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A Cross-cultural Investigation Of Ethnic Stereotypes And Communications

Donald Maclean Taylor

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A CROSS-CULTURAL INVESTIGATION OF ETHNIC
STEREOTYPES AND COMMUNICATION

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

A series of five experiments was reported whose common aim was to investigate the operation of two processes related to ethnic group interaction; viz., inter-ethnic group communication and ethnic stereotyping. Two studies employed Ss from a metropolitan area of Canada. The first experiment involved the assessment of stereotypes of French Canadians while the second study used this information to study stereotyped reactions to ethnic group members participating in a communication task. This task involved having Ss select from a number of stimuli the one being described by either an English Canadian or French Canadian speaker. Efficiency of communication was assessed in terms of the time required for Ss to select the correct stimulus; Ss' perceptions of the ethnic group speakers were also investigated.

The final three experiments involved Ss from an urban center in the Philippines. The first of this series of studies was designed to assess Filipino Ss' stereotypes of Chinese and Tagalog people; two important ethnic groups in the Philippines. This information was used as a basis for the study of stereotypical reactions to ethnic group members participating in a communicational efficiency task

similar to that conducted in Canada. The final experiment employed the same communication paradigm; however, the speaker's messages involved a description of the characteristics of Chinese and Tagalog people.

With respect to inter-ethnic group communication, there was cross-cultural evidence that a listener's ability to decode messages was not affected by the ethnic group of the speaker. In contrast, Ss in both cultures anticipated that communication with an out-group member would be inferior to communication with a member from the same ethnic group. The results were discussed in terms of the discrepancy between the efficiency of communication as it was assessed objectively, in terms of decoding ability, and as perceived by the participants.

With respect to ethnic perception, Ss in the two cultures differed slightly with respect to their use of stereotypes. English Canadian Ss appeared to employ stereotypes in their ratings of individual French Canadians despite the lack of a set to focus on the target person's personality; Filipino Ss in a similar situation did not. When reminded of the characteristics of ethnic groups, however, Filipino Ss did employ stereotypes in their perception of ethnic group members. The functional value of ethnic stereotypes for different situations was discussed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
Certificate of Examination	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF APPENDICES	xi
CHAPTER 1	1
Introduction	1
CHAPTER 2	10
Introduction	10
Method	11
Results and Discussion	13
CHAPTER 3	20
Introduction	20
Method	24
Results and Discussion	30
CHAPTER 4	50
Introduction	50
Method	51
Results and Discussion	53

	page
CHAPTER 5	65
Introduction	65
Method	67
Results and Discussion	73
CHAPTER 6	84
Introduction	84
Method	86
Results and Discussion	92
CHAPTER 7	113
Summary and Conclusion	117
REFERENCES	118
APPENDICES	125
Appendix A	125
Appendix B	126
Appendix C	127
Appendix D	128
Appendix E	131
VITA	132

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		page
1	Means, variances and tests of polarity for ratings of concept French Canadians by English Canadian subjects	14
2	Means, variances and tests of polarity for ratings of concept French Canadians by French Canadian subjects	18
3	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of team performance	33
4	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of the experimenter's performance	37
5	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of subjects' own performance	38
6	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of partner's performance	39
7	Summary of analysis of variance for English subjects ratings of speaker on stereotype dimension	43
8	Means, variances, and polarity analyses of Ss ratings of the concept Tagalog People on English form of scales	57
9	Means, variances, and polarity analyses of Ss ratings of the concept Tagalog People on Tagalog form of scales	58
10	Means, variances, and polarity analyses of Ss ratings of the concept Chinese People on English form of scales	60
11	Means, variances, and polarity analyses of Ss ratings of the concept Chinese People on Tagalog form of scales	61
12	Summary of analysis of variance for communicational efficiency scores	94
13	Summary of analysis for ratings of anticipation of own performance	98

TABLE	page
14	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of anticipation of speakers performance 100
15	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of speakers on Chinese stereotype scales 103
16	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of speakers on Tagalog stereotype scales 104
17	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of speakers on evaluative scales 105
18	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of ethnic group labels on Chinese stereotype scales 108
19	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of ethnic group labels on Tagalog stereotype scales 110
20	Summary of analysis of variance for ratings of ethnic group labels on evaluative scales 111

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		page
1	Three way interaction involving ethnic group of speaker, ethnic group of listener and type of message for ratings of team performance	35
2	Two way interaction involving ethnic group of speaker and type of message for ratings on the stereotype dimension by English <u>Ss</u> . . .	45
3	Interaction involving the factors of stereotype and evaluative consistency for communicational efficiency scores	96

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX	page
A Means for frustration and no-frustration condition for ratings of own performance and that of experimenter and partner	125
B Cell means for <u>Ss</u> ' ratings of their own performance under 16 experimental conditions	126
C Example of set of designs used as focus for communication task	127
D Example of message read by Chinese and Tagalog speakers	128
E Evaluative ratings of trait adjectives made by 25 <u>Ss</u>	131

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX	page
A Means for frustration and no-frustration condition for ratings of own performance and that of experimenter and partner	125
B Cell means for <u>Ss</u> ' ratings of their own performance under 16 experimental conditions	126
C Example of set of designs used as focus for communication task	127
D Example of message read by Chinese and Tagalog speakers	128
E Evaluative ratings of trait adjectives made by 25 <u>Ss</u>	131

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The present series of investigations attempts to explore two of the processes which may play an important role in the understanding of relations between members of different ethnic groups. Although studies of relations between ethnic groups have generally focused on ethnic attitudes (cf., Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; Allport, 1954) there are other related processes which are in need of investigation. One process that appears to warrant attention is stereotyping which has typically been associated with the cognitive component of ethnic attitudes (cf., Krech, Crutchfield & Ballachy, 1964; Harding, Kutner, Proshansky & Chien, 1954). The nature of stereotypes and their role in ethnic group relations has recently become an important topic in its own right (Campbell, 1967; Kelman, 1965; Triandis, Vassiliou & Nassikiou, 1968); however, the dynamics of the processes involved are, as yet, little understood. A second process is that of communication between members of different ethnic groups. Although formal models of communication have been developed to interpret communication between Ss from the same ethnic group (Osgood, 1963), there has been

little research directed towards understanding those unique variables which may operate in inter-ethnic group communication. The processes of ethnic stereotypes and inter-ethnic group communication, therefore, will serve as the focus for the present series of investigations.

The effect of stereotyping on ethnic group interaction has only begun to be explored. The term "stereotype" was first introduced by Lippman in 1922 and was used to refer to "a picture in the head". As applied to ethnic groups, the essential aspect of the stereotype is that it refers to an image about a specific ethnic group. Although stereotypes are discussed in terms of an imaginal process (cf., Campbell, 1967) the techniques developed for their assessment have resulted in an implicit shift in their definition. Each of these techniques has stressed consensual agreement among members of one group concerning the image of another. Katz and Braly (1933), for example, introduced what has become the traditional measure of ethnic stereotypes. This technique requires Ss to select, from a list of trait adjectives, those which they feel characterize a particular ethnic group. The adjectives chosen most frequently are assumed to form the basis of the stereotype. This measurement operation, it will be noted, adds the requirement of consensus to the original definition. This consensual aspect

also has been included in more recent developments in stereotype assessment. Gardner, Wonnacott and Taylor (1968), for example, operationally defined the stereotype in terms of extreme polarity of ratings of ethnic groups on semantic differential scales; the content of the stereotype was defined by selecting the trait adjectives associated with the end of the scale towards which the ratings were polarized. A modified form of the semantic differential has also been employed by Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) for the assessment of stereotypes. Furthermore, Gardner and Taylor (in press) and Dworkin (1965) have employed versions of the word association technique (Noble, 1952) to assess Ss' common associations to ethnic group labels. The associations elicited most frequently were considered to form the stereotype and hence again the emphasis on consensual reactions to ethnic groups.

In light of these assessment procedures, it would seem more accurate to define an ethnic stereotype as an image about an ethnic group which is shared by many members of a cultural community. This definition is not only consistent with earlier conceptions but also stresses those aspects of the stereotype which can be directly inferred from the techniques designed for their assessment.

Most theoretical discussions of ethnic stereotypes (see Fishman, 1956) have emphasized that stereotyping is an inferior judgmental process which, nevertheless,

has some functional value for ethnic group interaction. Several investigators (e.g., Bogardus, 1950; Centers, 1951; Clarke, 1949; Hayakawa, 1950) have suggested that stereotyping is an inferior judgmental process in the sense that there may be no validity or "kernel of truth" (Klineberg, 1950) to the stereotype. Others (Newcomb & Charters, 1950; Asch, 1952) who are willing to attribute a "kernel of truth" to most ethnic stereotypes also believe that stereotyping is an inferior process since it involves an overgeneralization about all members of a group and does not allow for individual differences (Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1949). Alternatively, Allport (1954) and Asch (1952) have argued that stereotypes are functional in that they provide the person with already established inferential networks which dictate prescriptions for appropriate behavior in most ethnic group interaction. If Allport (1954) and Asch (1952) are correct then it is important that the stereotype be operative only in situations where it will have some functional value and that other processes become utilized when the situation does not demand the use of stereotyping to allow for smooth social interaction.

Studies which focus on the assessment of stereotypes have employed situations in which Ss have very little relevant information at their disposal. These investigations have employed a paradigm which requires Ss to make inferences about the characteristics of ethnic groups when

provided only with the ethnic group label (Abate & Berrien, 1967; Auadrio, 1962; Chandra, 1967; Ehrich, 1962; Gardner, et al., 1968; Gilbert, 1951; Jain, 1967; Katz & Braly, 1933; Sarma, 1964; Schuman, 1966; Sinha & Sinha, 1966; Wedge, 1966; and Zaidi, 1964). In this context the stereotype may be considered useful. Since Ss are provided with only an ethnic group label as a stimulus, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that stereotypes are functional in that they provide Ss with information that allows them to make inferences on the basis of very limited information.

A similar conclusion can be drawn concerning early work dealing with the role of stereotypes on the perception of individuals representing specific ethnic groups. These studies typically present Ss with minimal information about a target person in the form of a cue which will readily identify the person as belonging to a specific ethnic group. The information provided to Ss has been in the form of an ethnic name (Razran, 1950), language (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960; Tucker, 1968), accented speech (Anisfeld, Bogo & Lambert, 1962; Strongman & Woosley, 1967), photograph (Secord, 1959; Secord, Bevan & Katz, 1956) or actual individual (Tajfel, Sheikh & Gardner, 1964). The results of these studies are consistent in that they suggest that judges respond to the target person in a manner consistent with the stereotype of the group represented by the stimulus figure. The results

provided only with the ethnic group label (Abate & Berrien, 1967; Auadrio, 1962; Chandra, 1967; Ehrich, 1962; Gardner, et al., 1968; Gilbert, 1951; Jain, 1967; Katz & Braly, 1933; Sarma, 1964; Schuman, 1966; Sinha & Sinha, 1966; Wedge, 1966; and Zaidi, 1964). In this context the stereotype may be considered useful. Since Ss are provided with only an ethnic group label as a stimulus, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that stereotypes are functional in that they provide Ss with information that allows them to make inferences on the basis of very limited information.

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of these studies parallel closely those which provide Ss with an ethnic group label as a stimulus, since in both types of experiments Ss must make inferences when provided with limited information. The utility of the stereotype in such situations appears clear. The use of stereotypes, if limited to situations involving minimal information, may be useful; however, if this process is extended to include situations where more relevant information is available, then it may have a detrimental effect on ethnic group interaction.

Two studies (Gardner & Taylor, 1968; Taylor & Gardner, in press) have been reported which indicate that the stereotype is often used as a basis of judgment in situations even where considerable information about the target person is available. As a part of both studies, the Ss heard a tape-recorded message made by a speaker with a unique accent who described his own personality. In some conditions he referred to himself in a way which contradicted the stereotype whereas in others his self description supported the stereotype. Regardless of the content of the message, the Ss reacted to the speaker in a manner consistent with the stereotype, and although the messages did have some effect, it was clear that the Ss' stereotype had a greater influence on their perception of the speaker. These results suggest that although the stereotype can be useful in situations involving minimal information, they

can also significantly affect Ss' reactions even when more pertinent information is available.

Since most investigations of the role of stereotypes in ethnic perception have been limited to the more traditional person perception paradigm, generalizations about the process of stereotyping have been vague. In order to understand completely the process of stereotyping it seems necessary to study their operation in other social situations involving ethnic group participation.

One area of ethnic group interaction which has been virtually ignored is that of communication. This process has typically been associated with more formal models of information transmission (cf., Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Frick, 1959), and it is only recently that attention has been focused on the psychological variables which may influence communication (Maclay, 1962; Osgood, 1963). Osgood (1963), for example, feels that formal models of communication are insufficient to account for human communication via language and criticizes theories which "do not reflect the social nature of human language".

The study of communication between members of different ethnic groups can provide important insights into the process of communication as well as ethnic group perception. Although it seems obvious that communication would suffer where members from different ethnic groups use different languages, there has been little research designed

specifically to assess communicational efficiency where a common language is employed. Some data (Allen, 1955; Dagot, 1967; Gatbonton, 1968) suggests that communicational efficiency may be adversely affected when different ethnic groups employ a common language which was, however, acquired in different cultural contexts. In the absence of further data it would seem important to investigate the efficiency of communication between ethnic groups who employ a common language as a vehicle for communication. Furthermore, such a setting would provide for an opportunity to study the operation of stereotypes in a situation that deviates from the normal person perception experiment typically devised for laboratory investigation.

The present series of experiments was conducted in order to determine further the role of stereotypes in person perception, as well as the process of inter-ethnic group communication and the possible role of ethnic stereotypes on this process. In order to generalize the findings the present studies were conducted in two different cultures (Canada and the Philippines) which nevertheless share the common goal of evolving independent nations composed of more than one founding ethnic group.

In the chapters to follow the results of five studies will be reported. The first two experiments were conducted in a metropolitan area of Canada while the final three studies employed Ss living in an urban center of the

Philippines. The first study involves an assessment of the stereotype of French Canadians as held by English and French Canadian Ss; this is followed by an experiment of the use of stereotypes in a situation designed to assess the efficiency of inter-ethnic group communication. The third study was conducted in order to assess Filipino Ss' stereotypes of Chinese and Tagalog people. This information was used as a basis for the final two studies of the role of stereotypes in ethnic group communication. The final chapter summarizes the major findings relevant to ethnic stereotypes and communicational efficiency, and emphasizes cross-cultural generalizations of these processes.

CHAPTER 2

The assessment of stereotypes, until recently, has been accomplished through the use of a technique developed by Katz and Braly (1933). This procedure requires Ss to select from a list of adjectives those which they feel characterize a particular ethnic group. The stereotype is defined in terms of those adjectives chosen most frequently. This method has two limitations. Foremost among these is the antagonism noted by Gilbert (1951) that Ss feel with regards to the absolute nature of the judgments required by them. Furthermore, the traditional assessment procedure does not permit the assessment of individual differences in the willingness to ascribe a particular trait to an ethnic group.

A technique for the assessment of stereotypes has been introduced by Gardner, Wonnacott and Taylor (1968) which seems to eliminate these two problems. The method involves the use of a series of semantic differential scales on which Ss are required to make judgments of ethnic group labels. To determine the stereotype of a particular group, the t distribution is used. The content of the stereotype is defined in terms of those adjectives associated with one end of a scale for which Ss' judgments are highly polarized. Polarity is measured in terms of the departure of ratings

from an assumed neutral mean of 4. The t distribution serves as the index of polarity because it provides not only a measure of the extremeness of ratings (mean) but also the consensus (standard deviation) of Ss judgments. This method has been used to assess the stereotype held by English speaking natives of Ontario towards French Canadians (Gardner, et al., 1968; Gardner, Taylor & Feenstra, 1969) and it has served as a sensitive index of stereotypes as well as reducing the antagonism noted in the more traditional assessment procedures.

The present study was conducted in order to assess the stereotype of French Canadians as held by English and French Canadian Ss so that this information could be used in further studies of the operation of stereotypes in a situation involving inter-ethnic group communication. Furthermore, the present study allowed for a test of the usefulness of the semantic differential for stereotype assessment in another section of Canada which included French as well as English Canadian Ss.

METHOD

Subjects

A total of 349 Ss were employed for this study. One hundred and seventy-seven of the Ss were Grade 12 students from a predominantly English Canadian school.

The remaining 172 Ss were Grade 12 students from a school in the same district; however, these were Ss who reported that their heritage was French Canadian. The medium of instruction in both schools was exclusively English.

Materials

The materials for both groups were prepared in English and were included as part of a larger questionnaire. The Ss were required to rate the concept FRENCH CANADIANS on a series of 25 seven-point bi-polar scales. The scales were selected because of their possible relevance to the concept FRENCH CANADIANS (Gardner, et al., 1968). The instructions were similar to those suggested by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957), except they were modified slightly in order to refer to ethnic groups. A standard order of the scales was used for each of the eight ethnic group labels. The rating task and each of the labels were inserted randomly in the larger questionnaire completed by all Ss.

