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# Gender and ethnic stereotypes

Candice Joy Yee  
*San Jose State University*

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GENDER AND ETHNIC STEREOTYPES

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Psychology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Candice Joy Yee

August 2007

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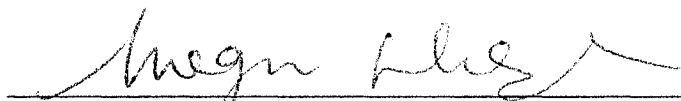
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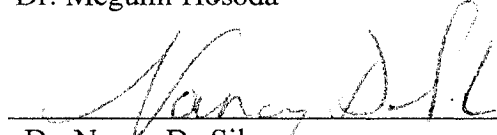
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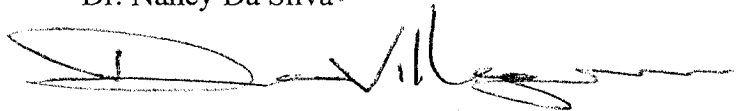
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Dr. Megumi Hosoda



Dr. Nancy Da Silva



Dean Villegas, Project Director, The Cobalt Group

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## ABSTRACT

### GENDER AND ETHNIC STEREOTYPES

by Candice Joy Yee

The present study examines the current status of the ethnic and gender stereotypes of four groups (i.e., Caucasian American, African American, Asian, and Hispanic). The sample included 261 college students at a large state university and a junior college located in Northern California. Results showed that stereotypes associated with Caucasian Americans and Asians are similar and positive (e.g., intellectually competent, having high social status, being conscientious). The stereotypes associated with African Americans and Hispanics are similar but negative (e.g., displaying antisocial attitudes and behaviors, not intellectually competent). Asians are stereotyped to be least socially competent and most viewed as immigrants. African American women are stereotyped to be most masculine of the women from all four of the ethnic groups.

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## Introduction

Research on gender stereotypes has shown that men and women are perceived to be quite different (e.g., Hosoda & Stone, 2000; Lueptow, Garovich, & Lueptow, 1995). For example, men are perceived to be aggressive, tough, strong, forceful, arrogant, and dominant; whereas women are perceived to be affectionate, sensitive, appreciative, and nagging (Hosoda & Stone, 2000). These gender stereotypes are based on individuals' images of a prototypical man and woman. In the United States, however, the prototype is Caucasian, middle-class, heterosexual, and Christian (Basow, 1992). Thus, Basow pointed out that different stereotypical traits exist for groups that differ from such prototype and suggested that the stereotypes associated with African Americans are different from those associated with Caucasian Americans, which are also different from the stereotypes associated with Asians.

Unfortunately, little research attention has been given to the examination of the stereotypes associated with various ethnic groups other than Caucasian Americans (Basow, 1992). In a few studies that have examined the stereotypes of a minority group, the emphasis has been a comparison between Caucasian Americans and African Americans (even without specifying gender). Therefore, the gender and ethnic stereotypes of minority groups other than African Americans have been ignored and are in need of systematic investigation (Basow, 1992; Sue & Kitano, 1973). Thus, given the lack of empirical evidence, it is important to understand the current status of the gender and ethnic stereotypes associated with various ethnic groups.

The study of gender and ethnic stereotypes of various groups is important

because, as will be discussed later, stereotypes have consistently been shown to influence individuals' decisions, judgments, and evaluation of a target person in various social contexts (e.g., medical, legal, employment), and such judgments and decisions are likely to adversely influence the lives of the person (e.g., misdiagnosis, denial of employment). In the paragraphs that follow, we introduce theory on social cognition and briefly review the research on the effects of stereotypes on decisions and evaluations across many social contexts. We then review literature on ethnic stereotypes, followed by gender stereotypes.

### Theory on Social Cognition

Theory and research on social cognition suggest that individuals often use one or more distinct or salient attributes of a person to assign him or her to a particular social category (Macrae, Stanger, & Hewstone, 1996). Certain such attributes (e.g., age, sex, skin color) are "primitive" dimensions, and categorization based upon these dimensions occur automatically and unconsciously (Brewer, 1988; Devine, 1989). Once the person is categorized as a member of the social category, the subsequent processing of information about the person is guided by the nature of the group into which he or she is placed, and thus the subsequent perception of the person is category-based, rather than individual-based (Devine & Baker, 1991).

There are several consequences of categorization. One such consequence is the activation of the stereotype associated with a given social category (Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990; Stone, Stone, & Dipboye, 1992). Stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics of an individual based upon his or her

membership in a given social category (Nelson, 2002). They are standardized notions and fixed ideas that often distort reality and are overgeneralizations (Guichard & Connolly, 1977). Once a stereotype is activated, individuals use it to generate a set of beliefs about the person.

Stereotypes are often functional because they serve as a time-saving device to help an individual simplify how to view others (Hurh & Kim, 1989). Although stereotypes can be a positive tool used to minimize cognitive efforts when perceiving others, they can be dysfunctional as well (Nelson, 2002). Stereotypes can frequently lead to erroneous perceptions and judgments about others. Furthermore, stereotype-based inferences can influence the degree to which individuals are treated fairly (Stone-Romero & Stone, 2005). Indeed, a considerable amount of research has shown that stereotypes affect decisions, judgments, and evaluations made within a variety of settings (e.g., legal, mental health, workplace) (Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985; Gilbert, Carr-Ruffino, Ivancevich, & Lowness-Jackson, 2003; Johnson, Kurtz, Tomlinson, & Howe, 1986; Jones & Kaplan, 2003; Leiber & Mack, 2003; Moss & Tilly, 1996; Rosenthal, 2004).

Stereotypes are often characterized and shaped by the zeitgeist of the time and conditions of society, frequently illustrating perceptions and judgments of different groups with no real basis or validity behind it (Hurh & Kim, 1989; Sue & Kitano, 1973). Thus, the stereotype of one group can alter over time as a function of societal change (Hurh & Kim, 1989; Sue & Kitano, 1973). For example, in the late 1880s when the Chinese immigrants in the United States became a threat to job competition with Caucasian Americans, stereotypes and characterizations of the Chinese people quickly

turned from positive to negative. A similar phenomenon occurred for Japanese Americans during the war with Japan in the 1940s (Hurh & Kim, 1989; Mok, 1998; Sue & Kitano, 1973). However, in later years, with the end of WWII and the defeat of Japan, negative stereotypes of Japanese Americans began to fade and have since then been transformed into positive stereotypes (Sue & Kitano, 1973). Although stereotypes are hard to change, but given that they can change over the years, it is important to periodically study stereotypes, thereby keeping the research current (Hosoda & Stone, 2000).

#### Literature Review on the Effects of Stereotypes

The effects of stereotypes on decisions, judgments, and evaluations have been examined in a variety of settings (e.g., legal, mental health, workplace). For example, in a mock trial, jurors rendered African American defendants harsher punishments compared to Caucasian Americans, regardless of type of crimes they committed (Jones & Kaplan, 2003). According to the authors, this is probably because African Americans are often stereotypically perceived as more delinquent than Caucasian Americans. In addition, when the defendants were charged with a crime stereotypically fitting to their ethnicity (i.e., grand-theft auto for African Americans, embezzlement for Caucasian Americans), jurors viewed the defendant's personality rather than circumstances as the cause for his behavior (Jones & Kaplan, 2003) and indicated that the behavior would likely to occur again (Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985).

