4 5

It is worse for a woman to get drunk than a man. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims usually condone and support terrorism, 1 2 3 4 5

When it comes to planning a party, women are better judges of who to invite. 1 2 3 4 5

Women are just as capable as men to run a business. 1 2 3 4 5

Whites have learned to live side by side with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. 1 2 3 4 5

The entry of women into traditionally male jobs should be discouraged. 1 2 3 4 5

African Americans are more likely to commit crimes and violence. 1 2 3 4 5

Latino/as tend to have bigger families than they are able to support. 1 2 3 4 5

Muslims are really discriminated against. 1 2 3 4 5

Expensive job training should be given mostly to men. 1 2 3 4 5

African American want to live on welfare. 1 2 3 4 5

Asians are untrustworthy and devious in business. 1 2 3 4 5

The husband should be head of the house. 1 2 3 4 5

Gay and Lesbian people really suffer from discrimination. 1 2 3 4 5

The physically challenged want too much special attention. 1 2 3 4 5

It is wrong for a man to enter a traditionally female career. 1 2 3 4 5

If forced to make a choice, Jewish Americans will choose money over people. 1 2 3 4 5

Jewish Americans have too much control over business and media in this country. 1 2 3 4 5

Important career decisions should be left to the husband. 1 2 3 4 5

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Unsure 4=Disagree 5=Strongly Disagree

The physically challenged cannot work as hard as able-bodied people. 1 2 3 4 5

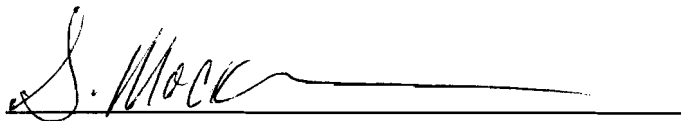
Home economics courses should be as acceptable for male students as for female students.

1 2 3 4 5

There should be equal opportunity for all jobs regardless of sex. 1 2 3 4 5

Permission to Copy Page

I, Sharon B. Mockenhaupt, hereby submit this thesis to Emporia State University as partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree. I agree that the Library of the University may make it available for use in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I further agree that quoting, photocopying, or other reproduction of this document is allowed for private study, scholarship (including teaching) and research purposes of a nonprofit nature. No copying which involves potential financial gain will be allowed without written permission of the author.



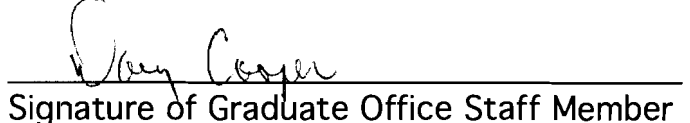
Signature of Author

5/1/96

Date

An Examination of the Relationship between
the Level of Contact with Diverse Populations
and Stereotyping

Title of Thesis



Signature of Graduate Office Staff Member

May 1, 1996

Date Received