Procedure

Two testing sessions were conducted, one in each of the auditoriums of the respective schools. The E and his assistants were introduced by the school officials and the questionnaires were distributed. The E read the instructions pertaining to the tasks necessary for the

completion of the entire questionnaire while the Ss followed a written copy which accompanied each questionnaire. Both groups required approximately one hour to complete the entire questionnaire.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Consensual reactions of French and English Canadian Ss to the concept French Canadians were assessed for each of the 25 semantic differential scales. Stereotypy was assumed for those scales where the mean (\bar{X}) of Ss judgments deviated significantly from an assumed neutral mean (μ) of 4. The results for the English Canadian Ss are presented in Table 1 which contains the means, variances, and t's for each of the 25 scales. The scales are ranked in terms of the absolute magnitude of the t statistic. Although the ratings on the majority of the scales evidence significant departure from neutrality, the stereotype is best defined in terms of those traits evidencing the most polarity. Since the t-statistic reflects Ss' consensual reactions on each scale, the rank order of the absolute t values indicates which traits are most central to the stereotype of French Canadians. Although many of the traits may be included in the stereotype, selecting the four most polarized reveals that

TABLE 1
 MEANS, VARIANCES AND TESTS OF POLARITY
 FOR RATINGS OF CONCEPT FRENCH CANADIANS
 BY ENGLISH CANADIAN SUBJECTS

Scale	Mean	Variance	t
1. Religious-irreligious	1.89	2.09	-19.45
2. Talkative-quiet	2.19	1.56	-19.31
3. Humble-proud	5.80	1.82	17.78
4. Calm-excitabile	5.53	1.93	14.65
5. Insensitive-sensitive	5.38	1.82	13.61
6. Rational-emotional	5.16	2.76	9.28
7. Strong-weak	3.07	1.79	-9.27
8. Cruel-kind	4.94	1.82	9.19
9. Unlikeable-likeable	5.15	2.82	9.09
10. Pleasant-unpleasant	2.89	2.87	-8.73
11. Intelligent-stupid	3.16	1.95	-8.02
12. Passive-active	4.87	2.28	7.66
13. Industrious-lazy	3.20	2.56	-6.62
14. Democratic-autocratic	3.23	2.85	-6.10
15. Traditional-modern	3.12	3.68	-6.09
16. Athletic-unathletic	3.46	1.74	-5.42
17. Unpatriotic-patriotic	4.80	4.04	5.27
18. Spiritualistic-materialistic	3.44	2.38	-4.82
19. Knowledgeable-ignorant	3.42	2.63	-4.77
20. Belligerent-peace-loving	4.60	3.09	4.53
21. Unaggressive-aggressive	4.44	2.36	3.78
22. Dark-light	4.47	3.14	3.52
23. Wealthy-poor	3.82	1.11	-2.28
24. Backward-progressive	4.24	2.57	2.02
25. Scientific-unscientific	3.97	1.94	-0.32

*1.98 is critical t value for significance at 5% level.

English Canadian Ss characterize French Canadians as Religious, Talkative, Proud and Excitable.

The results presented in Table 1 are highly consistent with those reported by Gardner, et al. (1968) who used English Canadian college students from Ontario to assess the stereotype of French Canadians. The rank order correlation between the t values obtained in the present study with those 15 scales in common with the Gardner, et al. (1968) study is .77 ($p < .01$). The similarity of the ratings made by these two groups is striking when consideration is given to those factors which might have produced differences in the perception of French Canadians. The two samples were separated geographically and the Ontario Ss were college freshmen while the Manitoba Ss were Grade 12 high school students. Of greater significance was the possible differential opportunities for these two samples to experience direct contact with French Canadians. The Ontario Ss were living in a city where there is no large French Canadian community while the Manitoba Ss in the present study lived adjacent to a large French Canadian population. It seems likely, therefore, that these two groups of Ss would have had differential access to direct contacts with French Canadians; the stereotypes of these two groups is nonetheless highly similar.

Two factors could account for this similarity. First, it is possible that stereotypes involve a "kernel

of truth" (Klineberg, 1950) and that direct contact with French Canadians only verifies for the Manitoba Ss what these Ss and the Ontario Ss have inferred on the basis of indirect contact with French Canadians via the mass media or other in-group members (cf., Allport, 1954; Horowitz, 1936). In terms of the formulations of Gardner, Taylor and Santos (in press), the Manitoba Ss, through direct contact, and both the Manitoba and Ontario Ss, through indirect contact, were exposed to the same information about French Canadians and hence both groups of Ss maintained highly similar stereotypes of French Canadians. Secondly, it is also possible that although the Manitoba Ss lived in close proximity to a French Canadian community, they may have had very few direct contacts with French Canadians. This possible lack of contact may be due to the fact that English and French Canadians do not share the same schools and religious institutions which normally promote contact among children of this age. This interpretation is consistent with the findings of Deutch and Collins (1965) who have reported that most Negroes and Whites living in segregated housing projects had little contact with each other. Thus, by this interpretation, both the Manitoba and the Ontario Ss would be exposed only to indirect contact with French Canadians and this may serve to produce similar stereotypes among these Ss. The data from the present study is not sufficient to justify the selection of either interpretation. It seems clear,

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however, that there is a well defined stereotype about French Canadians across Canada. Although it is beyond the scope of the present investigation, it would seem important to explore further the reasons for stereotype similarity among people who have differential access to contact with the stereotyped group.

The polarity analysis including the means, variances and t's for ratings of the concept FRENCH CANADIANS by the French Canadian Ss is presented in Table 2. These Ss' stereotype of their own group mirrors to some extent the stereotype as held by English Canadians when attention is focused on those four traits evidencing the most extreme polarity (talkative, sensitive, religious and pleasant). Despite the consistent stereotype of French Canadians which emerged in the present study, the ratings by French Canadian and English Canadian Ss differed in one important respect. The degree of consensus with regards to the stereotype of French Canadians, as reflected in the magnitude of the t values, was greater for the French Canadian Ss than for the English Ss. A correlated sign test revealed that for the French Canadian Ss 21 of the 25 scales evidenced greater polarity than the corresponding ratings by the English Ss ($p < .001$). This result implies that students in their middle teens have a clearer stereotype of their own group than of a significant out-group. The present interpretation is consistent with that of

TABLE 2
 MEANS, VARIANCES AND TESTS OF POLARITY
 FOR RATINGS OF CONCEPT FRENCH CANADIANS
 BY FRENCH CANADIAN SUBJECTS

Scale	Mean	Variance	t
1. Talkative-quiet	1.97	1.32	-23.22
2. Insensitive-sensitive	5.71	9.33	23.21
3. Religious-irreligious	1.97	1.45	-22.17
4. Pleasant-unpleasant	2.15	1.23	-21.88
5. Unlikeable-likeable	5.85	1.52	19.66
6. Intelligent-stupid	2.67	1.31	-15.20
7. Humble-proud	5.69	2.40	14.26
8. Passive-active	5.41	1.72	14.08
9. Industrious-lazy	2.62	1.73	-13.73
10. Calm-excitabile	5.48	2.01	13.68
11. Strong-weak	2.69	1.63	-13.49
12. Unpatriotic-patriotic	5.61	2.61	13.01
13. Cruel-kind	5.27	1.66	12.95
14. Knowledgeable-ignorant	2.81	1.92	-11.27
15. Democratic-autocratic	2.73	2.60	-10.34
16. Unaggressive-aggressive	5.04	1.81	10.16
17. Rational-emotional	5.20	2.65	9.69
18. Belligerent-peace-loving	4.96	2.25	8.39
19. Backward-progressive	4.91	2.31	7.87
20. Dark-light	4.84	2.89	6.46
21. Athletic-unathletic	3.30	2.04	-6.41
22. Wealthy-poor	3.63	1.15	-4.56
23. Spiritualistic-materialistic	3.76	1.93	-2.31
24. Scientific-unscientific	3.82	1.70	-1.81
25. Traditionalistic-modern	3.75	3.92	-1.62

*1.98 is critical t value for significance at 5% level.

Gardner, et al. (1969) who found that English Canadian high school students maintained a clearer stereotype of their own group than of French Canadians. Furthermore, the present findings support the generalization of Lambert and Klineberg (1967) that children develop an awareness of their own group more readily than for out-groups and consequently evidence a greater tendency to ascribe traits, in common with other children, to their own group than to out-groups.

The present study serves as a further replication of the finding that Ss maintain and will make use of stereotypes when required to make judgments about an ethnic group label in the absence of additional information. As well it seems that despite the opportunity for differential contact by different Ss, highly similar stereotypes about French Canadians are maintained by Ss in widely separated regions of Canada. Finally, the high degree of consensus regarding Ss perception of the traits of French Canadians provides an important reference point for the assessment of stereotypical reactions of these Ss in further situations involving ethnic group interaction.

CHAPTER 3

The study reported in Chapter 2 provides a basis from which to study further the stereotyping process. It was clear that the Ss in that study reacted stereotypically to the ethnic group label, French Canadians, and that the semantic differential adequately reflected Ss' judgments. This study also allowed for the classification of those traits which form the basis of the stereotype of French Canadians for both the French and English Canadian Ss. This information provides an important frame of reference for the present purpose since it allows for the assessment of stereotype reactions in different situations involving ethnic group interaction. The experiment to be reported in this chapter is concerned with the process of communication between members of different ethnic groups, and with the effects of ethnic stereotypes on person perception in a situation where Ss are not given a set to evaluate a member from another ethnic group.

Studies demonstrating the role of stereotypes on the perception of ethnic group members have employed laboratory settings, in which, Ss are asked to focus their attention on the personality of the target person. For example, Tucker (1968), who studied Ss' reactions to tape recordings of ethnic group representatives identified by

means of their language, instructed the Ss as follows: -
"We are conducting research to determine how people react to the voices of others. You do this every day - - for instance, when you hear an unfamiliar voice on the telephone, you try to imagine what type of person is speaking" (Tucker, 1968, p. 38). Thus, in the study just cited, as in most studies, the Ss' entire attention is directed towards the personality of the target person.

Typically, after the Ss have been exposed to controlled information, they are required to make inferences concerning the personality of the ethnic group member. Presumably the inference process has been activated by the set provided by the E and the S's final judgment is based on his perception of the information obtained from the target person during the exposure period. That Ss respond stereotypically to ethnic group targets has been well documented; however, there has been no research demonstrating that stereotypes will be aroused and used as a basis for judgments in situations where Ss interact with an ethnic group member but are not predisposed to employ stereotypes by being provided a set to focus on his personality.

To understand the process of stereotyping it would seem to be important to study the reactions of Ss to an ethnic group member when the reason for the interaction stresses activity other than person perception and

is not explicitly designed to allow Ss to assess the personality of the other individual. A situation of this nature would not only more accurately simulate most actual social situations involving ethnic group interaction, but would also provide an important extension to the normal person perception paradigm typically devised for the investigation of stereotypes.

One area of ethnic group interaction which is in need of empirical investigation, and which also provides an opportunity to study the operation of stereotypes in a unique setting, is that of communication. The efficiency of communication between ethnic groups, as assessed in terms of speed and accuracy of encoding and decoding, has received little attention. Aside from the limited research mentioned earlier (Allen, 1955; Dagot, 1967; Gatbonton, 1968), hypotheses concerning ethnic group communication, where a common language is employed, have been generated in the absence of an empirical foundation. Pascasio (1967) has suggested two factors which could influence ethnic communication. One involves possible differences in the cognitive frames of reference employed by individuals from different ethnic groups who are, nevertheless, speaking the same language. Support for this hypothesis has been reported by Triandis (1960) who demonstrated that, at least among members of the same ethnic group, efficiency of communication is related to

the cognitive similarity of the participants. The second factor deals with the relationship between person perception variables and the efficiency of communication. Any variable which influences how members from different ethnic groups perceive each other may also operate in a communication situation by causing misinterpretations of messages or a possible heightening or lack of motivation to attend to a member from a different ethnic group. In the absence of empirical data it would seem important to assess the efficiency of communication in terms of both objective measures and the perceptions of the participants. Furthermore, a task where the subject matter is not especially significant for either of the ethnic groups involved would form an important basis for the understanding of ethnic group communication.

The aims of the present study, therefore, were two-fold; to assess the effects of ethnic group membership on communicational efficiency, and to determine whether ethnic stereotypes influence person perception in a communicational situation where Ss are not predisposed to assess the personality of the communicator. Since situations involving critical topics of communication between ethnic groups vary in the degree to which participants are apprehensive concerning their ability to communicate efficiently with their partner, a manipulation of induced frustration was employed in the present study.

A number of techniques have been developed to test communicational efficiency in a dyadic situation (Alkine, Collum, Kaswan & Love, 1968; Glucksberg, Krauss & Weisberg, 1966; Preston, 1967; Rosenberg & Cohen, 1964; Triandis, 1960). These methods, however, are similar in principle and differ only in the details of their execution. For the present experiment, a modification of the task used by Preston (1967) was employed. In this dyadic situation one S describes a photograph. The listener is required at various time periods during the message, to select from a group of similar photographs the one which the speaker is describing. Thus communicational efficiency can be assessed easily and there is opportunity for the induction of frustration in the participants during the communication task. Furthermore, ethnic stereotypes and evaluative reactions to the communication partner can be assessed at the conclusion of the task, without having to establish some other prior justification for listening to the speaker.

METHOD

Subjects

The Ss for this experiment were 96 high school students (48 males and 48 females) from two schools in

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Both schools were located in the same community and used English as the medium of instruction, but students in one school were native speakers of English, while students in the other school were native speakers of French.

Materials

The materials for this experiment included sets of photographs, tape-recorded descriptions, a fictitious Table of established findings, a team score sheet and a series of rating scales.

Photographs. Five different sets of photographs were used as the focus for the communication task. Each set consisted of five separate $3\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 inch photographs taken of the same scene with slight modifications in content or photographic angle. The scenes were simple ones, meaningful to residents of Canada. Copies of each set of photographs were mounted on 11 x 14 inch sheets and were presented to the Ss in the form of a booklet. For each set, the photographs were labelled A, B, C, D and E so that the Ss could make reference to the pictures. The pages in the booklets were arranged in eight different random orders, and each random order was presented to a different group of Ss.

Tape-recordings. One picture from each of the five sets served as the target photograph to be identified

in the experiment. Each of these pictures was given one at a time to an English-speaking native of Canada who was given three minutes "to describe the picture such that another person could select this picture from a group of similar photographs". The same procedure was repeated with a second speaker who spoke English with a distinct French Canadian accent. Both sets of descriptions were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed including pauses longer than three seconds; most extra-linguistic utterances were noted on the transcripts. In a further session, and after a number of practice trials, each of the two speakers recorded the spontaneous descriptions previously given by the other speaker.

There were, therefore, four separate tape-recordings each containing three-minute descriptions for each of the five target photographs. These four recordings included spontaneous descriptions of the target pictures by both the English Canadian and French Canadian, as well as the reading made by each speaker of the other's descriptions.

Fictitious table and score sheet. Each S was presented with a Table of fictitious scores for teams from three other high schools in Canada. This Table clearly indicated that the average score for these schools was 30 points. A second page labelled "Team Score", was also provided. There was a space at the top for the names

of both the S and the speaker, and a place for the team score for each of the five sets of pictures as well as the total.

Rating scales. Twenty-six seven-point rating scales were presented at the conclusion of the communication task. Seventeen of the scales took the form of the semantic differential (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957) and were designed to ascertain the Ss' impressions of the speaker. Nine of the scales were chosen because previous research in another section of Canada had isolated these scales as highly relevant to the stereotype of French Canadians (Gardner, Wonnacott & Taylor, 1968). These scales included Talkative/quiet, Excitable/calm, Proud/humble, Religious/irreligious, Sensitive/insensitive, Colorful/colorless, Emotional/rational, Artistic/inartistic, and Pleasant/unpleasant where the stereotype traits are those underlined. The remaining eight scales were selected to ascertain Ss' evaluative reactions to the speaker and included the scales Reliable/unreliable, Trustworthy/untrustworthy, Honest/dishonest, Dependable/undependable, Likeable/unlikeable, Friendly/unfriendly, Peace-loving/belligerent and Sociable/unsociable.

In addition to the 17 semantic differential scales, there were nine items which were presented in a question format requiring responses on a seven-point scale defined at one end by "very well" (1) and at the other by

"very poorly" (7). The items required Ss to evaluate their own performance on the experimental task (two items), the experimenter's performance (two items), the speaker's performance (three items) and the communication performance of the speaker and the S as a team (two items).

This total of 26 items was prepared in booklet form with one item on each page. A written page of instructions describing the use of the scales accompanied each booklet.

Procedure

The 96 Ss were tested in groups of twelve with an equal number of males and females in each session. The Ss were seated in a room with desks that were well separated. For all eight groups the E read the instructions in English. The Ss were told that their task would involve listening to a tape-recorded description of a picture and then deciding which of five pictures in their test booklet was identical to the one being described by the speaker. As well, it was explained that one of the E's assistants would inform them of how they, and the speaker as a team, were performing as the task proceeded so that they could monitor their team's performance.

Four of the groups of Ss were told that the speaker they had been paired with was an English Canadian named Jim Woods, while the remaining four were told they

were being paired with a French Canadian named Jean Dubois. The first of five, three-minute tape-recordings was then played during which the E gave a verbal signal every 20 seconds. This signal cued the Ss to select which of the five photographs on their sheet corresponded to the one being described, and to record their response on the space provided on the sheet. This same procedure was repeated for the remaining four descriptions and the order of the tapes followed one of the eight random orders of picture sets in the booklets.

Manipulation of frustration. This manipulation was administered by informing Ss of their team's performance after each one of the five sets of pictures. Ss were told in the instructions that the Table of scores they had been given showed how other teams from different high schools had performed. This Table indicated that the average performance per team was 30 points which, it was pointed out, meant that if six points were obtained for each set of pictures the S and the speaker, as a team, would be demonstrating average performance. After each set of pictures, assistants of the E informed the Ss of their team's performance by writing a number on the Score Sheet on the S's desk. For each session half of the Ss received a total of 23 points (frustration condition) while the other half were given 37 points (no frustration condition). The individual points which made up the total

were presented in a different random order for each of the eight testings.