Likewise, in medical settings, several studies have been conducted to demonstrate how stereotypes can influence medical students' perceptions of patients and clients. In

examining how ethnicity could affect the clinical judgment of rehabilitation counselors, Rosenthal (2004) had participants review a case file from one of two clients. Each file was identical in content except that one client was portrayed as an African American and the other as a Caucasian American. Participants were only given one case file to review. Results showed that the African American client was rated more negatively in respect to his or her attitudes, academic potential, educational and employment potential, and probability of aptitude in the future, compared to the Caucasian American client. When asked to review the same case file a second time, these medical students still maintained these negative evaluation(s) of the African American client even when additional contradicting information on the client was given (e.g., other agency reports and evaluations).

In the workplace, a substantial number of studies exist that show biases against women and ethnic minority members due to the stereotypes associated with these groups. For example, women are often preferred less for male-sex typed jobs (Davison & Burke, 2000), promoted less frequently into managerial levels (Heilman, 1983), and encounter disapproval by others when exhibiting counternormative behavior such as displaying “manly” attributes (Heilman, 2001).

Furthermore, Gilbert et al. (2003) conducted a study where participants compared the employment profile of either an African American or Asian employee, with each being portrayed as either a man or a woman, and either an engineer or a human resources specialist. Each of the employee profiles was identical in regards to qualifications, experience, and work history. It was found that African American men were perceived

more negatively compared to African American women and Asians with regards to their competencies, seriousness about work, and politeness, regardless of job type. Results also showed that Asian applicants were rated as more serious about work than African American applicants, however, African American women were rated more favorably overall compared to their male counterparts and were viewed similar to both Asian men and women. Moreover, in a qualitative study consisting of 66 face-to-face interviews with 75 employers from various industries within the Chicago area, Moss and Tilly (1996) found that African Americans were rated lower in both their hard and soft skills within the workplace compared to Caucasian Americans and Hispanics. Additionally, these employers viewed African American men as being defensive, hostile, hard to control, and unmotivated workers (Moss & Tilly, 1996).

Although Asians are stereotypically viewed as too successful to be labeled a disadvantaged minority, many have argued against the validity of this notion of the Model Minority thesis (Cheng, 1997; Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Hurh & Kim, 1989; Sue & Kitano, 1973; Tang, 1997). More specifically, several researchers have found that although Asians have attained higher educational levels compared to Caucasian Americans, they often earn less income, hold fewer managerial positions, are less likely to be promoted, and are faced with a glass ceiling more often in the workplace (Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, 1990; Cheng, 1997; Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997).

Based on the analysis of data from the 1989 Survey of Natural and Social Scientists and Engineers, Tang (1997) found that a lower percentage of Asian American full-time salaried scientists and engineers were promoted to a management position

compared to their Caucasian American and African American counterparts. There are many speculations as to why this inequity in upward mobility between Asians and Caucasian Americans exists in the workplace. Some researchers and practitioners blame discrimination as a cause, whereas others point to the widely held negative perceptions toward Asians as lacking leadership qualities and assertiveness (Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Xin, 1997). In Xin's study (1997) on the utilization of impression management tactics among Asians with their supervisors, it was suggested that because Asians are stereotyped as being hard workers, it is simply expected by supervisors that large amounts of work output be produced by their Asian employees. Continuing with this theory, Asian employees are, therefore, never viewed as ever working beyond their expectations (Xin, 1997). This false impression by supervisors often leads them to overlook the potentials of their Asian employees to move upward within the company and into a management or leadership position (Xin, 1997). In sum, research has consistently shown that stereotypes influence decisions and evaluations in many different contexts.

Although the present study does not directly examine discrimination within the workplace or the effects of stereotypes on job-related decisions in the workplace, these findings can be applied to and have substantial implications for the workplace setting. Indeed, Cleveland, Stockdale, and Murphy (2000) have asserted that stereotypes influence judgments and evaluations of individuals in every aspect of employment (e.g. hiring, promotion, resource allocation, task assignments). The influence that stereotypes exert on judgments and decisions can, therefore, have future lifelong implications for an



individual (Johnson et al., 1986; Rosenthal, 2004). The purpose of this study is therefore to understand the current status of stereotypes and not the effects of stereotypes on work-related outcomes. The findings of this study will, as a result, create a foundation for additional research within the field of Industrial/Organizational (I/O) psychology (e.g., workplace discrimination, diversity, hiring, interviewing). For that reason, the findings of the present study necessitate the further study of ethnic and gender stereotypes.

### Past Research on Stereotypes

#### *Ethnic Stereotypes*

As mentioned earlier, past research on ethnic stereotypes has largely focused its attention on Caucasian Americans and African Americans. Therefore, a limited number of studies have been conducted on the stereotypes of Hispanics and Asians, and its consequences within our society. It is understood that Hispanics and Asians as a label encompass a broad array of nationalities. Therefore, it should be noted that the present study is interested in the cultural stereotypes of Hispanics and Asians as a whole rather than the stereotypes of specific ethnic groups of Hispanics (e.g., Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans) and Asians (e.g., Chinese, Indian, Japanese). This section will briefly summarize the stereotypes and general characteristics found in past research for Caucasian Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians.

*Caucasian Americans.* The stereotypes associated with Caucasian Americans over the years have more often than not been positive in nature. Caucasian Americans are frequently described as ambitious, industrious, efficient, intelligent, progressive, materialistic, pleasure-loving, aggressive (Maykovich, 1969a), hardworking, scientific,

non-superstitious, and cruel (Guichard & Connolly, 1977). Triandis et al. (1982) found that Hispanics view Caucasian Americans as educated, ethical, competitive, cooperative, independent, and hardworking. These findings indicate that in general, research has depicted Caucasian Americans as possessing attributes related to intellectual competence, high social status, integrity, and conscientiousness.

*African Americans.* African Americans have been consistently characterized by negative stereotypes over the years. In the early 1930s African Americans were described as superstitious, lazy, ignorant, stupid, and physically dirty (Maykovich, 1969a). Although the stereotypes attributed to African Americans have become more positive in recent years, a larger percentage of negative attributes continue to describe the image of this ethnic group. Positive attributes include pleasure loving, aggressive, jovial, musical (Maykovich, 1976b), sportsmanlike (Guichard & Connolly, 1977), and straightforwardness (Maykovich, 1969a). Negative stereotypes include being noisy, angry (Jackson, Hodge, Gerard, Ingram, Ervin, & Sheppard, 1996; Jackson, Lewandowki, Ingram, & Hodge, 1997), lazy (Jackson et al., 1997), rebellious, poor (Jackson et al., 1996), ignorant, quick tempered, and unreliable (Devine & Baker, 1991; Maykovich, 1976b). Thus, African Americans can be characterized as having masculine attributes and antisocial attitudes and behaviors, at the same time lacking attributes related to intellectual competence, high social status, conscientiousness, and integrity.