Following the communication aspect of the experiment, the Ss were asked to remain seated while assistants of the E distributed the rating scale booklets. When all the Ss had completed this person perception task, the true nature of the experiment and the role of the deception were carefully explained. As well, Ss were requested not to discuss the experiment with others until all the testing had been completed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There were two main groups of analyses. The first included those analyses related to the actual efficiency of communication and the efficiency as perceived by the Ss. These data were analyzed by means of separate 2x2x2x2 analyses of variance. The factors for each analysis included the ethnic group of the Ss (French vs English), ethnic group of the speaker (French vs English), frustration condition (frustration vs no-frustration) and speaker's message (spontaneous vs read from script). The second group of analyses were concerned with the person perception aspect of the Ss' judgments. Since the stereotype of French Canadians was different for French and

English Ss, (see Chapter 2), separate analyses of variance for the two groups of Ss were conducted for ratings on the stereotype dimension. The analysis of the evaluative reactions to the speakers involved a four factor analysis of variance, however, since the same evaluative scales were used for both the English and the French speakers.¹ The two major groups of analyses will be discussed separately.

Communicational efficiency

For the picture selection task, efficiency was measured in terms of the number of 20-second periods necessary for a S to correctly identify the picture in each set. Since each description was of three minutes duration, there was a total of nine possible periods and the criterion for correct identification was two consecutive correct choices with the S being awarded the time period of the first of the two correct identifications. Ss who failed to identify the correct picture according to this criterion were given a score of nine for that particular set. A total score for the five

¹The scale Pleasant/unpleasant, although highly evaluative, was not included in this analysis since it formed a part of the French Canadian stereotype for the French Ss.

sets of photographs served as the dependent measure. The 2x2x2x2 analysis of variance yielded no significant effects. This suggests, at least for the restricted nature of the present experiment, that the ability of Ss to describe a message is not affected by ethnic group of the speaker, ethnic group of the listener, frustration of the listener, or spontaneity of the message. The mean communicational efficiency score was 23.50 (or 4.7 periods per picture set) indicating that most of the Ss identified the correct photograph well within the nine periods allowed for the description. Although the efficient communication between different ethnic group members obtained in the present study was not anticipated, these results take on special significance when viewed in the light of communicational efficiency as perceived by the participants.

The efficiency as assessed from the participants' perspective was measured by having the Ss judge the performance of four target persons relevant to the experimental situations. Measures were obtained from Ss' ratings of their team's performance (2 items), the E's competence (2 items), their own performance (2 items) and that of the speaker (3 items). Separate analyses of variance were performed on the total scores associated with each of the four target persons.

The results regarding Ss' perception of their team's performance (Table 3) indicate that the experimental

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR RATINGS OF TEAM
PERFORMANCE

Source	DF	MS	F
A - message type	1.	1.0417	0.229
B - ethnic group of speakers	1.	6.0000	1.319
C - frustration condition	1.	150.0000	32.967**
D - ethnic group of subjects	1.	2.6667	0.586
AB	1.	2.0417	0.449
AC	1.	0.0417	0.009
AD	1.	5.0417	1.108
BC	1.	2.6667	0.586
BD	1.	0.1667	0.037
CD	1.	2.6667	0.586
ABC	1.	3.3750	0.742
ABD	1.	18.3750	4.038*
ACD	1.	0.0417	0.009
BCD	1.	8.1667	1.795
ABCD	1.	7.0417	1.548
BT S'S	80.	4.5500	
TOTAL	95.		

*p < .05

**p < .01

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BCD	1.	8.1667	1.795
ABCD	1.	7.0417	1.548
BT S'S	80.	4.5500	
TOTAL	95.		

*p < .05

**p < .01

manipulation of frustration influenced their perception of communicational efficiency. The Ss in the frustration condition rated their team performance as significantly poorer than those in the no-frustration condition. In addition, there was a significant three way interaction (see Figure 1) involving type of message, ethnic group of speaker and ethnic group of the S. This interaction appears to result mainly from the differential perceptions of the speaker's compositional style (i.e., the manner in which the French Canadian speaker described the photographs as compared to the English Canadian) by the English and French Ss respectively. The English Ss rated their team performance as better when the description was that designed by the English Canadian regardless of whether it was actually delivered by the English or the French Speaker. On the other hand, the French Ss tended to rate team performance as relatively poor only when the French Canadian speaker read the message developed by the English speaker; however, for the remaining three message conditions, team performance was rated somewhat better. It seems that the English Ss lacked confidence in a message developed by the French Canadian, regardless of which speaker delivered it, whereas the French Ss were conscious of style only when a member of their own ethnic group delivered a message which was stylistically typical of English Canadians. Since the present finding is based on

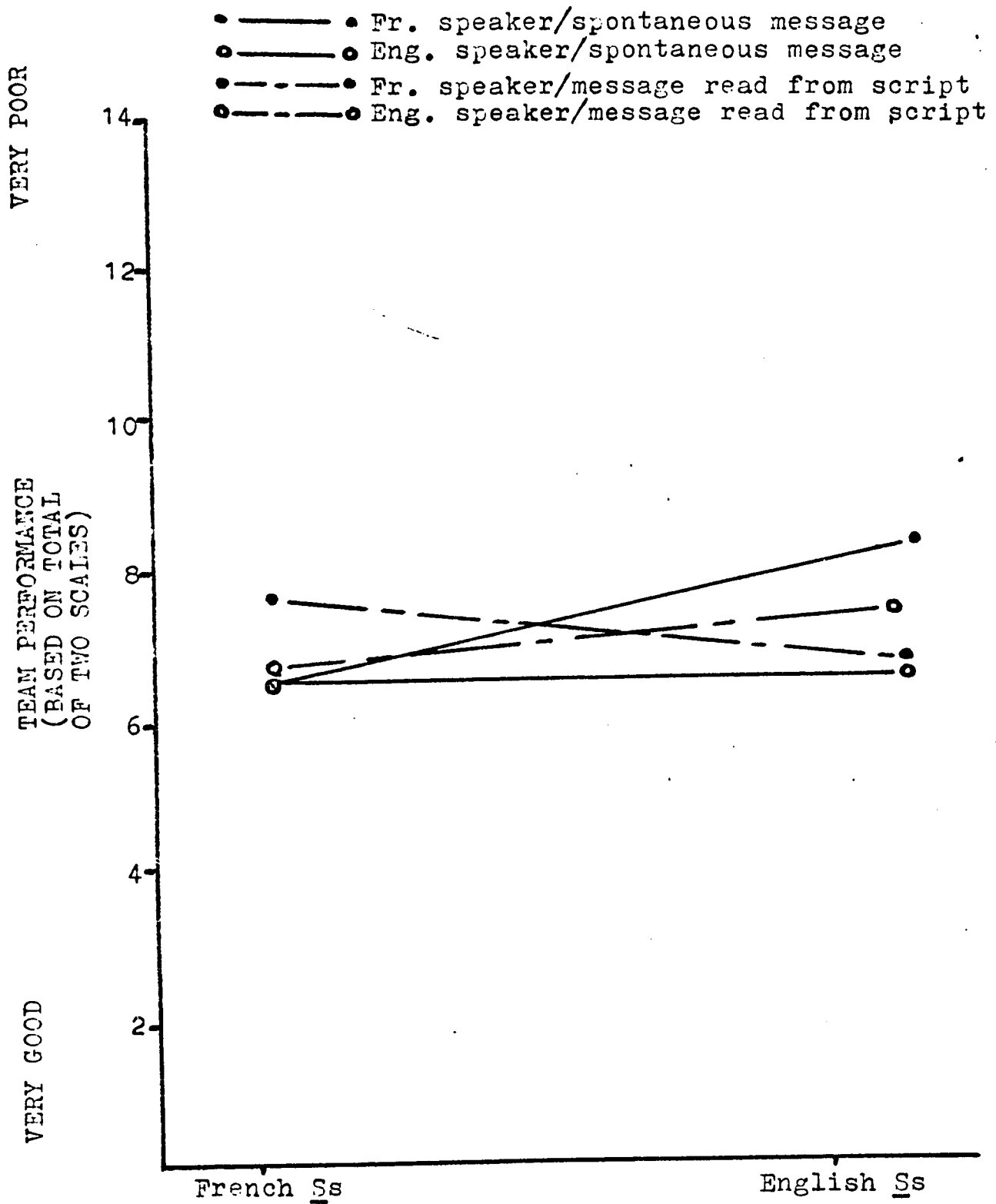


Figure 1. Three way interaction involving ethnic group of speaker, ethnic group of listener and type of message for ratings of team performance.

a single representative from each group, generalizations are premature. It seems that there are aspects of compositional style other than accent qualities which are unique to members of the same ethnic group; however there is, as yet, insufficient empirical evidence to warrant this conclusion.

The analyses of variance for Ss' ratings of the performance of the other three targets relevant to the communication setting suggest that the frustration conditions influenced Ss' perception of these persons. The Ss who were in the frustration condition tended to rate the E's competence (Table 4), their own performance (Table 5) and the speaker's performance (Table 6) as poor relative to the ratings given by Ss in the no-frustration condition (see Appendix A). These results suggest that the Ss did not concentrate exclusively on one target person as being the cause of their poor performance and tended to distribute the blame among all those persons relevant to the experimental situation.

The Ss' evaluations of their own performance (Table 5) also resulted in a significant four way interaction ($F= 4.00$ at 1 & 80 df, $p < .05$). Examination of the cell means (Appendix B) indicated that the appreciable effects of the frustration conditions on evaluation of their own performance were less characteristic of two conditions (English Speaker, French Ss, Spontaneous Speech,

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR RATINGS OF THE
EXPERIMENTER'S
PERFORMANCE

Source	DF	MS	F
A - message type	1.	1.5000	0.427
B - ethnic group of speakers	1.	1.0417	0.297
C - frustration condition	1.	24.0000	6.833*
D - ethnic group of subjects	1.	2.6667	0.759
AB	1.	0.1667	0.047
AC	1.	2.0417	0.581
AD	1.	1.0417	0.297
BC	1.	0.6667	0.190
BD	1.	0.6667	0.190
CD	1.	7.0417	2.005
ABC	1.	0.3750	0.107
ABD	1.	12.0417	3.428
ACD	1.	1.5000	0.427
BCD	1.	12.0417	3.428
ABCD	1.	8.1667	2.325
BT S'S	80.	3.5125	
TOTAL	95.		

*p < .05

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR RATINGS OF SUBJECTS'
OWN PERFORMANCE

Source	DF	MS	F
A - message type	1.	3.3750	0.811
B - ethnic group of speakers	1.	2.0417	0.490
C - frustration condition	1.	121.5000	29.189**
D - ethnic group of subjects	1.	7.0417	1.692
AB	1.	0.0417	0.010
AC	1.	0.6667	0.160
AD	1.	0.3750	0.090
BC	1.	0.1667	0.040
BD	1.	2.0417	0.490
CD	1.	4.1667	1.001
ABC	1.	4.1667	1.001
ABD	1.	5.0417	1.211
ACD	1.	0.6667	0.160
BCD	1.	2.6667	0.641
ABCD	1.	16.6667	4.004*
BT S'S	80.	4.1625	
TOTAL	95.		

*p < .05

**p < .01

TABLE 6
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
FOR RATINGS OF PARTNER'S
PERFORMANCE

Source	DF	MS	F
A - message type	1.	12.0417	1.286
B - ethnic group of speaker	1.	121.5000	12.977**
C - frustration condition	1.	51.0417	5.452*
D - ethnic group of subjects	1.	0.0417	0.004
AE	1.	32.6667	3.489
AC	1.	2.0417	0.218
AD	1.	12.0417	1.286
BC	1.	20.1667	2.154
BD	1.	16.6667	1.780
CD	1.	3.3750	0.360
ABC	1.	0.6667	0.071
ABD	1.	28.1667	3.008
ACD	1.	5.0417	0.538
BCD	1.	32.6667	3.489
ABCD	1.	13.5000	1.442
BT S'S	80.	9.3625	
TOTAL	95.		

*p < .05

**p < .01

and French Speaker, French Ss, message read from script) than of the other conditions. Nonetheless, in all conditions, including these two, Ss in the frustration condition rated their own performance as poorer than that of the Ss in the no-frustration condition.

Although the blame was distributed among the three target persons relevant to the experimental setting, the French Canadian speaker was singled out by the Ss in both the frustration and the no-frustration conditions. The summary of the analysis of variance for ratings of the speaker's performance (Table 6) reveals that the ethnic group of the speaker significantly influenced the Ss' ratings. The French Canadian speaker was judged by both English and French Ss to have performed poorly relative to the English Canadian speaker. This finding was obtained despite the result described above which demonstrated that the French Canadian speaker performed as well as the English speaker with regard to objective measures of communicational efficiency.

The present results do not appear contradictory when viewed in the light of the theoretical formulations advanced by Berkowitz (1965). His revision of the scapegoat theory has emphasized that certain cue properties of social stimuli will determine which of several targets will be important for redirected hostility. In the present study the accented speech of the speaker probably served

and French Speaker, French Ss, message read from script) than of the other conditions. Nonetheless, in all conditions, including these two, Ss in the frustration condition rated their own performance as poorer than that of the Ss in the no-frustration condition.

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as a salient cue for the listener. The result was that both French and English Ss rated the French speaker's performance as poor relative to the English speaker. Possibly the accent characteristics of the French speaker made the Ss conscious of the fact that the speaker was not performing in his first language, and therefore, they were not confident of his abilities in the communication task. It appears that the Ss enter the communication anticipating poor performance because they are cued by the speaker's accented English. Thus, despite objectively effective decoding by the listeners, their perception of communicational efficiency was distorted.

Person perception

The Ss' ratings of the speakers in relation to the stereotype of French Canadians were analyzed separately for English and French Ss. The dependent measures for these analyses were determined on the basis of data reported in Chapter 2. The total score for the scales Religious/irreligious, Talkative/quiet, Proud/humble and Excitable/calm served as the dependent measure for the English Canadian Ss' stereotype of French Canadians. Similarly, the total score on the scales Talkative/quiet, Sensitive/insensitive, Religious/irreligious and Pleasant/unpleasant served as a measure of the total stereotype reaction for the French Canadian Ss.

The summary of the analysis of variance for ratings by the English Ss (Table 7) reveals that the French Canadian speaker was perceived as significantly different from the English speaker on the stereotype dimension. The French Canadian speaker was perceived in a manner consistent with the stereotype of French Canadians ($\bar{X} = 12.33$ for the total ratings on the four stereotype scales) while the ratings for the English Canadian speaker did not conform to this stereotype ($\bar{X} = 17.25$). The Ss' rating of the French Canadian speaker in a manner consistent with the stereotype supports the findings of Brown (1968); Gardner and Taylor (1968); Lambert, et al. (1960); Razran (1950); Secord (1959); Secord, et al. (1956); Tajfel, et al. (1964); and Taylor and Gardner (in press). All these studies have suggested that, in a person perception task, the S will react to an ethnic group member in a manner consistent with the stereotype of the group represented by the target person. For each of the studies cited above, the experimental task was described as one in which the S was to try to determine the personality of the ethnic group member. This appraisal of the target person's personality was to be accomplished as a result of viewing a photograph (Razran, 1950; Secord, 1959; Secord, et al., 1956), listening to a tape-recording (Anisfeld, et al., 1962; Brown, 1968; Lambert, et al., 1960; Gardner & Taylor, 1968; Taylor &

TABLE 7
 SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 FOR ENGLISH SUBJECTS RATINGS
 OF SPEAKER ON STEREOTYPE
 DIMENSION

Source	DF	MS	F
A - message type	1.	1.333	0.159
B - ethnic group of speakers	1.	396.750	47.327**
C - frustration condition	1.	18.750	2.236
AB	1.	40.334	4.811*
AC	1.	1.334	0.159
BC	1.	24.083	2.872
ABC	1.	11.999	1.431
BT S'S	40.	8.383	
TOTAL	47.		

*p < .05

**p < .01

Gardner, in press; Tucker, 1968) or meeting an actual member of the ethnic group (Tajfel, et al., 1964). In the present experiment the S was not given a set to focus on the speaker's personality while listening to the tape-recorded descriptions. The Ss in the present experiment listened to the speaker's description of the photographs as part of the communication task and only upon its completion were they asked to judge the personality of the speaker. The ratings of the speakers given by the English Ss suggest that ethnic group membership is one factor that is easily recalled and utilized as a basis for rating the speaker's personality. Thus it seems clear that the stereotype is operative in a communication situation even where attention is not focused on person perception. The present communicational situation involving a description of photographs was not of special significance for either of the ethnic groups involved; it seems possible that the operation of ethnic stereotypes may be even more dramatic in a situation where the topic of communication is more directly relevant to the ethnic groups involved.

The significant interaction (Figure 2) involving the ethnic group of the speaker and the nature of the message (spontaneous vs read from script) appears to result from the accentuated differential perception of the speakers when their picture descriptions were not spontaneous. The Ss' reactions to the spontaneous descriptions are

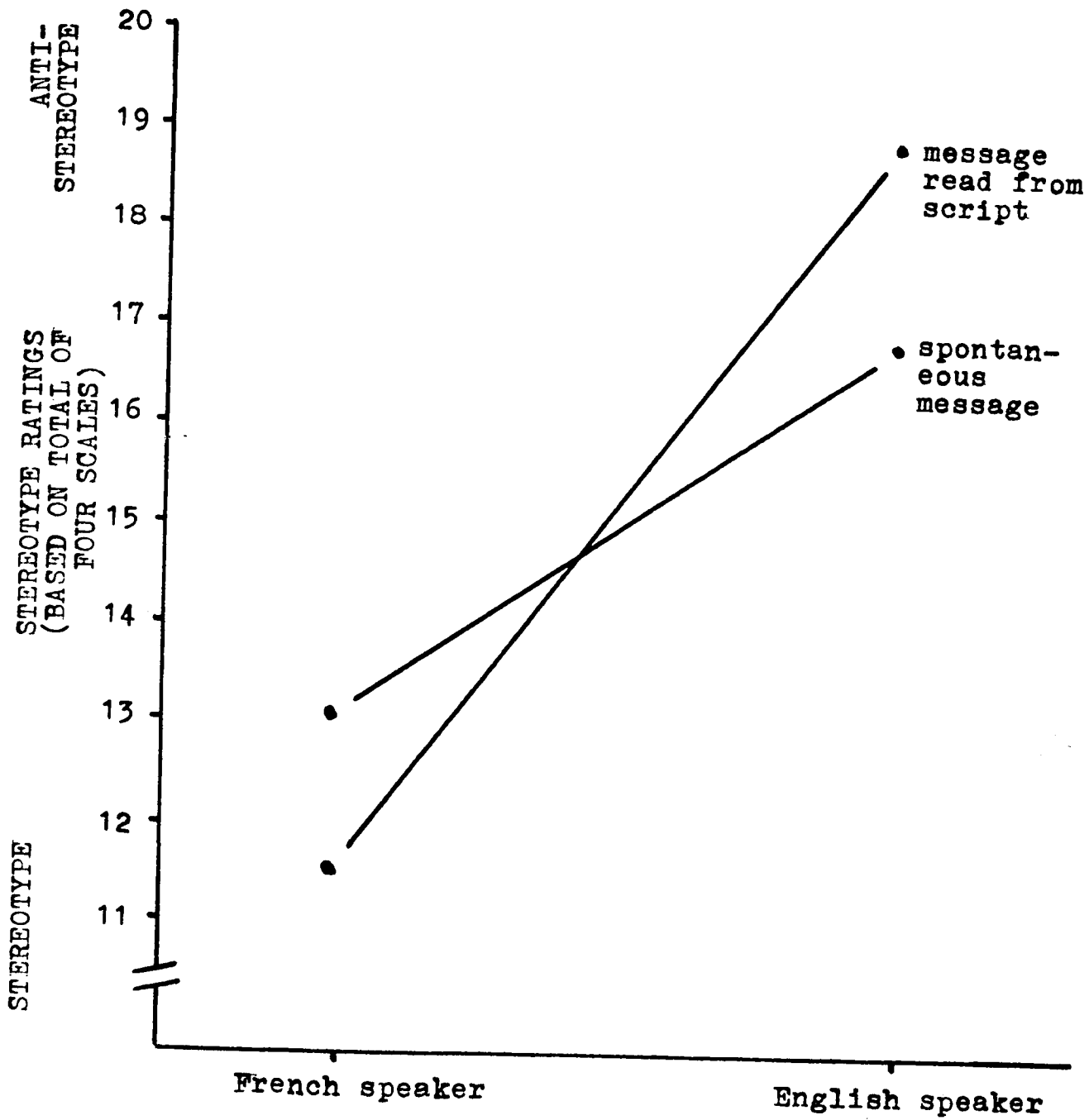


Figure 2. Two way interaction involving ethnic group of speaker and type of message for ratings for ratings on the stereotype dimension by English Ss.

consistent with the ratings of the French Canadian and English Canadian speakers on the stereotype dimension. These differences, however, are even more dramatic when the speaker's description is read from the script containing the spontaneous descriptions of the other speaker. It seems reasonable to assume that the unnaturalness of the descriptions was caused by the speaker having to read from a script, and therefore, the Ss were more acutely aware of the ethnic group membership of the speaker and this is reflected in the further polarization of the Ss' ratings of the two speakers. Future research may focus on those aspects of compositional style which are relevant to ethnic identification and judgments of personality, since Ss perceived differences in style sufficient to affect their ratings of team performance as well as their judgments of the speaker on the stereotype dimension.

The summary of the analysis of variance for ratings on the stereotype dimension by the French Canadian Ss revealed no significant effects. Unlike the English Ss, the French Ss did not rate the French and English speakers differentially. The mean for all groups ($\bar{X} = 12.08$) indicates that both speakers were rated slightly toward the French Canadian stereotype end of the dimension. It seems that the English Ss, who belong to the majority group, tended to maximize differences between the two ethnic groups; a phenomenon that has been suggested by Campbell

(1967) and Tajfel, et al. (1964). Conversely, the French Ss who belong to the minority, did not rate the speakers differentially. This implies that perhaps these Ss, in an attempt to identify with the majority, tended to rate the English speaker in a manner similar to the type of ratings they would give a member of their own group. Where the English Ss appeared to focus on the speaker's ethnic identification, the French Ss either were not aware of the ethnic qualities or were aware of ethnic membership but did not use this information as a basis for judgment.

A total for the ratings on the eight evaluative scales served as the dependent measure for a 2x2x2x2 analysis of variance to ascertain Ss' evaluative reactions to the speaker. Although no significant effects were obtained, these results provide a contrast to the Ss' ratings of the speakers' performance on the communication task and their ratings of the speakers' personality on the stereotype dimension. The French Canadian speaker's performance on the communication task was rated as poor relative to the English speaker; however, this difference was not echoed in the Ss' evaluative ratings. This suggests that the Ss recognized that the French speaker was using his second language and, therefore, his performance was perceived as poor relative to the English speaker. The French speaker, however, was probably viewed as having

somewhat of a handicap and this could explain why Ss did not evaluate him negatively despite their perception of his poor performance.

The English Canadian Ss reacted differently towards the English and French speakers on the stereotype dimension but, again, there was no similar differentiation for the ratings on the evaluative dimension. This partly supports the finding of Gardner, et al., (1968) that stereotype scales are factorially independent of attitudes. The fact that differential reactions on the stereotype dimension were not mirrored in any evaluative reaction suggests that these two processes operate independently.

The results of the present experiment suggest that there are unique aspects in a communicational situation involving members from different ethnic groups. In terms of ability to decode messages, the discrepancy between the objective measures and the Ss' differential ratings of the performance of the two speakers has implications for ethnic group interaction. It is possible that poor communication may be the result of misperceptions on the part of the participants rather than of any real inability for two ethnic group members to decode each others messages efficiently. If, in fact, ethnic group members enter a situation anticipating poor performance, this may have serious consequences for the resolution of conflicts between the groups involved.

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The results of the present experiment suggest that there are unique aspects in a communicational situation involving members from different ethnic groups. In terms of ability to decode messages, the discrepancy between the objective measures and the Ss' differential ratings of the performance of the two speakers has implications for ethnic group interaction. It is possible that poor communication may be the result of misperceptions on the part of the participants rather than of any real inability for two ethnic group members to decode each others messages efficiently. If, in fact, ethnic group members enter a situation anticipating poor performance, this may have serious consequences for the resolution of conflicts between the groups involved.

The finding that ethnic stereotypes were operative in the experimental task, at least for the English Ss, suggests that this variable could possibly play a vital role in ethnic group interaction. For the present investigation, however, the stereotype of the group involved was not directly relevant to the communication task. For future research it seems reasonable to hypothesize that decoding efficiency would be affected by a situation wherein the stereotype is closely related to the topic of communication.

CHAPTER 4

The findings reported in Chapters 2 and 3 were based on samples of Ss from a metropolitan center in Canada. The present study, and those to be reported in Chapters 6 and 7 were concerned with generalizing and extending the results obtained in Canada to a different cultural community, viz., the Philippines. In order to proceed with an investigation of the role of stereotypes in person perception and inter-ethnic group communication, it was first necessary to assess important in-group/out-group stereotypes for Filipino Ss. The purpose of the present chapter, therefore, was to assess the stereotype of important ethnic groups in the Philippines and further to test the generalization made in Chapter 2 that Ss in their middle teens maintain clearer stereotypes of their own group than for significant out-groups.

A problem arises with respect to stereotype assessment in the Philippines because the E must select an appropriate language for testing. The native language for Ss in the Manila area is Tagalog; however English is the language of formal communication and is the medium of instruction in all public schools beginning in the third grade. It is important, therefore, to compare Ss' responses in the two languages to ascertain possible response

biases and differences in stereotypes when assessed in English as compared with Tagalog. For the present study, therefore, ethnic stereotypes were assessed in both languages.

METHOD

Subjects

The Ss for this experiment were 213 female sophomores at the Philippine Normal College, Manila. The Ss were selected because they had previously indicated that their first language was Tagalog and that they identified themselves as members of the Tagalog regional group. For all Ss, however, the medium of instruction had been English since the third year of school. Of the 213 Ss, 102 received materials written in English while the remaining 111 were given an identical set of materials in Tagalog.

Materials

The materials consisted of an English and a Tagalog form of a questionnaire wherein Ss were required to rate the concepts TAGALOG PEOPLE, and CHINESE PEOPLE on a series of 47 semantic differential scales.

The instructions were similar to those suggested by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) except that they were modified both to refer to ethnic groups as well as

being slightly more redundant to insure clarity. The 47 scales were chosen to refer to a wide range of behavioral characteristics (cf., Gardner, Wonnacott & Taylor, 1968) and because of their potential relevance to the ethnic groups included in the present study (cf., Guthrie, 1968; Tucker, 1968). To avoid possible order effects, the concepts in each questionnaire were arranged in a different random order and the order of the scales for every concept was different. As well, the position of the bi-polar adjectives for each scale was determined randomly.

Translation procedure

The questionnaire was prepared initially by the E in English. This form was then translated into Tagalog by a native speaker of that language. This Tagalog form was subsequently retranslated into English by a second bilingual who had not seen the original English questionnaire. The E then compared the two English versions and differences were resolved by consulting both persons who were instrumental in the translation procedure. On this basis a Tagalog form of the questionnaire was prepared which was a direct translation of the English original and which conformed to the format of the English scales.

Procedure

A Filipino female E who was fluent in English and

Tagalog conducted two testing sessions; one in English and a second in Tagalog. After a short introduction the E read the instructions while the Ss followed a written copy which accompanied each questionnaire. Ss were requested to raise their hand if they had questions and the E answered these in English or Tagalog depending upon the language of the particular testing session. The testing time for both groups was approximately forty-five minutes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of the present investigation was to assess the stereotype of significant ethnic groups in the Philippines and also to select an appropriate language for testing in further experiments. Thus it was important to explore Ss' general responding pattern on the semantic differential as well as comparing the stereotypes of significant groups when assessed in English as opposed to Tagalog. The findings with respect to response patterns on the semantic differential have been reported in detail by Taylor, Dagot and Gardner (in press). Because of their importance in determining the selection of an appropriate language for further testing, these results will be summarized before the data with reference to stereotype assessment are presented.

General response patterns

The properties of the semantic differential in cross-cultural research have been investigated on two levels. The first involves a comparison of the structural aspects of a series of scales to insure that different cultural groups utilize comparable dimensions when rating different concepts. In this respect, Triandis and Osgood (1958) have found that when monolingual Ss respond in their native language, the resulting factor structure is similar from culture to culture. This finding has been replicated with bilingual Ss (Suci, 1960) who nevertheless responded in their native language. Furthermore, Kumata and Schramm (1956) had bilingual Korean and English Ss respond in both languages and found that the Ss made similar use of the semantic space. The Philippine data presented by Taylor, et al. (in press) involved a comparison of the factor structure of two groups of bilingual Tagalog English Ss. There appeared to be moderate agreement among the factor loadings based on the responses in English as compared with Tagalog and it was concluded that either Tagalog or English may be appropriate for testing Filipino Ss by means of the semantic differential.

A second approach to the study of cultural response tendencies involves a comparison of Ss' judgments on individual scales. In an initial investigation Stricker, Takahashi and Zax (1967) used the semantic

differential to elicit Japanese and American reactions to Rorschach ink-blot and found that the two groups made highly similar ratings. The study appeared to provide evidence that the semantic differential was an appropriate instrument for cross-cultural research. In another study, however, Zax and Takahashi (1967) discovered that American Ss had a tendency to make more use of the extremes when making their judgments on the semantic differential scales as compared with Japanese Ss who took the same English form of the scales. These results were interpreted in terms of cultural differences; however, it is equally possible that the lack of extreme ratings by the Japanese students was a function of these Ss having to perform the task in English rather than in their native language. These Ss may have felt a lack of confidence when performing in English and therefore tended to be conservative in their ratings.

This interpretation was supported by the results of the experiment with Filipino Ss reported by Taylor, et al. (in press). As a part of that study a comparison was made for each of 47 scales between Ss' ratings in Tagalog and a second group of Ss who received an English form of the scales. Several differences were obtained; however, many of these appeared to be the result of a lack of linguistic equivalence between scale defining adjectives in the two languages. It also seemed

that Ss had a tendency to be more evaluatively expressive when responding in their native language as compared with English. Although differences were obtained it was concluded that an English form of the semantic differential may be useful if caution is exercised when direct cross-cultural comparisons are to be made.

Stereotype assessment

Of direct relevance for the present thesis are the results with respect to the assessment of stereotypes on the English and Tagalog forms of the scales.

A separate polarity analysis, similar to that used in Chapter 2 was performed for ratings on both the Tagalog and English forms of the semantic differential scales for the concepts TAGALOG PEOPLE and CHINESE PEOPLE.

Table 8 presents the means, variances, and t's for ratings of the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE on the English form of the scales. The corresponding analysis for ratings on the Tagalog form of the scales is presented in Table 9. The rank order correlation between the absolute t values for each of the scales on these two forms was .79 ($p < .01$). This relationship between the two forms suggests that using English as a medium for obtaining Ss' reactions on the semantic differential elicits responses which are as meaningful and informative

TABLE 8

MEANS, VARIANCES, AND POLARITY ANALYSES OF Ss RATINGS
OF THE CONCEPT TAGALOG PEOPLE ON
ENGLISH FORM OF SCALES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>t</u>
1. friendly/unfriendly	1.53	0.79	-27.67
2. inhospitable/hospitable	6.52	0.96	25.90
3. religious/irreligious	1.60	0.96	-24.37
4. musical/unmusical	1.96	1.04	-19.92
5. unpatriotic/patriotic	6.18	1.77	16.35
6. unpleasant/pleasant	6.03	1.69	15.76
7. reliable/unreliable	2.26	1.25	-15.60
8. happy/sad	2.09	1.61	-15.24
9. educated/uneducated	2.27	1.35	-14.89
10. likeable/unlikeable	2.08	1.77	-14.64
11. trustworthy/untrustworthy	2.25	1.51	-14.41
12. untruthful/truthful	5.73	1.51	14.19
13. clean/dirty	2.30	1.51	-13.89
14. unambitious/ambitious	5.82	1.74	13.85
15. unaffectionate/affectionate	5.80	1.77	13.72
16. discourteous/courteous	5.82	2.01	12.97
17. peace-loving/quarrelsome	2.11	2.19	-12.90
18. active/passive	2.61	2.34	-12.24
19. intelligent/stupid	2.63	1.28	-12.23
20. sociable/unsociable	2.26	2.10	-12.10
21. sensitive/insensitive	2.41	1.74	-12.06
22. inconsiderate/considerate	5.54	1.74	11.80
23. artistic/inartistic	2.49	1.64	-11.77
24. dishonest/honest	5.56	1.88	11.36
25. conforming/non-conforming	2.51	1.80	-11.23
26. ignorant/knowledgeable	5.42	1.64	11.09
27. irresponsible/responsible	5.48	1.96	10.69
28. successful/unsuccessful	2.76	1.37	-10.66
29. modern/old-fashioned	2.56	2.37	-9.46
30. humble/proud	2.61	2.34	-9.19
31. rational/emotional	5.17	2.50	7.42
32. adventurous/unadventurous	2.85	2.50	-7.32
33. hardworking/lazy	3.05	2.28	-6.34
34. unselfish/selfish	2.96	3.24	-5.77
35. dominant/submissive	3.24	1.88	-5.66
36. colonial/independent	5.07	3.61	5.62
37. unbusinesslike/businesslike	4.76	2.56	4.83
38. rugged/delicate	4.68	2.96	3.96
39. quiet/talkative	3.42	2.62	-3.61
40. trust in fate/trust in self	3.46	3.88	-2.76
41. thrifty/extravagant	3.55	3.13	-2.54
42. urban/rural	3.63	3.80	-1.93
43. treacherous/not treacherous	3.71	2.46	-1.85
44. light skin/dark skin	3.73	3.03	-1.60
45. clannish/individualistic	4.24	3.10	1.36
46. excitable/calm	4.19	3.69	0.99
47. poor/wealthy	4.04	1.41	0.34

TABLE 9

MEANS, VARIANCES, AND POLARITY ANALYSES OF Ss RATINGS
OF THE CONCEPT TAGALOG PEOPLE ON
TAGALOG FORM OF SCALES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>t</u>
1. happy/sad	1.68	0.72	-28.61
2. friendly/unfriendly	1.71	1.14	-22.25
3. musical/unmusical	1.95	1.06	-20.72
4. religious/irreligious	1.80	1.28	-20.37
5. sociable/unsociable	1.94	1.23	-19.51
6. reliable/unreliable	2.23	1.14	-17.30
7. clean/dirty	2.23	1.37	-16.05
8. educated/uneducated	2.21	1.42	-15.63
9. likeable/unlikeable	2.19	1.67	-14.79
10. active/passive	2.05	1.96	-14.74
11. trustworthy/untrustworthy	2.32	1.67	-13.80
12. artistic/inartistic	2.25	1.77	-13.71
13. unpatriotic/patriotic	5.85	2.22	12.99
14. dishonest/honest	5.65	1.85	12.65
15. modern/old-fashioned	2.37	2.02	-12.10
16. discourteous/courteous	5.71	2.40	11.67
17. unambitious/ambitious	5.71	2.53	11.29
18. unpleasant/pleasant	5.76	2.69	11.27
19. intelligent/stupid	2.59	1.80	-11.14
20. unaffectionate/affectionate	5.70	2.66	10.99
21. successful/unsuccessful	2.81	1.35	-10.84
22. ignorant/knowledgeable	5.39	1.80	10.80
23. sensitive/insensitive	2.61	2.16	-9.83
24. inconsiderate/considerate	5.43	2.43	9.60
25. urban/rural	2.48	2.86	-9.50
26. inhospitable/hospitable	5.71	4.00	8.96
27. irresponsible/responsible	5.25	2.62	8.06
28. humble/proud	2.69	3.17	-7.73
29. colonial/independent	5.26	3.06	7.50
30. rational/emotional	2.83	2.76	-7.31
31. hardworking/lazy	2.84	2.89	-7.21
32. unselfish/selfish	2.90	2.69	-6.98
33. adventurous/unadventurous	3.00	2.47	-6.70
34. quiet/talkative	3.08	2.92	-5.66
35. treacherous/not treacherous	4.84	2.66	5.41
36. conforming/non-conforming	3.28	2.31	-4.99
37. peace-loving/quarrelsome	3.23	2.79	-4.90
38. rugged/delicate	4.71	2.40	4.77
39. clannish/individualistic	3.17	3.46	-4.69
40. dominant/submissive	4.66	2.62	4.27
41. unbusinesslike/businesslike	4.77	3.65	4.22
42. untruthful/truthful	4.60	2.62	3.93
43. excitable/calm	4.59	3.28	3.38
44. thrifty/extravagant	3.50	2.89	-3.09
45. poor/wealthy	3.86	1.90	-1.10
46. light skin/dark skin	3.94	2.04	-0.47
47. trust in fate/trust in self	3.95	4.08	-0.28

as the results of Ss' ratings in their native language.