*Hispanics.* There are a limited number of studies on the stereotypes associated with Hispanics. However, a few available studies show for the most part a negative assessment of Hispanics by Caucasian Americans. Negative stereotypes for Hispanics

are often similar to those attributed to African Americans, such as being lazy, cruel, and ignorant (Guichard & Connolly, 1977; Marin, 1984). Positive stereotypes for this ethnic group include being talkative, tradition loving (Fairchild & Cozens, 1981), educated, friendly, ambitious, and hardworking (Triandis et al., 1982).

Marin (1984) asked respondents to freely produce stereotypes they held for various ethnic groups and found that Hispanics were viewed to be aggressive, poor, family-oriented, proud, and hardworking (Marin, 1984). Consistent with the negative stereotypes associated with Hispanics shown in earlier studies, Jackson et al. (1996) found that Hispanics were rated as being less business minded, less materialistic, less patriotic, more uneducated, and poorer compared to Caucasian Americans.

Thus, characteristics associated with Hispanics have been shown to closely mirror those of African Americans. In other words, Hispanics are viewed to possess masculine attributes and antisocial attitudes and behaviors, and lack intellectual competence, and high social status.

*Asians.* Little research can be found on Asians and their presence within the community and organizations (Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997). The limited number of studies found on society's perception of Asians often focus on the Model Minority thesis, where Asians are viewed as being so successful as a group that they are not considered a disadvantaged minority. Not only do Asians possess high educational levels, they show low rates of juvenile delinquency, divorce, and mental illness. Asians are, therefore, seen as and are considered the group that other minority groups should model after (Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997; Mok, 1998; Sue & Kitano, 1973; Xin, 1997).

Common positive stereotypes arising from the Model Minority perception include being intelligent, smart, genius, overachiever, majoring in law/math/sciences, 4.0 GPA, competitive, diligent, agreeable, flexible, modest, polite, patient, and nonconfrontational (Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997; Mok, 1998; Sue & Kitano, 1973; Xin, 1997). Some of the more negative stereotypes include not having fun, short, nerdy, wears glasses, poor English skills, having an accent, and an inability to communicate (Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997; Mok, 1998).

Thus, given that Asians have been viewed successful and positive as a minority, characteristics associated with this ethnic group have shown the most similarity to those linked with Caucasian Americans. However, Asians have been labeled to possess more feminine attributes and less social competence than any of the other three ethnic groups discussed above.

As the number of immigrants continues to grow and, consequently, change the United States' population and its ethnic composition, stereotyping toward targeted ethnic groups are on the rise, especially among coastal regions. In 2003, according to the United States Census Bureau, there were 33.5 million foreign born (those who were not United States' citizens at birth), representing 11.7 percent of the United States population (Camarota, 2006). Of these 33.5 million foreign born, 53.3% were born in Latin America, 25% in Asia, 13.7% in Europe, and the remaining 8% in other regions of the world (Camarota, 2006). The population from Central America (including Mexico) accounted for more than two-thirds of the foreign born from Latin America and more than one-third of the total foreign born (Camarota, 2006). With immigration reform

escalating in United States' policy, immigrants and the topic of illegal immigration have recently been placed at the forefront of the national media. Given these statistics, people may assume the majority of Asians and Hispanics are themselves immigrants. The stereotypes associated with these groups include characteristics typical of immigrants, such as having a foreign accent and being multilingual. It is, therefore, important to study whether members of these two ethnic groups are indeed stereotyped to be immigrants. This is because the current debates regarding job competition between immigrants and non-immigrants have increased, which have consequently sparked negative attitudes against immigrants by Americans. For example, in a study on Americans' attitudes toward immigrants from Cuba, Mexico, and Asia, it was found perceived feelings of threat to be a consistent predictor of prejudice (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). In particular, Americans felt these three immigrant groups posed a threat to their existence (i.e. political, economic, physical well-being) and worldview (i.e., beliefs, morals, values), and these feelings were then strongly associated with direct measures of racial attitudes. These negative attitudes against immigrants might influence the judgments and perceptions of individuals when they are categorized or are falsely categorized as immigrants. Based on the findings of past research, the following hypotheses were tested:

*Hypothesis 1a:* Caucasian Americans and Asians will be rated similarly and higher on the dimensions measuring intellectual competence, conscientiousness, high social status, and integrity; and lower on the dimension measuring antisocial attitudes and behaviors compared to African Americans and Hispanics. It should

be noted that given no previous research has examined the concept of integrity of Hispanics in comparison to Caucasian Americans, a test for the dimension measuring integrity will be exploratory for Hispanics.

*Hypothesis 1b:* Asians will be rated higher on the femininity dimension and lower on the masculinity dimension and social competence compared to Caucasian Americans, African Americans, and Hispanics.

*Hypothesis 1c:* Hispanics and Asians will be rated higher on the dimension measuring immigrant status compared to Caucasian Americans and African Americans.

#### *Gender Stereotypes*

Several studies have demonstrated that men and women are perceived to be quite different from one another (Bergen & Williams, 1991; Hosoda & Stone, 2000; Leuptow, Garovich, & Leuptow, 1995; Ruble, 1983; Werner & LaRussa, 1985) and that gender stereotypes have remained largely stable over the past decades (Hosoda & Stone, 2000). In general, men are characterized as possessing “agentic” or achievement-oriented traits, such as being aggressive, forceful, independent, and decisive (Heilman, 2001). On the positive side, men are stereotypically believed to hold traits related to competence, as well as being described as handsome, aggressive, tough, courageous, and strong (Hosoda & Stone, 2000). However, negative stereotypes have described men as forceful, arrogant, egotistical, boastful, and hard-headed (Hosoda & Stone, 2000). Hosoda and Stone (2000) suggest that a greater percentage of unfavorable attributes is associated with masculine

stereotypes and that masculine stereotypes are becoming more unfavorable over the years.

In contrast, women are characterized as possessing “communal” or social-and-service-oriented traits (Heilman, 2001). Women are oftentimes viewed to hold traits that reflect warmth and expressiveness, such as being kind, helpful, sympathetic, and concerned about others (Heilman, 2001). Positive feminine stereotypes include being affectionate, sensitive, appreciative, sentimental, and sympathetic; whereas negative stereotypes have labeled women to be nagging and fussy (Hosoda & Stone, 2000). Gender stereotypes often focus on the woman’s place and role in the home and men’s place and role outside the home (i.e. workplace) (Snizek & Neil, 1992). In view of these findings, the following hypothesis was tested:

*Hypothesis 2:* Men and women will be rated differently on the dimensions measuring antisocial attitudes and behaviors, intellectual competence, concern for others, masculinity, and femininity. Specifically, men will be rated higher on antisocial attitudes and behaviors, intellectual competence, and masculinity; and lower on concern for others and femininity compared to women.

#### *Gender Stereotypes of Various Ethnic Groups*

There exists little research on the interaction of ethnicity and gender on stereotypes. In other words, little has been done to study how stereotypes for a particular ethnicity will differ depending on whether the individual is a man or a woman. This is a detrimental shortcoming in the research on stereotypes as it has been shown that national stereotypes typically echo the descriptions attributed only to men (Eagly & Kite, 1987).