Tables 10 and 11 summarize the polarity analyses for English and Tagalog ratings of the concept CHINESE PEOPLE. The rank order correlation between the absolute values of the t statistic for the 47 scales was .74 ($p < .01$). This finding indicates that the interpretation of Ss' conception of Chinese people is not altered as a function of the language used. The high degree of relationship is especially significant since differences might be expected because of the difficulties inherent in attempting to compose two identical forms of the semantic differential scales. Even with the present rigorous back translation procedure perfect linguistic equivalence was difficult to achieve; a fact which has been noted by other investigators (e.g., Hanson, 1968). It appears, therefore, that an English form of the semantic differential scales may be as appropriate as materials prepared in the native language for the assessment of person perception judgments in the Philippines. In terms of selecting a language for testing in further experiments, the use of English has several advantages. Testing in this language would allow for meaningful comparisons with other experiments conducted in the Philippines and for more general cross-cultural comparisons. As well, the use of English, in the Philippines, is reserved for more formal settings such as psychological testing and hence

TABLE 10

MEANS, VARIANCES, AND POLARITY ANALYSES OF Ss RATINGS
OF THE CONCEPT CHINESE PEOPLE ON
ENGLISH FORM OF SCALES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>t</u>
1. businesslike/unbusinesslike	1.23	0.48	-40.73
2. light skin/dark skin	1.34	0.46	-39.23
3. hardworking/lazy	1.65	1.17	-22.05
4. wealthy/poor	1.94	1.49	-16.92
5. unsuccessful/successful	5.99	1.90	14.62
6. thrifty/extravagant	2.31	2.69	-10.40
7. unambitious/ambitious	5.70	3.03	9.85
8. stupid/intelligent	5.24	2.10	8.60
9. ignorant/knowledgeable	5.07	1.99	7.63
10. happy/sad	2.91	2.25	-7.28
11. unadventurous/adventurous	5.38	3.96	6.94
12. uneducated/educated	4.95	2.22	6.43
13. affectionate/unaffectionate	3.07	2.16	-6.39
14. clean/dirty	4.99	2.89	5.85
15. irresponsible/responsible	4.95	3.35	5.24
16. artistic/inartistic	3.14	3.17	-4.85
17. patriotic/unpatriotic	3.15	3.28	-4.72
18. urban/rural	3.18	3.31	-4.54
19. friendly/unfriendly	3.25	2.96	-4.37
20. peace-loving/quarrelsome	3.36	2.86	-3.81
21. treacherous/not treacherous	3.47	1.99	-3.81
22. proud/humble	3.32	3.24	-3.80
23. passive/active	4.70	3.65	3.69
24. sensitive/insensitive	3.40	2.69	-3.69
25. dominant/submissive	3.47	2.59	-3.32
26. sociable/unsociable	3.40	3.50	-3.25
27. rugged/delicate	3.48	2.76	-3.17
28. untrustworthy/trustworthy	4.47	2.50	3.00
29. religious/irreligious	3.42	4.00	-2.92
30. truthful/untruthful	3.64	2.50	-2.26
31. quiet/talkative	4.49	3.20	2.14
32. modern/old-fashioned	3.65	2.86	-2.06
33. inhospitable/hospitable	3.66	3.50	-1.85
34. excitable/calm	4.34	3.92	1.75
35. trust in fate/trust in self	4.36	4.71	1.69
36. independent/colonial	3.66	4.24	-1.68
37. musical/unmusical	3.73	3.72	-1.44
38. reliable/unreliable	3.75	3.35	-1.41
39. likeable/unlikeable	3.76	3.84	-1.22
40. unselfish/selfish	4.22	3.35	1.20
41. clannish/individualistic	4.26	5.24	1.17
42. conforming/non-conforming	3.83	3.00	-0.97
43. inconsiderate/considerate	3.85	3.20	-0.83
44. courteous/discourteous	3.87	3.28	-0.71
45. dishonest/honest	4.06	3.17	0.34
46. rational/emotional	4.05	3.20	0.28
47. unpleasant/pleasant	3.96	3.20	-0.22

TABLE 11

MEANS, VARIANCES, AND POLARITY ANALYSES OF Ss RATINGS
OF THE CONCEPT CHINESE PEOPLE ON
TAGALOG FORM OF SCALES

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>t</u>
1. businesslike/unbusinesslike	1.23	0.49	-41.62
2. light skin/dark skin	1.50	0.83	-28.66
3. hardworking/lazy	1.90	2.04	-15.50
4. wealthy/poor	2.28	1.90	-13.05
5. unsuccessful/successful	5.98	2.79	12.52
6. unambitious/ambitious	5.79	3.80	9.71
7. thrifty/extravagant.	2.57	3.24	-8.32
8. clean/dirty	5.31	3.42	7.41
9. ignorant/knowledgeable	4.95	2.37	6.46
10. treacherous/not treacherous	3.14	2.04	-6.37
11. urban/rural	3.08	2.46	-6.08
12. stupid/intelligent	4.93	2.92	5.72
13. unadventurous/adventurous	5.03	5.29	4.69
14. uneducated/educated	4.71	2.79	4.41
15. passive/active	4.82	4.04	4.30
16. rugged/delicate	3.32	3.39	-3.86
17. patriotic/unpatriotic	3.28	4.08	-3.75
18. unpleasant/pleasant.	3.47	2.76	-3.38
19. happy/sad	3.48	2.72	-3.35
20. affectionate/unaffectionate	3.46	3.24	-3.17
21. proud/humble	3.50	3.20	-2.91
22. modern/old-fashioned	3.51	3.53	-2.70
23. unselfish/selfish	4.52	4.20	2.66
24. independent/colonial	4.52	4.28	-2.64
25. artistic/inartistic	3.60	3.28	-2.33
26. peace-loving/quarrelsome	3.59	3.46	-2.30
27. Quiet/talkative	4.45	4.37	2.24
28. sensitive/insensitive	3.65	2.72	-2.16
29. inhospitable/hospitable	3.65	3.50	-1.99
30. rational/emotional	3.66	3.65	-1.86
31. likeable/unlikeable	4.27	2.34	1.82
32. clannish/individualistic	3.61	5.90	-1.68
33. dominant/submissive	3.72	3.24	-1.64
34. inconsiderate/considerate	3.65	5.20	-1.59
35. dishonest/honest	3.75	2.76	-1.56
36. truthful/untruthful	4.23	2.59	1.48
37. untrustworthy/trustworthy	3.78	2.76	-1.38
38. reliable/unreliable	4.22	3.89	1.16
39. friendly/unfriendly	3.84	3.13	-0.96
40. trust in fate/trust in self	4.18	5.20	0.84
41. excitable/calm	3.87	3.00	-0.77
42. courteous/discourteous	4.13	3.35	0.73
43. musical/unmusical	3.88	3.24	-0.69
44. sociable/unsociable	3.89	3.39	-0.63
45. conformity/non-conformity	3.89	3.76	-0.59
46. religious/irreligious	3.95	3.76	-0.24
47. irresponsible/responsible	4.05	5.02	0.21

Filipino Ss would anticipate that experiments would be conducted in that language.

By focusing on Ss' ratings on the English form of the scales, therefore, the polarity analysis may be used to determine which traits are of special significance for the stereotype of Tagalog and Chinese people. The scales evidencing the most consensus as reflected in the absolute value of the t-statistic suggest that Chinese people may be characterized as Businesslike, Light-skinned, Hardworking and Wealthy. Similarly, Tagalog people are perceived as Friendly, Hospitable, Religious and Musical. Although it is possible to consider other traits as evidencing sufficient polarity to be included in the stereotypes of the respective groups, the selection of the four most polarized scales insures that only the most central traits are included.

The extent of Ss' consensual reactions on each scale to the in-group label (Tagalog people) and to the concept CHINESE PEOPLE is reflected in the magnitude of the t statistic. The generalization has been made that Ss in their middle teens seem more willing to ascribe traits to their own group as compared with significant out-groups. In Canada, this finding was obtained both for English Canadian Ss (see Gardner, Taylor & Feenstra, 1969) and French Canadian Ss (see Chapter 2). The results of the present study based on ratings of Tagalog Ss clearly

support this generalization. A correlated sign test revealed that for the ratings made in Tagalog of the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE, 39 of the 45 t values are greater than the t 's based on the corresponding ratings of the concept CHINESE PEOPLE ($Z = 4.76$, $p < .01$). The results for the ratings made in English demonstrate that 38 of the 45 scales were more polarized for the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE than for the concept CHINESE PEOPLE ($Z = 4.45$, $p < .01$).

Although the S s in the present study were college sophomores and those tested in Canada (Chapter 2) were senior high school students, both groups were of approximately the same age. It seems clear, therefore, that students in the middle teens are more willing to ascribe traits to their own group than to a significant out-group. It is possible that S s develop consensual reactions to their own group on many traits because of the necessity for frequent interaction with, and communication about, in-group members. The consensual reactions with respect to many traits allows these S s to react predictably to, and communicate about, in-group members in a wide variety of situations. For out-group members, however, it may only be necessary to know those few traits which generally characterize the group since contact with out-group members for S s of this age is infrequent and often only in role prescribed situations.

It may be concluded from the results of the present study that in some situations English may be appropriate as a medium for testing in psychological experiments in the Philippines. Specifically, the stereotypes of Tagalog people and Chinese people as determined from Ss' semantic differential ratings appear not to be seriously influenced by the language selected for assessment. The advantages associated with using English for further experiments are that direct cross-cultural comparisons can be made and, further, Ss in this culture would not feel that the use of Tagalog is appropriate whereas English would seem natural in such a formal setting.

The present results, coupled with those reported in Chapter 2 provide cross-cultural evidence for the conclusion that students in their middle teens develop clearer stereotypes of their own group than for significant out-groups.

CHAPTER 5

Although it has been reported (Chapter 3) that communicational efficiency assessed in terms of decoding speed and accuracy is not impaired when the participants represent different ethnic groups, this finding is in need of further exploration. This is especially true since, despite the actual efficiency of communication, both French and English Canadian Ss perceived that performance was poorer when the speaker was a French Canadian. The results were interpreted as possibly due to Ss realizing that the French speaker was communicating in his second language; however, it is also possible that this reflects a generalized negative perception of the communicative abilities of French Canadians by English Canadians and a tendency for French Ss to respond negatively to members of their own group as a result of identification with the majority (cf., Allport, 1954; Bettelheim, 1965; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960).

The socio-linguistic configuration in the Philippines provides a unique opportunity to test the adequacy of these interpretations. The Tagalogs and the Chinese are two large ethnic groups in Philippine society and for both groups English is a second language. Thus in a communication situation Ss should anticipate equal

performance from Tagalog and Chinese speakers if it is differential language ability which leads to the perception of poor performance. Alternatively, if this perception is due to a general mistrust of the communication skills of out-group members, it might be expected that Tagalogs would perceive members of their own group as better communicators.

A second finding reported earlier (Chapter 3) which is in need of further examination involves Ss stereotyped reactions to ethnic group members when no set is given to focus on the speaker's personality. In that investigation the communication task did not appear to be especially difficult for the Ss. The mean scores indicated that Ss generally selected the correct photograph long before the speaker had completed his message. It is possible, therefore, that the Ss redirected their attention to the speaker himself rather than to his message, after they were sure they had isolated the correct photograph. An important extension of that study, therefore, would involve the creation of a similar task where the Ss are forced to devote greater attention to the speaker's communication while still providing the Ss with cues which clearly associate the speaker with a specific ethnic group. In such a situation it might be anticipated that Ss will not respond stereotypically to the speaker because of the motivation to attend to the message resulting in a

corresponding decrease in ethnic awareness.

The present study was designed to study further the discrepancies between actual and perceived ability to decode messages in a situation where both participating ethnic group members employ a second language. Furthermore, a more demanding communication task was used in order to test the hypothesis that ethnic stereotypes will not be operative when Ss are pre-occupied with a speaker's message and are given little opportunity to reflect on the personality of the individual delivering the message. The prominent distinguishing cues between Tagalogs and Chinese include physiognomic differences as well as differential accented English. For this reason video-tape was employed for the presentation of messages rather than tape-recordings which were used when French and English Canadians served as speakers.

METHOD

Subjects

The Ss for this experiment were 32 female sophomores enrolled at the Philippine Normal College, Manila. A random selection was made from among Ss who, on an earlier questionnaire, indicated that their native language was Tagalog and that they identified themselves as a member of the Tagalog regional group.

Materials

The materials for this experiment included sets of designs, scripts of descriptions to be read by Chinese and Tagalog speakers while being televised, and a series of rating scales.

Designs. Four different sets of designs (see Appendix C) served as the focus for the communication task. Each set consisted of five designs composed of eight rectangles and lines which took a form resembling an organizational structure chart. For any set the five designs were identical in form but were made distinct from each other by placing two letters in each rectangle contained in the design. The second letter in the rectangle served a nominal function; however, the first letter was either a P or an M with the P representing person and the M signifying mister. There were a total of four sets of different designs and for each set the designs were labelled 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 so that the Ss could make reference to them. Each of the four sets of designs was mounted on a separate page and these were arranged in booklet form and were always presented to Ss in the same order.

Video-tape recordings. One design from each set was selected as the stimulus to be described and subsequently identified by the Ss in the experiments. For each of the four sets, the E composed a three and one half minute description of the correct design. For each set the

designs were identical and thus the content of the message focused on the symbols contained in each of the rectangles. The organization of the messages was designed specifically to be sensitive to Ss' differential ability in a communication task. After approximately one minute of each message, sufficient detail was given to allow for the selection of the correct design and the remainder of the message provided progressively more discriminating information which would further isolate the correct design. There were, therefore, four, $3\frac{1}{2}$ minute messages, each describing a design and the symbols contained in the rectangles of the design (see Appendix D).

The four messages were then recorded on videotape by two male native Tagalogs and two male Chinese living in the Philippines. The speakers were selected because they were all approximately the same age, height, and weight and because they were all equally fluent in English. For the entire recording session the room furnishings were constant. The television camera and microphone were mounted on the front edge of a standard executive desk which was placed in such a position that a blank wall served as the background.

Each of the four messages was read twice. In the first session, message 1 and 2 were read by one of the Chinese speakers while the third and fourth messages were read by one of the Tagalog speakers. For the second

session the order of the messages remained constant; however, the second Tagalog speaker read the first two messages while the second Chinese speaker read the last two messages. Thus, although the order of the messages was constant, the order of ethnic group of the speaker was balanced.

Rating scales. The Ss were required to make judgments of their own performance and that of the speaker both before and after their experience with each of the four communication tasks. Before each message the Ss were asked to rate their anticipated performance (2 items) and the anticipated performance of their speaking partner (2 items). Following each communication task the Ss rated their own performance (2 items) and that of their speaking partner (2 items). All the questions were worded in such a way that they could be answered on a seven-point scale varying from good to poor performance. The questions were presented in a constant order; Ss first evaluated their own performance and then judged the performance of their speaking partner.

Each S was exposed to one of the Tagalog and one of the Chinese speakers. Following the experience with each speaker, the Ss were required to rate the speaker on a series of twelve semantic differential scales. Four scales (Friendly/unfriendly, Hospitable/inhospitable, Religious/irreligious and Musical/unmusical) were selected

to reflect the stereotype of Tagalogs (see Chapter 4). Similarly the scales Business-like/unbusiness-like, Hard-working/lazy, Wealthy/poor and Successful/unsuccessful were included to assess the stereotype of the Chinese. Finally, four scales were used to ascertain Ss evaluative reactions to the speaker. The choice of these latter scales was based on the classifications made by 25 sophomore Ss. A scale was classified as evaluative if one of the bi-polar traits was judged "positively evaluative" by all Ss and its polar opposite was unanimously judged to be "negatively evaluative". The four scales which met this criterion and which were not already selected as forming the stereotype of Tagalogs or Chinese were Responsible/irresponsible, Honest/dishonest, Clean/dirty and Trustworthy/untrustworthy.²

These same 12 semantic differential scales were also employed at the conclusion of the experiment where Ss were required to rate the concept CHINESE PEOPLE (living in the Philippines) and TAGALOG PEOPLE. A different constant order of both the scales and the position of each trait on the scale was employed on each of the forms assessing Ss' reactions to the ethnic group speakers and the corresponding labels.

² A Table of the evaluative classifications by the 25 Ss is presented in Appendix E.

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² A Table of the evaluative classifications by the 25 Ss is presented in Appendix E.

Procedure

The 32 Ss were tested in groups of eight in a room where all Ss had a clear view of the television screen. Two Filipino assistants conducted the actual testing which was monitored by the author through a one-way vision screen. A female graduate student served as the E and a technician operated the video-tape equipment.