Therefore, it is oftentimes inaccurate to employ stereotypes of one ethnic group to both men and women. This may be especially true within the realms of the workplace environment. For example, as mentioned earlier, Gilbert et al. (2003) found that African American male candidates were viewed less positively compared to their female counterparts in job selection decisions. Although African American women were perceived more positively and comparable to Asians, African American men were perceived as being least competent, least serious about work, and least polite among African American women and Asians.

In studying differences in gender stereotypes among Japanese Americans, both gender groups were considered typically feminine with men being viewed as quiet, shy, and timid; and women being viewed as graceful, lovely, delicate, and servile. Similarly, Chinese American men were also found to be depicted on non-masculine characteristics, such as being quiet, modest, polite, and obedient; whereas Chinese American women were found to be viewed as being slim, sexy, feminine, and charming. Due to the emasculated view of Asian men, the stereotypical image of Asian women tends to be a more positive, desirable, and appropriate one compared to that of Asian men (Mok, 1998; Sue & Kitano, 1973).

Although researchers have frequently examined ethnic stereotypes as they are associated with men, little has been done to study the potential differences in stereotypes among women of different ethnic groups. For example, Tang (1997), in studying women of different ethnicities (i.e., Caucasian American, African American, Asian) in natural sciences, found that Caucasian American women were most likely to move to managerial



or administrative positions, and Asian women were least likely to move to such positions. Tang attributes these findings to the view that Asians are typically seen as passive and unassertive, whereas African Americans are typically viewed as possessing those qualities more adept to being a successful leader, such as assertiveness and the ability to confront others. In addition, other researchers have found that African American women are perceived to be more masculine and less feminine compared to Caucasian American and Asian women (Jackson et al., 1997).

Although research evidence on gender stereotypes of various ethnic groups is limited, based on past research findings, the following hypotheses were tested:

*Hypothesis 3:* African American women will be rated lower on the femininity dimension and higher on the masculinity dimension compared to Caucasian American, Asian, and Hispanic women.

*Hypothesis 4:* Asian men will be rated higher on the femininity dimension and lower on the masculinity dimension compared to Caucasian American, African American, and Hispanic men.

## Method

### *Pilot Study*

A pilot study was conducted to generate a list of attributes describing men and women of four ethnic groups (i.e., Caucasian American, African American, Asian, Hispanic). A total of 46 college students participated in the pilot study. No demographic information was collected or recorded for the participants. Participants were asked to list five positive and five negative characteristics that our culture associates with each of the

following ethnic groups: Caucasian American, African American, Asian, and Hispanic. Sixteen participants (genders unknown) listed characteristics associated with men from the four ethnic groups and 30 participants (genders unknown) listed characteristics associated with women from the four ethnic groups. A total of 402 attributes were generated from these 46 participants. Of the 402 attributes, only those items listed by two or more participants were retained.

Following this criterion, 278 items were eliminated from the list and 124 items remained. An additional 22 attributes based from previous research studies were included to the list (e.g., good at math/science, law-abiding, aggressive, manipulative), resulting in a total of 146 items.

#### *Present Study*

*Participants.* Two hundred and sixty one college students at a large state university and a junior college located in Northern California participated in the present study. Sixty-nine percent ( $n = 181$ ) of the participants were women. Participants' ages ranged from 15 years to 60 years ( $Mdn = 23$ ,  $SD = 7.48$ ). The sample was diverse in terms of its ethnic composition; 38% ( $n = 99$ ) Caucasian, 38% ( $n = 99$ ) Asian, 15% ( $n = 38$ ) Hispanic, 2% ( $n = 6$ ) African American, and 7% ( $n = 19$ ) mixed-ethnicity.

*Procedure.* A Caucasian woman experimenter administered questionnaires to participants in groups. Each group consisted of 3 to 21 participants and met in a classroom. At the beginning of the experimental session, the experimenter explained to them that she was interested in examining society's gender stereotypes of various ethnic groups. After this brief explanation, participants were asked to complete a consent form.

Participants were then presented with an instruction sheet, a questionnaire containing a list of personal attributes and demographic information. Participation in the study was completely voluntary and confidential.

Instructions asked participants to describe society's stereotype of one of the eight target groups that differed on ethnicity and gender. More specifically, participants were asked to describe those characteristics people in our culture and society, as a whole, considered typical of a particular group of people, rather than those characteristics they considered typical of the particular group of people. It should be noted that this particular distinction was made given that cultural stereotypes are difficult to change because it is shared by many within our society, whereas individual stereotypes hold the potential to change due to personal experiences and direct contact with members of a specific social group (Nelson, 2002). Therefore, cultural stereotypes are extremely harmful and challenging compared to individual stereotypes because of their widespread influence (Nelson, 2002). In addition, this distinction was also made to decrease the occurrence of social desirability among participants. After completing the questionnaire, participants were provided with a written debriefing.

### *Measures*

Rosenberg (1976) and Eagly (1991) assert that individuals' evaluative beliefs about others can be measured by several dimensions. Thus, ten dimensions of personal attributes were created for the present study: antisocial attitudes and behaviors, intellectual competence, concern for others, high social status, masculine attributes, feminine attributes, conscientiousness, social competence, integrity, and immigrant

status. Four graduate students and a faculty member were used as subject matter experts (SME) to categorize separately the 146 items found in the pilot study into one of these ten dimensions. Items under each dimension were adjectives depicting personal characteristics and traits found in our society. Consensus was obtained when three out of the five SMEs were in agreement as to which dimension an item was to be placed within. When there was a lack of consensus, the group discussed to resolve the matter. Items were removed from the list when consensus could not be reached following further discussions. As a result, 32 items were removed, leaving a total of 114 items to be used in the present study. All the items were responded to using a 7 point Likert-type scale, with response options ranging from 1 = “not at all” to 7 = “extremely” in regards to the degree to which each item described society’s perceptions of a specific ethnicity and gender. After computing Cronbach’s alpha, items for each dimension were summed and averaged.

*Antisocial attitudes and behaviors.* This dimension was assessed using 24 items ( $\alpha = .93$ ). The dimension consisted of negative personal attributes, such as having a bad attitude (e.g., hostile, argumentative) and being self-centered (e.g., inconsiderate, rude).

*Intellectual competence.* This dimension contained 10 items ( $\alpha = .91$ ) which measured intellectual and task-relevant ability (vs. not intelligent, uneducated). The dimension also encompasses a hard and rational mental style (e.g., logical, good at math/science).

*Concern for others.* This dimension consisted of 13 items ( $\alpha = .89$ ) which assessed one’s concern for others’ welfare and the associated quality of selflessness. The

positive side of this dimension involved being emotionally supportive, as well as sensitive, respectful (vs. disrespectful) and generous to others.

*High social status.* This dimension contained 13 items ( $\alpha = .89$ ) which measured one's social status related to success within society's view. The dimension includes social standards and qualities characteristic of living a successful life as viewed by society's standards, such as being upper class and holding a white collar job (vs. being lower class, holds blue collar job).

*Masculine attributes.* This dimension was assessed using 12 items ( $\alpha = .82$ ). The dimension contained qualities suggestive or characteristic of a man, such as power (e.g., powerful, leader) and dominance (e.g., dominant, controlling).