The E began by explaining, in English, the use of the seven-point scale to the Ss. The students were then told that they were to listen to a speaker's video-taped description of a design and to identify which of five designs on their page was identical to the one being described by the speaker. It was further explained that the E would assess their accuracy of communication by asking them to record, at 15 second intervals during the message, which of the five designs they believed was the correct one. They were told that the E would say NOW every 15 seconds and that this would be their signal to record their response on the space provided at the left hand margin of the page containing the five designs.

To insure that the Ss understood the instructions, there were two practice sessions. The first involved a description of one of five designs prepared on a black-board with the message consisting of a tape-recording of the E's own voice. For the second practice trial the Ss participated and a second tape-recording by the E served

as the message.

The booklets were then distributed and the Ss placed their name in a space provided at the top of the first page. Space was also provided for the name of their speaking partner who, they were told, was either a Tagalog named Renaldo de Gusman or a Chinese named Cheng Hee depending upon the order of the speakers for that particular testing session. The E then guided the Ss through the first two communication tasks and the intervening rating tasks associated with Ss' impressions of their own performance and that of their speaking partner both before and after each communication trial. When the Ss had completed the first half of the experiment the E again asked Ss to write their name and the name of their new speaking partner on the page before continuing with the third and fourth communication tasks. Following the communication tasks the Ss were led immediately to an adjoining room where they were provided with a second booklet which required them to rate the concepts TAGALOG PEOPLE and CHINESE PEOPLE (living in the Philippines) on the 12 semantic differential scales.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There were two major groups of analyses. The first series of analyses were designed to assess Ss'

differential performance in the communication task with the Chinese as compared with Tagalog speaker. These included Ss' perceptions of performance as well as the actual objective assessment of communicational efficiency. To assess Ss' differential performance and their perceptions of efficiency, a series of correlated t-tests were used.

The second group of analyses also involved a series of correlated t-tests and focused on the person perception aspect of the Ss' judgments. Separate analyses were performed for the total scores based on Ss' ratings of both speakers on those scales relevant to the stereotype of the Chinese, and Tagalogs as well as the evaluative scales. A similar series of analyses were conducted for Ss' ratings of the concepts CHINESE PEOPLE (living in the Philippines) and TAGALOG PEOPLE on the appropriate stereotype and evaluative scales which were made at the conclusion of the experiment. The two major groups of analyses will be discussed separately.

Communicational efficiency

Performance in the communication task was measured in terms of the number of 15 second periods necessary for a S to identify the correct design in each set. For each three and one half minute message, Ss made 14 judgments. The criterion for correct identification

was three consecutive correct choices with the further restriction that there were no incorrect responses following this. Each S completed two sets of designs with each of two speakers and hence received one total efficiency score for performance with a Tagalog speaker and one score for performance with a Chinese speaker. The minimum possible score was 2, for Ss who immediately identified the correct designs and the maximum was 28 for Ss who were not able to isolate the correct alternatives.

A correlated t-test yielded no significant effect. The mean communicational score was 21.90 which indicates that Ss required considerable time to isolate the correct design even though sufficient information was provided early in the messages. The present finding confirms the results reported earlier (Chapter 3) that ethnic communication is not impaired when the focus for the task is equally appropriate to both participating ethnic group members. The consistency of this finding in two widely different cultures receives further independent support from a study conducted by Samuels, Reynolds and Lambert, (1968) who assessed the efficiency of communication between French and English Canadian children. The task involved having a child communicate an order of play blocks to the listener who then arranged the blocks according to his interpretation of the other child's message. The results demonstrated that the ability to decode messages was

not related to the ethnic combination of speaker and listener and thus it appears that the results from three independent experiments warrant the conclusion that inter-ethnic group communication is as efficient as communication between members of the same group, within the limits of the nature of the communication paradigms employed thus far.

To assess Ss' perceptions of the communication situation, four correlated t tests were performed. Two of these were designed to assess Ss' anticipation of how they felt each speaker would perform and how Ss perceived the actual performance of both speakers. The remaining two analyses concerned Ss' judgments of their own performance with each speaker both before and after the actual communication task.

The Ss' judgments of the speakers' performance yielded no significant effects. This contrasts with the findings reported in Chapter 3 where all Ss felt that the French Canadian speaker's performance was inferior to that of the English speaker. It seems, therefore, that Ss in the Canadian setting were reacting negatively to the French speaker because he was communicating in his second language rather than reacting negatively to him as a minority group member. For the present experiment, both speakers were performing in their second language and there was no tendency for Tagalog Ss to anticipate, or actually perceive, poorer performance on the part of the Chinese

speaker.

This interpretation is not unequivocal, however, when consideration is given to the Ss' ratings of their own performance. Subjects anticipated that their own performance would be superior when their speaker was Tagalog ($\bar{X} = 12.78$) as compared to Chinese ($\bar{X} = 13.78$; $t = 3.06$, $p < .01$). It seems that Ss do anticipate poorer communication when the speaking partner represents a different ethnic group; however, they do not perceive this to be the result of the speaker's competence but would rather focus on themselves as the cause for anticipated differential performance. This self blame among Filipino Ss contrasts with the Canadian Ss who were willing to focus on the French Canadian as the cause for their perception of poor performance in the communication task. This may represent a cultural difference since, in the Philippines, smoothness of inter-personal relations is highly valued (cf., Guthrie, 1968; Lynch, 1964) and one way for these Ss to maintain harmony is to accept blame themselves rather than reacting negatively with respect to the abilities of other individuals.

Although Ss in the present study anticipated that their own performance would be inferior when the speaker was Chinese as compared with Tagalog, this perception was reversed when Ss made similar ratings at the completion of the communication task. The Ss rated their

own performance as superior with the Chinese speaker ($\bar{X} = 11.97$) as compared with the Tagalog one ($\bar{X} = 13.81$; $t = 2.10$, $p < .05$). Since the Ss had anticipated that their performance would be poorer with the Chinese speaker, it seems possible that they compensated by expending more effort and concentration when the speaker was Chinese. The Ss were probably aware of their own heightened concentration when the speaker was Chinese and hence felt that they had performed better with this person as compared with the Tagalog speaker.

The results of the present experiment suggest the generalization that in many situations the ability of Ss to decode a message is not impaired regardless of the S's own ethnic affiliation and that of the speaker. Furthermore, it appears that Ss generally tend to feel that combined performance will be inferior when their partner represents a different ethnic group; however, they appear to be reluctant to perceive the out-group member as the cause of poor performance and demonstrate their anticipation by making differential judgments of their own performance.

Person perception

Separate comparisons were made, by means of correlated t-tests, between ratings of the Chinese and Tagalog speakers on the Tagalog Stereotype, Chinese Stereotype, and Evaluative scales. The mean differences in the

ratings of the two ethnic group speakers on the Chinese Stereotype scales (Businesslike/unbusinesslike, Hard-working/lazy, Wealthy/poor, Successful/unsuccessful) and also on the Tagalog Stereotype scales (Friendly/unfriendly, Hospitable/inhospitable, Religious/irreligious, Musical/unmusical) although in the direction anticipated were not significant.

These findings are inconsistent with those discussed earlier (Chapter 3) and with results which have been reported consistently in the literature (Brown, 1968; Gardner & Taylor, 1968; Razran, 1950; Secord, 1959; Secord, Bevan & Katz, 1956; Tajfel, Sheikh & Gardner, 1964; Taylor & Gardner, in press). A combination of factors probably account for the present findings. The first involves the nature of the communication task which appeared to require the Ss' full attention. Thus, it is possible that the demands of the task coupled with the lack of a specific set for the Ss' to attend to the personality of the communicator resulted in Ss being unaware of the ethnic group membership of the speaker.

Secondly, the use of video-tape may also help to explain the lack of stereotyped ratings in the present experiment. While the communication task demanded most of the S's attention, when the Ss did glance at the television screen, they were probably provided with more information about the speaker than merely his ethnic identity.

Experiments which report stereotyped reactions to ethnic group representatives have typically employed tape-recordings (cf., Anisfeld, et al., 1962; Brown, 1968; Lambert, et al., 1960; Gardner & Taylor, 1968; Taylor & Gardner, in press; Tucker, 1968) or still photographs (Secord, 1959; Secord, et al., 1956). The use of video-tape in the present experiment, however, permitted Ss to obtain information about the speakers age, education, social status, and the like, which are not easily transmitted by means of photographs or tape-recordings (Licklider & Miller, 1951). Thus although ethnic group membership of the speaker was clearly portrayed, the Ss probably did not rely on their stereotypes and instead concentrated on other information which they received via the video-tape.

The lack of stereotyped reactions in the present study may be a function of the demands of the communication task and the cues provided by the video-tape; however, associated with these factors is the possibility that Filipino Ss, although willing to stereotype ethnic groups in general, are less willing to do so in the case of specific individuals. This behavior would be consistent with the cultural value of smooth face to face relationships believed to be of special importance for Filipino people (Guthrie, 1968; Lynch, 1964). It seems, therefore, that there are situations where ethnic stereotypes are not relied upon as a basis for forming

impressions. Although the generalization has been made (cf., Tajfel, Sheikh & Gardner, 1964) that Ss react to ethnic group members in a manner consistent with the stereotype of which the target person is a representative, it appears that in some situations, and in specific cultural communities this is not the case.

A correlated t test between Ss' ratings of the Tagalog and Chinese speakers on the four evaluative scales also revealed no significant difference. This finding was obtained despite the fact that the Chinese are viewed negatively by Filipinos in general. It seems that the Chinese speakers used in the present experiment were perceived as young students; a role they share with the Ss in the present experiment. Again the present Ss probably responded to the speaker as an individual and did not tend to impose their reactions to the group on the speaker.

Although Ss in the present study did not respond stereotypically to the Chinese and Tagalog speakers, they did, nevertheless, make stereotype judgments when presented with the appropriate ethnic group labels at the conclusion of the experiment. The Ss' responses on the four Chinese stereotype scales for the concepts CHINESE PEOPLE (living in the Philippines) ($\bar{X} = 7.59$) were significantly different from the ratings on these same scales for the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 12.69$; t = 5.21, $p < .01$). It is clear, therefore, that Ss responded

stereotypically to the concept CHINESE PEOPLE (living in the Philippines) whereas the scales used to form the dependent measure were not perceived as especially appropriate for Tagalog people. Similarly, for the Tagalog stereotype scales, the correlated t (10.26; $p < .01$) revealed that Ss responded stereotypically towards the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 7.25$) but did not perceive these scales as relevant to Chinese people ($\bar{X} = 15.19$). Furthermore, the Ss' responses based on the total for the four evaluative scales reveals that the concept CHINESE PEOPLE (living in the Philippines) ($\bar{X} = 16.41$) was rated negatively when compared to the corresponding ratings of the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 9.28$; $t = 40.10$, $p < .01$).

The results of Ss' ratings of the Chinese and Tagalog speakers as compared with the reactions to the ethnic group labels suggests that Ss will make use of ethnic stereotypes when reacting to the entire group and in the absence of other more relevant information (Chapter 2, 3 and 4) but that other factors will influence their perception when judgments concerning an individual member are to be made.

Gardner and Taylor (1968) and Taylor and Gardner (in press) have demonstrated that Ss' stereotypes are operative even when the ethnic group member denies the appropriateness of the stereotype to himself. The present results demonstrate, however, that when Ss are provided

with more information than just the ethnic group membership of the person to be judged, and where they are not given a specific set to attend to his personality, stereotypes will not be prominent in the person perception process.

The results of the present study provide both a replication and an important extension of the findings presented earlier (Chapter 3). It seems clear that in some situations the ability of a listener to decode a message is unaffected by the ethnic group affiliation of the speaker. Nonetheless, Ss anticipate poorer performance in a communication task with members of different ethnic groups than with members of their own group. Such anticipations may result because of Ss' perceptions of the out-group member (Chapter 3) or because of their own feeling of inadequacy with a member from a different ethnic group.

The person perception aspect of Ss' judgments, revealed that there are situations where ethnic stereotypes will not be used as a basis for impression formation of out-group members. When Ss have access to information about a person other than just his ethnic group membership, and where they are not given specific instructions to focus on impression formation, it appears that Ss integrate all available information to form an impression of the person rather than relying on existing stereotypes.

CHAPTER 6

The results of previous studies suggest that under certain conditions inter-ethnic group communication, assessed in terms of decoding speed and accuracy, will be as efficient as communication among members of the same ethnic group. It is possible, however, that if the discussion was about the characteristics of ethnic groups, communication among members from different ethnic groups would be affected. How communicational efficiency would be affected when a person hears the speaker make references to the ethnic groups represented by himself and the speaker is an empirical question. The listener may become more attentive because of the relevance of the topic to himself, or less attentive out of anticipation of statements the speaker might make which are contrary to the listener's beliefs.

A simulated dyadic communication task concerning ethnic groups may also influence the efficiency of decoding in a communication task regardless of the ethnic combination of the speaker and the listener. In such a situation it is possible that ethnic stereotypes may directly influence performance with respect to aspects of communicational efficiency. If a speaker's description

of an ethnic group conformed to the stereotype, it seems reasonable to expect that decoding accuracy would not be affected. A description which is inconsistent with Ss' stereotypes, however, may serve to distract the listener thereby impairing communication. On the other hand, the inconsistent information may serve to heighten the listener's attention to the message with the result that communication is facilitated. Similarly, evaluative remarks by the speaker about the ethnic groups may serve either to reduce or augment communicational efficiency depending upon the evaluative nature of the statements and their relationship to the beliefs of the listener.

It is also possible that the communication topic may affect Ss' judgments of the speaker in a person perception task. The findings reported in Chapter 5 revealed that under some conditions individuals who represent a specific ethnic group will not be stereotyped in the same manner as the entire group. In a communication task which involves statements about the characteristics of the ethnic groups represented by the speakers, it might be expected that the statements would serve to make the ethnic group of the speaker more salient for the judges. This saliency may provoke the judges to respond stereotypically even though under other conditions (see Chapter 5) they would not.

The present study, therefore, was designed to assess decoding accuracy under conditions where direct

statements were made about the characteristics of ethnic groups. One series of statements was either consistent or inconsistent with reference to the stereotypes of the ethnic groups represented by the participants in the experiment (Chinese and Tagalog). A second set of statements was either consistent, neutral, or inconsistent with respect to evaluative statements about Chinese and Tagalogs as they would be perceived from the Tagalog point of view.

The experiment took the form of a 2x2x3 factorial design analysis of variance with repeated measures on the first factor. The factors included Ethnic Group of the Speaker (Chinese vs Tagalog), Consistency with respect to the stereotype of Chinese and Tagalogs (consistent vs inconsistent) and Consistency of evaluative statements about the two groups from the point of view of Tagalogs (consistent, neutral, inconsistent).

METHOD

Subjects

The Ss for this experiment were 84 female sophomores from the Philippine Normal College, Manila. These students were a random sample selected from among those who were tested initially on an English form of the

semantic differential scales designed to assess the stereotypes of Chinese and Tagalog people. On that questionnaire each S indicated that she identified herself as a member of the Tagalog regional group.

Materials

The materials for this experiment included four sets of designs, scripts of descriptions of these designs recorded on video-tape by Chinese and Tagalog speakers, and a series of rating scales.

Designs. The four different sets of designs used in the present experiment were identical in form to those employed in the study reported in Chapter 5. The designs in each set were made distinct from each other by placing different letters in the rectangles used to form each design. Again, the second letter served a nominal function; however, the first letter was either a C or a T with the C representing a Chinese person and the T signifying a Tagalog person. The five designs in each set were labeled 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 so that Ss could make reference to them. Each of the four sets of designs was mounted on a separate page and arranged in booklet form.

Video-tape recordings. One design from each set was selected as the correct alternative to be identified by the Ss in the experiment. For each description of the correct design there were six possible wordings corresponding to the six experimental conditions involving

Stereotype and Evaluative Consistency. The general pattern of the messages involved a description of the form of the rectangles and the selection of Chinese and Tagalog persons to be placed in the positions represented by the rectangles. The descriptions of these designs varied in order to create the differential experimental conditions. For the "Stereotype Consistency" messages the speaker stated that he was placing Chinese people in certain positions (rectangles) because it was his belief that they are business-like, hardworking, wealthy and successful, while the Tagalog people were selected because in the speaker's opinion they are known to be friendly, hospitable, religious and musical. Thus the speaker's reasons for the placement of the ethnic group members were consistent with the stereotype about Chinese and Tagalog people. For the "Stereotype Inconsistency" conditions the words Tagalog and Chinese were interchanged in the messages such that Tagalog people were now selected for positions because they had traits which are typically associated with Chinese people. Similarly, the speaker stated in these messages that he selected Chinese people for certain positions because they were friendly, hospitable, religious and musical (traits central to the stereotype of Tagalog people).

The evaluative dimension was manipulated by having three separate wordings for each of the descriptions

of the four designs. For the "Evaluatively Consistent" message the speaker stated that his selection of a Tagalog person for one of the positions was because Tagalog people are superior to Chinese people. For the "Evaluatively Neutral" condition no reason was given for the selection of either a Chinese or a Tagalog person. The relative positions of the rectangles selected for these people was counterbalanced in this form of the messages. For the "Evaluatively Inconsistent" conditions the speaker stated that the choice between a Tagalog and a Chinese person was based on his knowledge that Chinese people are superior to Tagalogs.

For every set the format for each of the six messages was identical. In the same two places in each message the speaker explicitly stated his beliefs about the characteristics of Tagalog and Chinese people and twice in each message the speaker referred to the relative superiority of Chinese and Tagalog people. Each message required three and one half minutes to read and contained an identical number of words.

The two Chinese and two Tagalog students who served as speakers in the experiment described in Chapter 5 also read the messages for the present experiment. The room, and camera installation was constant throughout the taping of the messages.