*Feminine attributes.* This dimension contained 13 items ( $\alpha = .77$ ) which measured qualities suggestive or characteristic of a woman, such as being passive (e.g., submissive, quiet) and dependent (e.g., follower, unassertive).

*Conscientiousness.* This dimension was assessed using seven items ( $\alpha = .80$ ). The dimension measured the trait of being thorough and careful (e.g., responsible, dependable). The negative side to this dimension includes being lazy and irresponsible.

*Social competence.* This dimension contained 11 items ( $\alpha = .77$ ) which measured interpersonal skills and traits concerned with sociability. These qualities can manifest itself through extraversion (e.g., talkative, outspoken) and humor (vs. being boring).

*Integrity.* This dimension contained 6 items ( $\alpha = .74$ ) which assessed the concept of honesty. This quality can take the form of interpersonal actions such as telling the truth (vs. being dishonest) or abiding by laws and norms (e.g., law-abiding).

*Immigrant status.* This dimension was assessed using 5 items ( $\alpha = .74$ ). The dimension consisted of characteristics typically associated with an immigrant, such as having a heavy accent and being multilingual.

## Results

Using a Type I error rate of .05, the hypotheses were tested using a 4 (ethnicity: Caucasian American, African American, Asian, and Hispanic) x 2 (gender) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). Results showed a main effect for ethnicity,  $F(33, 657.70) = 33.32$ , Wilks'  $\Lambda = .06$ ,  $p < .001$ , gender,  $F(11, 223) = 14.82$ , Wilks'  $\Lambda = .58$ ,  $p < .001$ , and an interaction effect between ethnicity and gender,  $F(33, 657.70) = 1.98$ , Wilks'  $\Lambda = .76$ ,  $p < .01$ .

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was followed by the MANOVA. Given the relatively large number of the attribute dimensions measured in the present study, main effects for ethnicity and gender were tested using a Type I error rate of .005. However, due to the difficulty of finding an interaction effect, the interaction effect was tested using a Type I error rate of .05.

Tables 1 through 5 present means, standard deviations, and effect sizes (partial  $\eta^2$ ) for the measured dimensions as a function of ethnicity, gender, and interaction between the two, and the results of the ANOVAs, respectively. When there was a significant main effect for ethnicity, pairwise comparisons using a Bonferroni test and a Type I error rate of .001 were conducted.

Table 1

*Means and Standard Deviations of Dimensions by Ethnicity (N = 261)*

	Caucasian American		African American		Asian		Hispanic	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Antisocial attitudes and behaviors	3.84	0.83	4.52	0.83	3.39	0.89	3.98	1.02
Intellectual competence	4.94	0.85	3.53	0.8	5.31	0.71	3.16	0.83
Concern for others	4.36	0.7	3.65	0.68	4.17	1.02	4.18	0.77
High social status	5.23	0.61	3.59	0.56	4.97	0.63	3.25	0.7
Masculine attributes	4.37	0.94	4.49	0.68	3.67	0.87	3.84	0.85
Feminine attributes	3.71	0.85	3.25	0.64	4.07	0.76	3.67	0.73
Conscientiousness	4.9	0.71	3.81	0.75	5.27	0.78	3.92	0.76
Social competence	4.54	0.6	4.72	0.6	3.59	0.83	4.32	0.68
Integrity	4.39	0.73	3.71	0.88	4.73	0.98	4.09	0.99
Immigrant status	2.58	0.84	2.96	0.88	5.4	0.94	4.66	0.8

Note. Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely).

Table 2

*Means and Standard Deviations of Dimensions by Gender (N = 261)*

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Antisocial attitudes and behaviors	4.19	.91	3.65	.97
Intellectual competence	4.46	1.24	4.12	1.16
Concern for others	3.88	.80	4.29	.84
High social status	4.41	1.06	4.20	1.04
Masculine attributes	4.47	.79	3.71	.87
Feminine attributes	3.51	.75	3.86	.82
Conscientiousness	4.54	.10	4.48	.96
Social competence	4.18	.96	4.37	.64
Integrity	3.99	.96	4.50	.93
Immigrant status	3.94	1.50	3.92	1.45

Note. Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely).



Table 3

*Means and Standard Deviations of Dimensions as a Function of Ethnicity and Gender**(N = 261)*

	Caucasian American				African American			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Antisocial attitudes and behaviors	4.1	0.85	3.6	0.75	4.76	0.59	4.28	0.97
Intellectual competence	5.32	0.65	4.6	0.88	3.51	0.73	3.54	0.88
Concern for others	4.17	0.59	4.53	0.74	3.57	0.63	3.72	0.72
High social status	5.4	0.54	5.08	0.64	3.71	0.54	3.47	0.57
Masculine attributes	4.95	0.75	3.84	0.78	4.69	0.6	4.29	0.71
Feminine attributes	3.31	0.76	4.07	0.75	3.27	0.54	3.24	0.73
Conscientiousness	4.95	0.63	4.85	0.78	3.75	0.63	3.86	0.86
Social competence	4.54	0.71	4.55	0.49	4.77	0.68	4.67	0.52
Integrity	4.2	0.72	4.57	0.71	3.43	0.74	4	0.92
Immigrant status	2.28	0.82	2.86	0.88	3.16	0.8	2.76	0.92

Note. Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely).

Table 3 (continued).

*Means and Standard Deviations of Dimensions as a Function of Ethnicity and Gender*

(*N* = 261)

	Asian				Hispanic			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Antisocial attitudes and behaviors	3.61	0.77	3.18	0.96	4.37	1.01	3.62	0.91
Intellectual competence	5.49	0.71	5.14	0.68	3.31	0.85	3.03	0.8
Concern for others	3.88	1.07	4.45	0.9	3.91	0.68	4.42	0.78
High social status	5.07	0.65	4.87	0.61	3.29	0.65	3.21	0.75
Masculine attributes	3.98	0.69	3.35	0.93	4.31	0.74	3.41	0.7
Feminine attributes	3.94	0.79	4.21	0.71	3.46	0.66	3.86	0.76
Conscientiousness	5.42	0.84	5.11	0.69	3.88	0.68	3.96	0.84
Social competence	3.24	0.86	3.94	0.64	4.29	0.71	4.36	0.67
Integrity	4.52	1.06	4.95	0.84	3.75	0.87	4.4	1
Immigrant status	5.47	0.69	5.33	1.14	4.69	0.88	4.64	0.73

Note. Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely).

Table 4

*Summary of ANOVA by Ethnicity and Gender*

	Ethnicity		
	<i>F</i>	<i>Partial</i> $\eta^2$	
Antisocial attitudes and behaviors	18.19**	0.19	African Am > Caucasian Am = Asian African Am = Hispanic > Asian
Intellectual competence	111.62**	0.59	Caucasian = Asian > African Am = Hispanic
Concern for others	8.81**	0.10	Caucasian > African Am
High social status	150.17**	0.66	Caucasian = Asian > African Am = Hispanic
Masculine attributes	17.82**	0.19	Caucasian = African Am > Asian = Hispanic
Feminine attributes	13.31**	0.15	Asian > African Am
Conscientiousness	56.45**	0.42	Caucasian = Asian > Hispanic = African Am
Social competence	34.94**	0.31	Caucasian = African Am = Hispanic > Asian
Integrity	15.41**	0.17	Caucasian = Asian > African Am Asian > Hispanic = African Am
Immigrant status	154.36**	0.67	Asian > Hispanic > African Am = Caucasian

Table 4 (continued).

*Summary of ANOVA by Ethnicity and Gender*

	Gender		
	<i>F</i>	<i>Partial η<sup>2</sup></i>	
Antisocial attitudes and behaviors	23.72**	0.09	M > F
Intellectual competence	10.93**	0.05	M > F
Concern for others	15.48**	0.06	F > M
High social status	6.97	0.03	
Masculine attributes	62.19**	0.21	M > F
Feminine attributes	14.38**	0.06	F > M
Conscientiousness	0.31	.00	
Social competence	3.79	0.02	
Integrity	20.47**	0.08	F > M
Immigrant status	.00	.00	

Table 5

Summary of ANOVA as a Function of Ethnicity x Gender

	Ethnicity x Gender				
	<i>F</i>	<i>Partial</i> $\eta^2$	Male Race	Female Race	Within Race
Antisocial attitudes and behaviors	0.39	0.01			
Intellectual competence	2.34	0.03			
Concern for others	0.84	0.01			
High social status	0.4	0.01			
Masculine attributes	2.64	0.03			
Feminine attributes	3.10*	0.04	Asian > Caucasian = African Am	Caucasian = Asian = Hispanic > African Am	Caucasian Males > Caucasian Females
Conscientiousness	1.01	0.01			
Social competence	4.65**	0.06	Caucasian = Hispanic = African Am > Asian	Caucasian = African Am > Asian	Asian Females > Asian Males
Integrity	0.34	0			
Immigrant status	3.54*	0.04	Asian > Caucasian = Hispanic = African Am	Asian > Caucasian = Hispanic = African Am	N/A

### *Main Effects of Ethnicity*

Hypothesis 1a predicted that Caucasian Americans and Asians would be rated similarly and higher on the dimensions measuring intellectual competence, conscientiousness, high social status and integrity, and lower on the dimension measuring antisocial attitudes and behaviors compared to African Americans and Hispanics (except for the dimension measuring integrity, which was to be exploratory for Hispanics). Consistent with the hypothesis, there was a main effect for ethnicity on intellectual competence,  $F(3, 233) = 111.62, p < .005$ , conscientiousness,  $F(3, 233) = 56.45, p < .005$ , social status,  $F(3, 233) = 150.17, p < .005$ , integrity,  $F(3, 233) = 15.41, p < .005$ , and antisocial attitudes and behaviors,  $F(3, 233) = 18.19, p < .005$ . Further analyses showed that Caucasian Americans and Asians were rated similarly and higher on intellectual competence, conscientiousness, and high social status, but lower on antisocial attitudes and behaviors in comparison to African Americans and Hispanics who did not differ from each other.

For the dimension measuring integrity, results revealed that Caucasian Americans ( $M = 4.39, SD = .73$ ) and Asians ( $M = 4.73, SD = .98$ ) were rated similarly and higher when compared to African Americans ( $M = 3.71, SD = .88$ ). These findings lend support to Hypothesis 1a. With respect to the integrity dimension, Hispanics ( $M = 4.09, SD = .99$ ) did not differ from Asians and Caucasian Americans. In addition, African Americans and Hispanics were rated similarly and lower on integrity only when compared to Asians but not lower when compared to Caucasian Americans.

Hypothesis 1b predicted that Asians would be rated higher on the dimension measuring feminine attributes and lower on the dimension measuring masculine attributes and social competence compared to Caucasian Americans, African Americans, and Hispanics. Results of an ANOVA showed a main effect for feminine attributes,  $F(3, 233) = 13.31, p < .005$ , masculine attributes,  $F(3, 233) = 17.82, p < .005$ , and social competence,  $F(3, 233) = 34.94, p < .005$ . Further analyses showed that Asians differed significantly from African Americans on the feminine attributes, showing that Asians ( $M = 4.07, SD = .76$ ) were viewed to be more feminine than African Americans ( $M = 3.25, SD = .64$ ), however, Asians did not differ from Caucasian Americans ( $M = 3.71, SD = .85$ ) and Hispanics ( $M = 3.67, SD = .73$ ). Results also revealed that Caucasian Americans ( $M = 4.37, SD = .94$ ) and African Americans ( $M = 4.49, SD = .68$ ) were rated similarly and higher on masculine attributes than Asians ( $M = 3.67, SD = .87$ ) and Hispanics ( $M = 3.84, SD = .85$ ) who did not differ from each other. Additionally, Asians ( $M = 3.59, SD = .83$ ) were rated as least socially competent compared to Caucasian Americans ( $M = 4.54, SD = .60$ ), African Americans ( $M = 4.72, SD = .60$ ), and Hispanics ( $M = 4.32, SD = .68$ ), who did not differ from each other. Thus, Hypothesis 1b was partially supported.

Hypothesis 1c stated that Asians and Hispanics would be rated higher on the dimension measuring immigrant status compared to Caucasian Americans and African Americans. An ANOVA showed a main effect for ethnicity on immigrant status,  $F(3, 233) = 154.36, p < .005$ . Further analyses showed that both Asians ( $M = 5.40, SD = .94$ ) and Hispanics ( $M = 4.66, SD = .80$ ) were stereotyped to hold more of an immigrant status than Caucasian Americans ( $M = 2.58, SD = .84$ ) and African Americans ( $M = 2.96, SD =$

.88). Furthermore, Asians were stereotyped to significantly hold a higher immigrant status than Hispanics. These results showed support for Hypothesis 1c. Lastly, although not hypothesized, additional findings showed that Caucasian Americans ( $M = 4.36$ ,  $SD = .70$ ) were rated significantly higher on the dimension measuring concern for others compared to African Americans ( $M = 3.65$ ,  $SD = .68$ ).

### *Main Effects of Gender*

Hypothesis 2 stated that men would be rated higher on the dimensions measuring antisocial attitudes and behaviors, intellectual competence, and masculine attributes, and lower on concern for others and feminine attributes compared to women. A main effect for gender was obtained for antisocial attitudes and behaviors,  $F(1, 233) = 23.72$ ,  $p < .005$ , intellectual competence,  $F(1, 233) = 10.93$ ,  $p < .005$ , masculine attributes,  $F(1, 233) = 62.19$ ,  $p < .005$ , concern for others,  $F(1, 233) = 15.48$ ,  $p < .005$ , and feminine attributes,  $F(1, 233) = 14.38$ ,  $p < .005$ . More specifically, results showed that men were perceived as possessing more antisocial attitudes and behaviors ( $M = 4.19$ ,  $SD = .91$ , vs.  $M = 3.65$ ,  $SD = .97$ ), intellectual competence ( $M = 4.46$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ , vs.  $M = 4.12$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ), and masculine attributes ( $M = 4.47$ ,  $SD = .79$ , vs.  $M = 3.71$ ,  $SD = .87$ ) than women. However, women were perceived to be more concerned for others ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = .84$ , vs.  $M = 3.88$ ,  $SD = .80$ ) and to hold more feminine attributes ( $M = 3.86$ ,  $SD = .82$ , vs.  $M = 3.51$ ,  $SD = .75$ ) than men. These results were consistent with Hypothesis 2. Additionally, results showed a main effect for gender on the dimension measuring integrity,  $F(1, 233) = 20.47$ ,  $p < .005$ , which women were rated higher compared to men ( $M = 4.50$ ,  $SD = .93$ , vs.  $M = 3.99$ ,  $SD = .96$ ).