For each of the six experimental conditions

there was an appropriate message for each of the four designs. For each condition two messages were read by a Chinese speaker and two were read by a Tagalog speaker. Each condition was then replicated, with the messages being read by different speakers and with ethnic group representation counterbalanced.

Rating scales. The scales used in the present experiment were identical to those included in the study reported in Chapter 5. The Ss were required to make judgments of their own performance (2 items) and that of the speaker (2 items) both before and after their experience with each of the four communication tasks. The questions were presented in a constant order with the Ss first evaluating their own performance and then judging the performance of their speaking partner.

To complete the person perception task, the Ss rated their Chinese and Tagalog speaking partner on a series of twelve semantic differential scales. These scales were identical to those used in the study reported in Chapter 5 and included four scales central to the stereotype of Chinese people (Businesslike/unbusinesslike, Hardworking/lazy, Wealthy/poor and Successful/unsuccessful) and four scales relevant to the stereotype of Tagalog people (Friendly/unfriendly, Hospitable/inhospitable, Religious/irreligious and Musical/unmusical). The remaining four scales (Responsible/irresponsible, Honest/

dishonest, Clean/dirty and Trustworthy/untrustworthy) were included to assess evaluative reactions to the speaker.

The same twelve semantic differential scales were also used to assess Ss reactions to the concepts **CHINESE PEOPLE** (living in the Philippines) and **TAGALOG PEOPLE**. Subjects also completed a 20 item Likert attitude scale designed to assess attitudes towards Chinese people and a similar 20 item scale to assess Ss attitudes of Tagalog people. These scales were developed as part of a class project under the direction of the present author. Reliability co-efficient of .81 and .87 were obtained for the Chinese and Tagalog forms respectively.

Procedure

The 84 Ss were tested in groups of seven. The female Filipino E explained and demonstrated the use of the rating scales and the communication task to the Ss. This E then guided the Ss through the four communication tasks and required ratings of the speakers and performance providing the appropriate cues for the video-tape technician. At the conclusion of this portion of the experiment the Ss went to an anteroom where they completed the attitude and semantic differential scales designed to assess their reactions to the concepts **CHINESE PEOPLE** (living in the Philippines) and **TAGALOG PEOPLE**.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There were two major groups of analyses. Those associated with assessing communicational efficiency and the Ss' perceptions of performance involved a series of 2x2x3 analyses of variance with the first factor composed of repeated measures. The dimensions for each analysis involved the ethnic group of the speaker (Chinese vs Tagalog) the consistency of statements in the messages with regards to the stereotypes of Chinese and Tagalog people (consistent vs inconsistent) and the consistency with respect to evaluative statements about Chinese and Tagalog people from the point of view of the Tagalog listeners (consistent, neutral, inconsistent). For discussion purposes these factors will be labelled Ethnic Group of Speaker, Stereotype Consistency and Evaluative Consistency respectively. The second group of analyses involved the same analysis of variance model and were focused on the person perception aspect of Ss' judgments. A separate analysis was performed for the total of Ss' ratings on the scales relevant to the stereotype of the Chinese, the total associated with the Tagalog stereotype scales and for the total of Ss' ratings on the evaluative scales. The same three analyses were performed on the same scales as they applied to Ss' ratings of the concepts CHINESE PEOPLE (living in the Philippines) and TAGALOG PEOPLE. Since it was not possible to directly

compare Ss scores on the 20 item Chinese attitude scale with the corresponding 20 item Tagalog attitude scale, separate 2x3 analyses of variance were employed to assess the effect of the experimental conditions on attitudes towards the Chinese and Tagalog people.

Communicational efficiency

Communicational efficiency was again (see Chapter 5) measured in terms of the number of 15 second periods necessary for a S to identify the correct design in each set. As well the criterion for correct identification was three consecutive correct choices providing no incorrect responses followed this. The summary for the analysis of variance is presented in Table 12. The factor of Ethnic Group of Speaker was not significant either in terms of a main effect or as contributing to any of the appropriate interactions. It seems that the use of a topic of direct relevance to the ethnic groups represented by the speaker and the listener does not result in differential efficiency when the speaker belongs to an out-group (Chinese) as compared to an in-group (Tagalog). This finding has been obtained in two cultures (Canada and the Philippines) using different ethnic groups, with Ss of different ages (Samuels, et al., 1968) and appears to be little affected by the topic selected as the focus for the communication task. The consistency of this

TABLE 12

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR COMMUNICATIONAL
EFFICIENCY SCORES

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	15.500	0.28
C - evaluative consistency	2	16.625	0.31
BC	2	235.750	4.33*
WITHIN	78	54.436	
A - ethnic group of speaker	1	30.000	1.15
AB	1	18.000	0.69
AC	2	1.781	0.07
ABC	2	14.062	0.54
WITHIN	78	26.049	

*p < .05

finding suggests the generalization that in many situations inter-ethnic group communication is as efficient as communication between members of the same ethnic group within the limitations of the communication paradigm employed in the present thesis.

For the same analysis of the communication scores, a significant interaction involving Stereotype Consistency and Evaluative Consistency was obtained. The means for this interaction are presented graphically in Figure 3. This result appears to be due to the differential effects of the Stereotype Consistent and Stereotype Inconsistent conditions under the different evaluative manipulations. Regardless of the Stereotype condition, decoding was moderately accurate under the Evaluatively Consistent and Evaluatively Inconsistent conditions. It seems that Ss' attention to the speakers' messages was attracted by the evaluative statements regardless of their relationship to the Ss' own beliefs. Since Filipino Ss appear to value smooth face to face interaction (cf., Guthrie, 1968; Lynch, 1964) evaluative statements of any nature may be unexpected and thereby serve to focus Ss' attention to the message. This attention, then, would account for the moderate performance by the listeners under the evaluative conditions.

For the Evaluatively Neutral condition, Ss appeared to be highly influenced by the Stereotype Consistency manipulation. In the Stereotype Consistency/

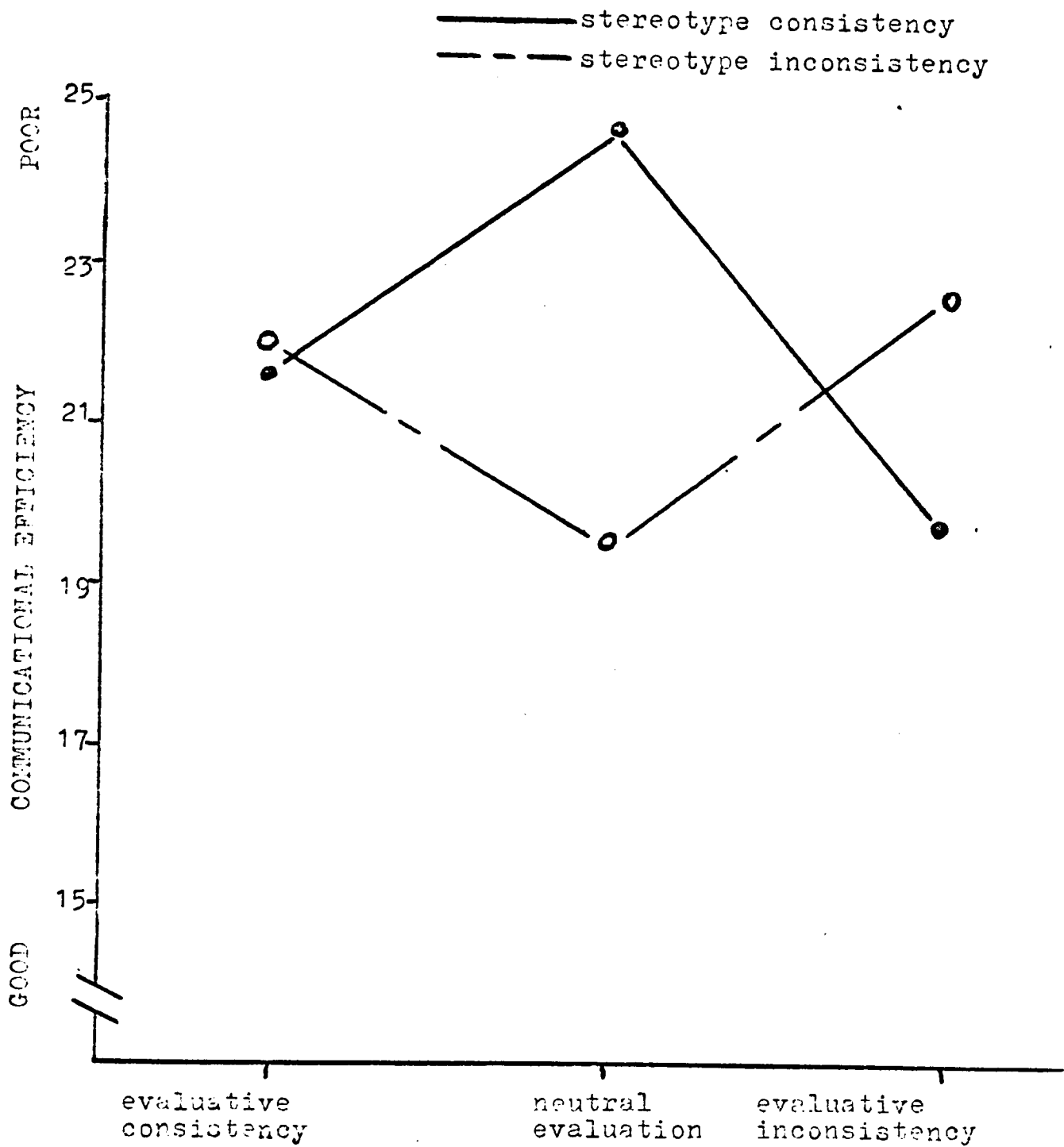


Figure 3. Interaction involving the factors of stereotype and evaluative consistency for communicational efficiency scores.

Evaluatively Neutral condition, decoding was least efficient possibly because the speakers said nothing that would attract the listener's attention. The Stereotype Inconsistent condition, however, resulted in efficient performance by the listener. In the absence of evaluative statements, the inconsistent stereotype information probably stimulated Ss to attend to the message thereby facilitating communication. It seems that, in general, inconsistent information serves to motivate Ss to attend to the communication; an interpretation which has also been suggested by Brown (1968) who assessed Ss retention of messages which were either consistent or inconsistent with their own beliefs. It is also significant that the fact that Ss maintain stereotypes of ethnic groups allows for the possibility of introducing inconsistent information and thereby influencing efficiency in the communication task. Stereotypes, therefore, not only operate in some person perception situations but also in other processes related to ethnic group interaction.

The results with respect to Ss' perceptions of communication performance partly support those which have been presented earlier. The 2x2x3 analysis of variance for Ss' ratings of how they anticipated they would perform in the communication task revealed that the only factor influencing Ss' judgments was the Ethnic Group of the Speaker (see Table 13). The Ss anticipated that their

TABLE 13

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS FOR RATINGS OF ANTICIPATION
OF OWN PERFORMANCE

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	1.926	0.10
C - evaluative consistency	2	22.363	1.12
BC	2	31.555	1.58
WITHIN	78	19.977	
A - ethnic group of speaker	1	25.926	5.59*
AB	1	5.359	1.15
AC	2	9.447	2.04
ABC	2	4.873	1.05
WITHIN	78	4.642	

* $p < .05$

own performance would be poorer ($\bar{X} = 12.88$) when the speaker was Chinese as compared to when he was Tagalog ($\bar{X} = 12.09$). This supports the findings reported in Chapter 5 and it seems that Ss anticipate poor communication with a member from a different ethnic group. Furthermore, the analysis of variance for Ss' ratings of the anticipated performance of the speakers (see Table 14) reveals that Ss expected that the Chinese speaker's performance ($\bar{X} = 11.89$) would be inferior to that of the Tagalog speaker ($\bar{X} = 10.39$). This result contrasts with the findings reported in Chapter 5 where Ss felt that their own performance would be affected by the ethnic group of the speaker but they did not rate the Chinese and Tagalog speaker's performance differentially. It appears that under normal conditions Filipino Ss refrain from rating the performance of out-group members as inferior to that of members of their own group. For the present experiment, however, the Ss were probably apprehensive; knowing that the speaker's messages would involve a discussion of their own ethnic group and that of a significant out-group. The Ss' involvement with the topic was probably sufficient to evoke reactions to the Chinese speakers that normally would not be expressed.

The results with respect to Ss' ratings of their own performance and that of the speakers after the communication task contrast with the ratings of anticipated

TABLE 14

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RATINGS OF ANTICIPATION
OF SPEAKERS PERFORMANCE

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	0.859	0.04
C - evaluative consistency	2	1.305	0.06
BC	2	34.945	1.50
WITHIN	78	23.298	
A - ethnic group of speaker	1	94.500	13.84**
AB	1	5.355	0.78
AC	2	14.518	2.13
ABC	2	3.232	0.47
WITHIN	78	6.829	

**p < .01

performance. No significant effects for either analyses were obtained. Ss were clearly apprehensive about their own performance and that of the speakers before the communication task because of their personal involvement in a discussion of ethnic groups. Participating in the task while seated with other members of their own group probably had the effect of reducing this feeling of apprehension. Thus, after the communication task had been completed Ss did not rate their performance or that of the speakers' differentially under the various experimental conditions.

The results of the present study, when viewed in light of the findings reported earlier (Chapter 3 and 5) clearly suggest that, in general, members of one ethnic group perceive that communication with a member of an out-group will be inferior to communication with an in-group member even when a common language is to be employed. This is clearly a misperception on the part of the Ss, however, since inter-ethnic group performance in the communication task actually appears to be as efficient as performance when the participants represent the same ethnic group.

Person perception

To assess Ss' semantic differential ratings of the speakers, a series of 2x2x3 analyses of

variance were performed. The factors for each analysis included Ethnic Group of the Speaker (repeated measure), Stereotype Consistency and Evaluative Consistency. The dependent measure for the first analysis (Table 15) was the total of Ss' ratings on the four scales central to the stereotype of Chinese people. A significant main effect was obtained for Ethnic Group of Speaker and it was clear that Ss responded to the Chinese speaker in a manner consistent with the stereotype of Chinese people ($\bar{X} = 10.40$) while the ratings of the Tagalog speakers differed on this dimension ($\bar{X} = 11.66$). Similarly the analysis (Table 16) for Ss' ratings on the total of the four Tagalog stereotype scales revealed a significant effect for Ethnic Group of the Speaker and no other significant effects were obtained. Subjects perceived the Tagalog speakers stereotypically on these scales ($\bar{X} = 10.23$) but the ratings of the Chinese speakers ($\bar{X} = 12.10$) differed on this dimension. Finally, the same main effect (Table 17) appeared for the total ratings on the evaluative scales where Ss responded more favorably to the Tagalog speakers ($\bar{X} = 10.52$) than to the Chinese speakers ($\bar{X} = 11.73$).

The fact that Ss responded stereotypically to the speakers is consistent with the reactions of English Canadian Ss towards English and French Canadians; however the present results contrast with those reported in Chapter 5 where Tagalog Ss did not respond stereotypically in

TABLE 15

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RATINGS OF SPEAKERS
ON CHINESE STEREOTYPE SCALES

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	0.004	0.00
C - evaluative consistency	2	3.576	0.20
BC	2	5.400	0.30
WITHIN	78	17.890	
A - ethnic group of speaker	1	65.625	8.67**
AB	1	0.293	0.04
AC	2	1.625	0.21
ABC	2	3.113	0.41
WITHIN	78	7.565	

**p < .01

TABLE 16

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RATINGS OF SPEAKERS
ON TAGALOG STEREOTYPE SCALES

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	16.723	0.76
C - evaluative consistency	2	30.875	1.40
BC	2	27.971	1.27
WITHIN	78	22.099	
A - ethnic group of speaker	1	146.723	23.36**
AB	1	0.051	0.01
AC	2	14.291	2.28
ABC	2	1.625	0.26
WITHIN	78	6.281	

**p < .01

TABLE 17

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RATINGS OF
SPEAKERS ON EVALUATIVE SCALES

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	0.148	0.01
C - evaluative consistency	2	9.213	0.49
BC	2	6.381	0.34
WITHIN	78	18.674	
A - ethnic group of speaker	1	60.719	12.91**
AB	1	1.719	0.37
AC	2	9.240	1.96
ABC	2	2.311	0.49
WITHIN	78	4.705	

**p < .01

their ratings of the speakers. The Tagalog Ss in the present study, like those employed in the study reported in Chapter 5, probably would not have responded stereotypically if the messages had not involved a discussion of the characteristics of ethnic groups. In the present study, however, Ss were exposed to messages which involved statements about Chinese and Tagalog people including clear references to the very traits which were also used to assess stereotyped reactions by these Ss. Ethnic group membership of the speakers, therefore, was made very salient and Ss even heard statements which would clearly remind them of the stereotype of Chinese and Tagalog people. Thus Ss in the present study reacted stereotypically to the speakers although Ss in the previous study (Chapter 5) did not.

It is especially interesting that the Stereotype and Evaluative consistency manipulations did not influence Ss' ratings of the speakers. Even though for half of the experimental conditions the speakers stated that Tagalogs have traits which are usually associated with the Chinese and the Chinese have traits normally attributed to Tagalogs, Ss did not respond to this information. The Ss probably heard the speaker's listing of the traits and did not attend specifically to the group these were associated with. It is clear, however, that under some conditions Ss were employing stereotypes even when the speaker

suggested that these were not appropriate. Support for this finding has been obtained by Gardner and Taylor (1968) and Taylor and Gardner (in press) who reported that Canadian Ss responded stereotypically to a speaker representing a specific ethnic group despite the speaker's denial of the appropriateness of the stereotype for himself. The Filipino Ss in the present study appear to be conforming to this finding although the experimental situations and the nature of the messages were somewhat different.

The ineffectiveness of the Stereotype and Evaluative Inconsistency conditions might be explained by the wording of the messages. The speakers referred to the characteristics of Chinese and Tagalog people as a group whereas the ratings discussed above were based on reactions to specific individuals. The Ss' ratings of the ethnic group labels at the conclusion of the experimental task mirrored those of the reactions to the specific Chinese and Tagalog speakers which again suggests that Ss were not affected by the stereotype and evaluative inconsistency conditions.

The 2x2x3 analysis of variance (Table 18) for ratings of the Chinese stereotype scales revealed a main effect for Ethnic Group of Speaker. The Ss reacted stereotypically to the concept CHINESE PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 7.03$) however Ss' ratings of the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 13.47$)

TABLE 18

SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RATINGS OF ETHNIC GROUP
LABELS ON CHINESE STEREOTYPE SCALES

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	13.148	1.25
C - evaluative consistency	2	5.541	0.53
BC	2	9.400	0.90
WITHIN	78	10.480	
A - ethnic group label	1	1742.148	157.35**
AB	1	0.055	0.00
AC	2	2.971	0.27
ABC	2	2.373	0.21
WITHIN	78	11.072	

**p < .01

differed on this dimension. Similarly, for the analysis of Ss' ratings on the Tagalog stereotype scales (Table 19) the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE was reacted to stereotypically ($\bar{X} = 7.31$) in contrast to Ss' reactions to the concept CHINESE PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 13.43$). Finally for the 2x2x3 analysis for the evaluative scales (Table 20) Ss' reacted more favorably to the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 10.08$) than to the concept CHINESE PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 15.32$). Support for this latter finding is reflected in the separate 2x3 analyses of variance for Ss' reactions on the Tagalog and Chinese attitude scales, where no significant results were obtained. For all the analyses discussed above Ss ratings were not significantly influenced by the Stereotype and Evaluative Consistency conditions. Thus, it seems clear, from student's reactions both to the Chinese and Tagalog speakers and to the corresponding ethnic group labels, that stereotypes form an important basis for Ss' inferences about ethnic groups even in the face of contrary information about the appropriateness of the stereotype for these groups.

In summary, the results of the present study provide an important extension to those reported in earlier chapters. Although decoding accuracy by the listeners was again not affected by the ethnic group of the speaker, it seems that ethnic stereotypes and consensual attitudes can influence performance in a communication

differed on this dimension. Similarly, for the analysis of Ss' ratings on the Tagalog stereotype scales (Table 19) the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE was reacted to stereotypically ($\bar{X} = 7.31$) in contrast to Ss' reactions to the concept CHINESE PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 13.43$). Finally for the 2x2x3 analysis for the evaluative scales (Table 20) Ss' reacted more favorably to the concept TAGALOG PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 10.08$) than to the concept CHINESE PEOPLE ($\bar{X} = 15.32$). Support for this latter finding is reflected in the separate 2x3 analyses of variance for Ss' reactions on the Tagalog and Chinese attitude scales, where no significant results were obtained. For all the analyses discussed above Ss ratings were not significantly influenced by the Stereotype and Evaluative Consistency conditions. Thus, it seems clear, from student's reactions both to the Chinese and Tagalog speakers and to the corresponding ethnic group labels, that stereotypes form an important basis for Ss' inferences about ethnic groups even in the face of contrary information about the appropriateness of the stereotype for these groups.

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TABLE 19

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RATINGS OF ETHNIC GROUP
LABELS ON TAGALOG STEREOTYPE SCALES

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	4.668	0.31
C - evaluative consistency	2	15.436	1.02
BC	2	44.504	2.95
WITHIN	78	15.097	
A - ethnic group label	1	1572.594	140.09**
AB	1	4.668	0.42
AC	2	0.291	0.03
ABC	2	17.793	1.59
WITHIN	78	11.225	

**p < .01

TABLE 20

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR RATINGS OF ETHNIC GROUP
LABELS ON EVALUATIVE SCALES

SOURCE	DF	MS	F
B - stereotype consistency	1	8.594	0.67
C - evaluative consistency	2	27.721	2.15
BC	2	29.363	2.28
WITHIN	78	12.864	
A - ethnic group label	1	1152.383	83.89**
AB	1	4.668	0.34
AC	2	9.041	0.66
ABC	2	0.184	0.01
WITHIN	78	13.737	

**p < .01

task by serving as stimuli which affect the listener's attention to the speaker's message. Consistent with studies reported earlier, the present results also support the generalization that Ss anticipate poorer performance with an out-group member as compared to a member from the same ethnic group as the S.

The findings reported in this study also revealed that although Filipino Ss are not generally predisposed to stereotyping individual ethnic group members, they will respond stereotypically to specific individuals, it seems, if reminded in the message about the traits usually associated with the specific ethnic groups in question.

CHAPTER 7

The five studies reported in this thesis explored the operation of two processes related to ethnic group interaction; viz., aspects of inter-ethnic group communication and ethnic stereotyping. The process of communication was studied in two cultures in order to generalize the findings with respect to those unique processes which operate when members of one ethnic group communicate with another. As well, the operation of stereotypes was explored in situations other than the traditional person perception paradigm. It was hoped that this extension might lead to generalizations about the role of stereotypes in ethnic group interaction.

The findings with respect to inter-ethnic group communication were consistent across both cultures. Subjects consistently perceived that communication with an out-group member would not be as efficient as communication with a member from the same ethnic group. In striking contrast, the objective assessment of communicational efficiency as reflected in listeners' decoding speed and accuracy revealed that Ss performed equally well with in-group and out-group members. It seems that the phenomena of ethnocentrism (cf., Levine, 1965) assumed to be inherent in all ethnic groups demonstrates itself in

misperceptions about the abilities of one group to communicate with another. That inter-ethnic group communication is, in fact, not inferior to in-group communication has serious consequences. The present findings suggest that for the achievement of efficient inter-group communication it will be important to study those attitudinal variables which affect feelings of in-group superiority with respect to the abilities of out-group members in a communication situation. For efficient inter-group communication in a common language, intensive training in the subtleties of language unique to a specific culture (cf., Pascasio, 1967) will not necessarily achieve this aim. If inter-ethnic group communication is to serve as a vehicle for resolving conflicts, then it is important that attitudinal differences between ethnic group members with respect to the major issues are not complicated by misperceptions about the abilities of the two groups to communicate with each other. These generalizations, however, are in need of empirical investigation since the studies reported in this thesis explored only one aspect of communication in a restricted experimental paradigm.

The findings with respect to person perception, although not identical for both cultures, allowed for clearer statements concerning the value of stereotypes for ethnic perception. In situations where judges are asked to make inferences about an entire group, when

provided only with the ethnic group label, stereotypes enable Ss to form integrated impressions on the basis of this very limited information. Both Filipino and Canadian Ss in the present thesis employed stereotypes in their reactions to ethnic group labels and it seems clear that stereotypes serve a useful function for the judges in such situations.

The usefulness of stereotypes in the formation of impressions of individual ethnic group members is questionable. It may be argued that responding stereotypically to an individual is an unwarranted generalization, and that other processes might be more useful for impression formation under these circumstances. This hypothesis is predicated, however, on the assumption that in the perception of individuals there is more information available than merely the person's ethnic group affiliation.

As in most studies of ethnic perception the English Canadian Ss in the communication task (Chapter 3), were actually only aware of the speaker's ethnic identification and in the absence of further information, the stereotype of the ethnic group enabled them to make inferences about the speaker. Thus, in some situations reacting to an individual on the basis of ethnic stereotypes would seem appropriate.

As well, most studies demonstrating that Ss

respond stereotypically to ethnic group individuals, employ a paradigm where judges are provided with a specific set to focus on the personality of the target person. That Ss employed stereotypes is not conclusive evidence that this process is activated spontaneously. The results of the present thesis suggest that Ss will use stereotypes to form impressions of individuals even when they are not given a specific set to do so. Thus it seems that in situations involving the perception of ethnic group individuals, in the absence of additional information, stereotypes are employed in a useful manner.

Stereotypes have proven to be useful for impression formation in situations involving minimal information but it would be reasonable to expect other processes to operate where judges are provided with more information than merely the ethnic affiliation of the target person. In the study reported in Chapter 5, Filipino Ss were exposed to a target person through the medium of television. The additional information about the person provided by this media resulted in a lack of stereotyped reactions by the judges. Thus, the process of stereotyping was abandoned in a situation which lent itself more readily to the operation of other processes.

In contrast to the findings cited above, the study described in Chapter 6 serves to illustrate how stereotypes may operate in a situation where information

in addition to ethnic affiliation is available to the judges. Subjects in this study, who were again exposed to the target person through the medium of television, employed stereotypes even in situations where the speaker made appropriate or inappropriate assignment of stereotype traits to specific ethnic groups. The speakers' description of the characteristics of ethnic groups appeared to remind Ss' of their stereotypes and thereby provoked their use by these judges; a finding which has also been reported for Canadian Ss by Gardner and Taylor (1968) and Taylor and Gardner (in press). Thus Ss employed stereotypes in a situation where other more relevant information was available. Furthermore, the same study revealed that statements inconsistent with Ss stereotypes served to alter their attention to the message again illustrating the influence of stereotypes in an inappropriate situation.

The results of the present thesis suggest, therefore, that stereotyping is an important process that can be useful in certain situations; however it seems that the same process sometimes operates when the use of other processes would be more advantageous.

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APPENDIX A

MEANS FOR FRUSTRATION AND NO-FRUSTRATION CONDITION FOR
RATINGS OF OWN PERFORMANCE AND THAT OF EXPERIMENTER
AND PARTNER

	Own Performance	Experimenter Performance	Partner Performance
Frustration Condition	4.29	4.52	3.34
No-Frustration Condition	3.02	3.14	2.83

* All means adjusted to reflect ratings on seven-point scale.

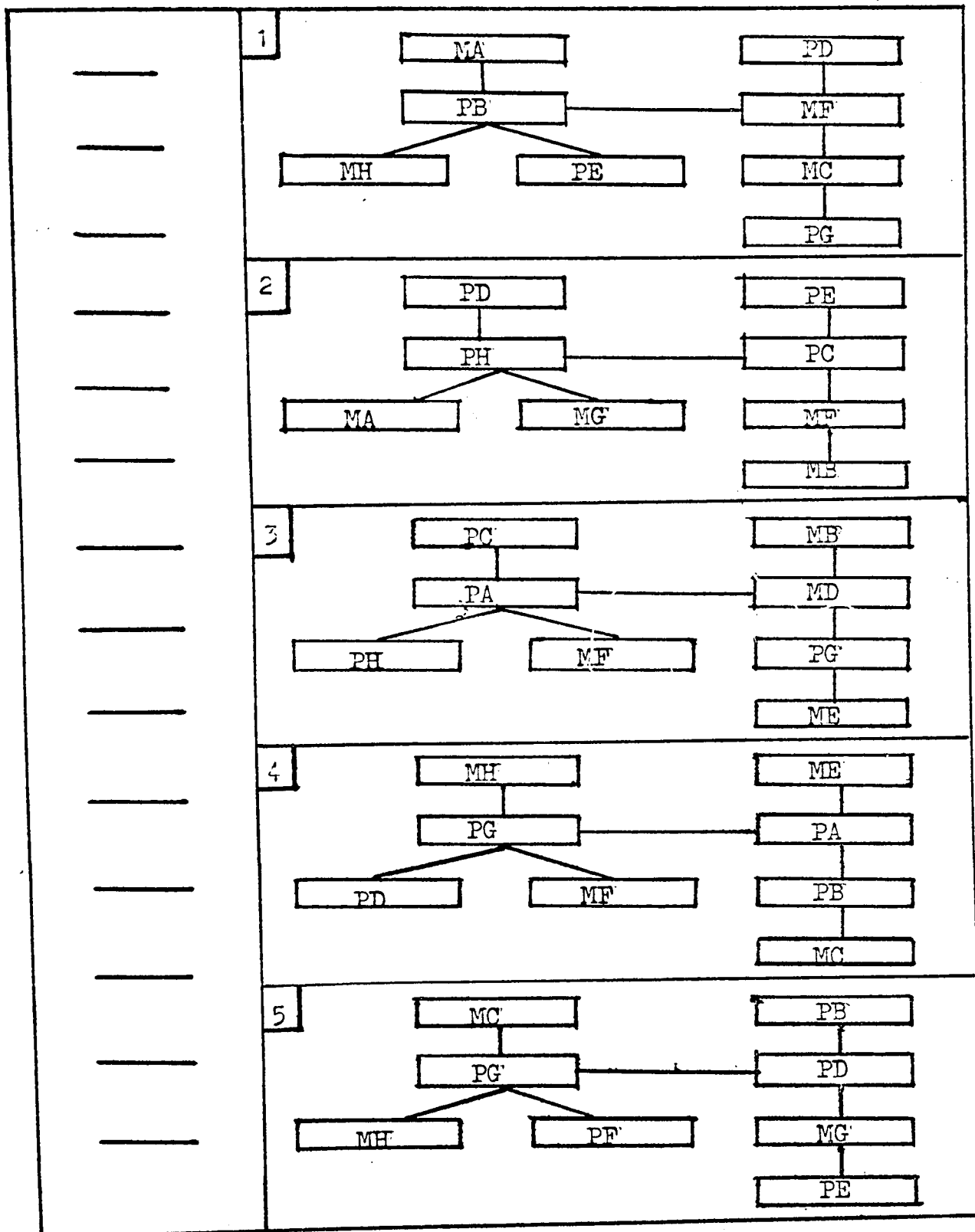
APPENDIX B

CELL MEANS FOR SS' RATINGS OF THEIR OWN PERFORMANCE
UNDER 16 EXPERIMENTAL CONDITIONS

	<u>French Speaker</u>				<u>English Speaker</u>			
	<u>Frustration</u>	<u>No Frustration</u>	<u>spontaneous</u>	<u>matched</u>	<u>Frustration</u>	<u>No Frustration</u>	<u>spontaneous</u>	<u>matched</u>
French Canadian <u>SS</u>	7.83	6.83	4.50	6.00	6.83	7.33	6.50	4.50
English Canadian <u>SS</u>	8.67	7.83	6.50	5.50	8.50	7.67	4.67	5.33

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLE OF SET OF DESIGNS USED AS FOCUS FOR
COMMUNICATION TASK



APPENDIX D

EXAMPLE OF MESSAGE READ BY CHINESE
AND TAGALOG SPEAKERS

For this organization that I have I see 1, 2, 3, 4 - - 8. I see eight different rectangles and many branches. And all these rectangles they are of the same size. Also I have eight people that I can use to place in these different positions and they all have their own qualities. So, I will think carefully about these qualities of these people and the qualities that are required by the different positions. In this way I can place people in the right position so that they will be able to do the most effective job.

Now at the top, or at the first line, on the left side there is one rectangle and just below this rectangle there is another one which is on the second line. And just below this rectangle but to the left there is a branch to another rectangle on the third line. For these three positions it is necessary to have people who have the same kind of qualities and so on the first line on the left I would put person C and just below this position I would put person A and below this one on the left I would put person H. All these people have the right qualities for these three positions and so, actually it does not

really matter which person I put in each of the three positions. Now on the left side there is only one more rectangle but on the right side there are four rectangles.

At the first line but on the right side now there is another rectangle. Just below this rectangle on the second line there is another rectangle which is also connected to the other rectangle on the left side. Also there is a rectangle on the third line which is below person A but a little to the right.

Now these three positions that I have just mentioned - They all require people of the same special qualities and so I will put Mr. B in the rectangle on the first line which is on the right side and below him I will put Mr. D and in the position which is below person A on the third line I will put Mr. F since these three people have the right qualities for these positions.

For the rectangle that is on the right side, just below Mr. D I could put person G or Mr. E but I think I will put person G because he is the best for that job. And below that rectangle there is one rectangle on the fourth line where I will put Mr. E because that is the only person that I have left for that position.

So there are eight rectangles and on the first line there are two rectangles. One on the left side which is person C and one on the right side which is Mr. B. On the second line there are also two rectangles and the one

on the left is person A and the one on the right is Mr. D. Then on the third line there are three rectangles and person H is on the left, Mr. F is in the middle and on the right side is person G. On the fourth line there is one rectangle which is Mr. E.

APPENDIX E

EVALUATIVE RATINGS OF TRAIT ADJECTIVES
MADE BY 25 Ss

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Number of Ss Giving Positively Evaluative Rating</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>Number of Ss Giving Negatively Evaluative Rating</u>
hospitable	25	inhospitable	25
insensitive	16	sensitive	16
happy	21	sad	16
modern	11	old fashioned	8
hardworking	25	lazy	25
peace loving	25	quarrelsome	24
courteous	25	discourteous	25
trustworthy	25	untrustworthy	25
affectionate	25	unaffectionate	25
adventurous	15	unadventurous	11
considerate	24	inconsiderate	23
successful	21	unsuccessful	21
light skin	10	dark skin	6
reliable	23	unreliable	21
artistic	23	inartistic	20
active	22	passive	18
friendly	23	unfriendly	25
patriotic	25	unpatriotic	25
submissive	11	dominant	15
responsible	24	irresponsible	24
sociable	19	unsociable	17
truthful	24	untruthful	25
musical	20	unmusical	14
humble	23	proud	23
trust in self	15	trust in fate	5
independent minded	18	colonial minded	13
not treacherous	19	treacherous	15
religious	23	irreligious	24
conforming	22	nonconforming	20
pleasant	25	unpleasant	23
knowledgeable	22	ignorant	21
calm	17	excitable	11
likeable	25	unlikeable	23
quiet	24	talkative	21
delicate	12	rugged	19
clean	25	dirty	25
thrifty	25	extravagant	23
clannish	11	individualistic	9
business-like	16	unbusiness-like	16
urban	16	rural	16
	(neutral ratings)		(neutral ratings)