### *Interaction between Ethnicity and Gender*

The outcomes of the interaction effects between ethnicity and gender were to be largely exploratory, with the exception of Hypothesis 3 and 4. Hypothesis 3 stated that African American women would be rated lower on the dimension of feminine attributes and higher on the dimension of masculine attributes compared to Caucasian American, Asian, and Hispanic women. Hypothesis 4 stated that Asian men would be rated higher on the dimension of feminine attributes and lower on the dimension of masculine attributes compared to Caucasian American, African American, and Hispanic men. Results of ANOVAs showed interaction effects on the dimensions of feminine attributes,  $F(3, 233) = 3.10, p < .05$ , masculine attributes,  $F(3, 233) = 2.64, p = .05$ , social competence,  $F(3, 233) = 4.65, p < .05$ , and immigrant status,  $F(3, 233) = 3.54, p < .05$ . Specifically, results showed that Caucasian American ( $M = 4.07, SD = .75$ ), Asian ( $M = 4.21, SD = .71$ ) and Hispanic ( $M = 3.86, SD = .76$ ) women were viewed to hold more feminine attributes than African American ( $M = 3.24, SD = .73$ ) women. Further analyses on the interaction between ethnicity and gender on the masculinity dimension showed a trend which indicated that African American ( $M = 4.29, SD = .71$ ) women were only rated to hold more masculine attributes compared to Asian ( $M = 3.35, SD = .93$ ) and Hispanic ( $M = 3.41, SD = .70$ ) women, and not compared to Caucasian American ( $M = 3.84, SD = .78$ ) women. Although these findings were not significant, the direction of the means was consistent with Hypothesis 3.

In contrast, Asian men ( $M = 3.94, SD = .79$ ) were rated higher on the femininity dimension than Caucasian American ( $M = 3.31, SD = .76$ ) and African American ( $M =$

3.27,  $SD = .54$ ) men, but not compared to Hispanic ( $M = 3.46$ ,  $SD = .66$ ) men. These results partially support Hypothesis 4. In addition, a trend revealed Asian ( $M = 3.98$ ,  $SD = .69$ ) men held less masculine attributes than Caucasian American ( $M = 4.95$ ,  $SD = .75$ ) men, however, not compared to African American ( $M = 4.69$ ,  $SD = .60$ ) and Hispanic ( $M = 3.98$ ,  $SD = .69$ ) men. Further analyses on the masculinity dimension revealed another trend showing Caucasian American ( $M = 3.84$ ,  $SD = .78$ ), Asian ( $M = 3.35$ ,  $SD = .93$ ), and Hispanic ( $M = 3.41$ ,  $SD = .70$ ) women were rated lower compared to their male counterparts, but not for African American women ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = .71$ ) who did not differ from African American men.

Additional analyses showed that Asian men ( $M = 3.24$ ,  $SD = .86$ ) were rated least socially competent compared to Caucasian American men ( $M = 4.54$ ,  $SD = .71$ ), African American men ( $M = 4.77$ ,  $SD = .68$ ) and Hispanic men ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = .71$ ), who did not differ from each other. Similarly, Asian women ( $M = 3.94$ ,  $SD = .64$ ) were shown to be less socially competent than Caucasian American ( $M = 4.55$ ,  $SD = .49$ ) and African American ( $M = 4.67$ ,  $SD = .52$ ) women, however, Asian women did not differ from Hispanic women ( $M = 4.36$ ,  $SD = .67$ ). Further analyses on the social competence dimension showed that Asian men differed significantly from Asian women, revealing that women were stereotyped to be more socially competent than their Asian male counterparts.

Additionally, results showed that Asian men ( $M = 5.47$ ,  $SD = .69$ ) were rated highest on immigrant status compared to Caucasian American ( $M = 2.28$ ,  $SD = .82$ ), African American ( $M = 3.16$ ,  $SD = .80$ ) and Hispanic ( $M = 4.69$ ,  $SD = .88$ ) men. This

outcome for immigrant status was also mirrored by the women within the four ethnic groups as well where Asian ( $M = 5.33, SD = 1.14$ ) women were rated higher on immigrant status compared to Caucasian American ( $M = 2.86, SD = .88$ ), African American ( $M = 2.76, SD = .92$ ) and Hispanic ( $M = 4.64, SD = .73$ ) women. Further analyses of the interaction effect on the immigrant status dimension only showed a main effect for ethnicity. In essence, Asians were viewed more as an immigrant when compared to the other three ethnic groups.

### Discussion

The primary goal of the present study was to examine and understand the current status of gender and ethnic stereotypes across four different ethnic groups. As shown in this study, the use of stereotypes hold a strong influence to the way individuals perceive and judge one another. Decisions are often made based on these very perceptions and judgments, resulting in consequences which often negatively affect the individual being judged. Several studies reviewed in this paper have illustrated how ethnic and gender stereotypes have influenced decision making within the realms of employment, medical, and legal contexts. Ten dimensions of personal attributes were used to measure the stereotypes of Caucasian Americans, African Americans, Asians, and Hispanics. Hypotheses were made predicting the relationships of the ten dimensions of personal attributes to each of these four ethnic groups. The results of this study showed strong support for the hypotheses.

The first focus of this research was to investigate the ethnic stereotypes currently held for Caucasian Americans, African Americans, Asians, and Hispanics. The present

findings confirm the positive way individuals have viewed Caucasian Americans in the past. That is, Caucasian Americans were perceived to be intelligent, conscientious, and masculine. In addition, Caucasian Americans were viewed to lack antisocial attitudes and behaviors, but instead believed to possess interpersonal skills, concern for others, and integrity. Caucasian Americans were also perceived as holding a high social status in society and were not viewed as immigrants to the United States. These stereotypes are congruous to characteristic traits our society would consider an ideal individual to be (Basow, 1992). It is no wonder that Caucasian Americans have had an advantage over all other ethnic groups presented in this study. The positive views which show to have remained strongly associated with Caucasian Americans over the years may help to provide an explanation for this group's continued success within our society.

Supporting the notion of the Model Minority thesis, the results of the study indicate that Asians were indeed perceived similar to the positive profile Caucasian Americans held. Differences between the two ethnic groups were revealed concerning social competence and masculinity. As predicted, not only were Asians rated less socially competent than Caucasian Americans, but were also rated the least socially competent of all the four ethnic groups studied. This finding reinforces the portrayals of Asians as being dull, nerdy, passive individuals. In addition, Asians were also predicted to be rated the least masculine and most feminine out of the four ethnic groups. Findings suggest this prediction to be partially true as Asians were rated less masculine than Caucasian Americans and African Americans, but did not differ from Hispanics. Furthermore, it was found that only when compared to African Americans were Asians

rated more feminine, suggesting that Asians were viewed to maintain the same level of femininity as both Caucasian Americans and Hispanics. These results were surprising given the strong evidence of past studies on the stereotyped feminine qualities Asians possess as a whole.

Consistent with past research, the present findings suggest African Americans to be associated with negative stereotypes. African Americans were illustrated in this study as possessing antisocial attitudes and behaviors and lacking in intellectual competence, conscientiousness, integrity, concern for others, and high social status. These negative sentiments appear to be, for the most part, the converse of the portrayals given to both Caucasian Americans and Asians. These results come as no surprise given the negative attributes this group has been characterized by over the years. Unfortunately, it appears the unfavorable perceptions of African Americans as a whole have further continued within our society. These negative perceptions may provide a strong explanation as to why African Americans have not fared as well in various social contexts, compared to other ethnic groups that are associated with instead positive perceptions, such as Caucasian Americans and Asians. However, on the positive side, African Americans and Caucasian Americans were shown to share similar levels of masculinity and social competence.

Similar with African Americans, Hispanics as an ethnic group have also endured negative perceptions in the past. Present findings indicate that portrayals of this ethnic group continue to maintain a damaging tone. In support of the hypothesis, Hispanics were rated lower on intellectual competence, conscientiousness, high social status, and

higher on antisocial attitudes. One aspect examined in this study was the topic of integrity and Hispanics. Results on the ratings of integrity for Hispanics were exploratory, given the lack of past research on this topic. It was found that Hispanics were perceived similar to African Americans on this dimension and held significantly lower levels of integrity when compared to Asians but not to Caucasian Americans.

As immigration reform continues to influence judgments toward minority ethnic groups in the United States, it was believed to be important to investigate which of these four major ethnic groups would more likely be considered an immigrant. Consistent with Hypothesis 1c, Asians and Hispanics were perceived more as an immigrant compared to Caucasian Americans and African Americans. This finding was expected given that most of the participants in this study resided within the greater San Francisco Bay Area in California. The Bay Area is known for its diverse population and large Asian and Hispanic communities. Recently, California had seen much publicity regarding border protection against illegal immigrants from Mexico. Further analyses, however, revealed that when comparing the two ethnic groups, Asians were viewed more as an immigrant over Hispanics. These results were surprising but may be explained by the specific Asian and Hispanic individuals participants were exposed to within the university in which this study took place. The majority of international students attending the university at the time of the study were from Asian countries (e.g. China and India). Many of the international students at the university speak with heavy foreign accents as they do not speak English as their primary language and are still in need of improvement on their English skills. Heavy accents are typically associated with those who are foreign and,

therefore, this association may have been transferred and generalized to all Asians, lending support to the perceptions that Asians are seen more as immigrants than Hispanics. This explanation is only speculative and further research needs to be conducted.

The second purpose of this study was to examine the perceived gender stereotypes for men and women in our society. Although this topic has been consistently researched by many over the years, it is important for researchers to keep up-to-date with our ever changing society and its views. Results of this study have maintained the notions of past theories that men and women as a whole are perceived to differ from one another (Hosoda & Stone, 2000). Men were shown to possess more intellectual competence, masculine attributes, and antisocial attitudes and behaviors than women. In contrast, women were shown to possess more concern for others and to hold more feminine attributes than men. These findings reiterate past studies regarding gender differences and illustrate that the perceptions of men and women have not dramatically altered over the years.

The third purpose of the present study was to explore the interaction effects of ethnicity and gender on stereotypes. Although this portion of the research was largely exploratory, two hypotheses were made based on past research findings. This study found that when examined further, gender stereotypes differed depending on whether the individual is associated with a specific ethnic group, and vice versa. Within the female gender, African Americans were perceived as less feminine when compared to the other three groups of women. Somewhat consistent with the hypothesis, a trend suggested that

African American women showed more masculine traits than Asian and Hispanic women. However, this trend did not hold true when compared to Caucasian American women.

In addition, despite the continued stereotype that men, in general, are more masculine than women, the current study found that this perception may not be generalized toward African Americans. African American women were not shown to differ from their male counterparts in their levels of masculinity, suggesting that perceptions of masculinity for this ethnic group were not distinguished by gender. This finding may explain why African American women have been viewed in past research as more assertive and effective leaders compared to women from the other three ethnic groups in this study, especially Asian and Hispanic women (Tang, 1997). The finding that Asian women are viewed as less socially competent than Caucasian American and African American women give additional support to past research and provide further explanation as to why Asian women are not given as many opportunities to move up to managerial positions within the workplace. However, within the Asian ethnic group itself, women were rated more socially competent than their male counterparts. In addition, Asian men were rated the least socially competent compared to the men in the other three ethnic groups.

Additionally, Asian men were found to be more feminine than Caucasian American and African American men but, interestingly, not when compared to Hispanic men. It was unexpected to find that Hispanic men were rated no different than Asian men in terms of their levels of femininity. Past research on Asian men have often



highlighted the emasculated perceptions our society holds for this group and the feminine characteristics Asian men share with their female counterparts. Hispanic men, however, have not been portrayed by researchers in this same light. The latter part of Hypothesis 4 hypothesized that Asian men would be rated least masculine when compared to the other three groups of men. Surprisingly, only a trend indicated that when compared to Caucasian American men Asian men were rated less masculine. Again, this outcome does not coincide with past research which has examined the perceived lack of masculine characteristic traits in Asian men. This finding may be an indication that society's views on Asian men have altered in recent years. One explanation for this change may be due to this group's successful assimilation into American society. Outcomes examined in this study have shown that perceptions of Caucasian Americans and Asians are similar to one another and that these two groups are associated with the same positive stereotypes. It may be that the positive perceptions toward Caucasian Americans are being transferred over toward Asians and, therefore, slowly closing the gap between how these two ethnic groups are viewed by others.

#### *Contribution/Implications*

The outcomes of this study provide valuable information, especially for decision makers within our society. As shown in the research, decision makers can affect the lives of individuals in a critical way. A decision regarding an individual's employment opportunity is a prime example of the power decision makers have. The findings in this study strongly suggest that society views individuals in either a positive or negative way depending on that individual's ethnicity and gender. These viewpoints are merely

generalizations and are most often inaccurate portrayals when used to categorize specific individuals. Within the realms of the workplace, for example, it is important that organizations provide hiring managers and supervisors courses in diversity training so they become aware of their own prejudices towards the different types of employees they come to work with. Even more critical is to train managers to become aware of their tendencies to both stereotype by appearance and to make human resource assessments based on these stereotypes. Once aware of these tendencies to stereotype, decision makers can then be trained not to use stereotypes when making employee-related decisions, such as performance evaluations, promotion decisions, and assessments of job candidates. Diversity training not only can incorporate the promotion of learning and exposure to various cultures and backgrounds of employees within a workplace, but can also encourage the acceptance and appreciation of differences within individuals.

#### *Limitations*

Although the present study found interesting findings, it is not without limitations. One such limitation is the use of the term Asian and Hispanic in this study. The ethnic groups of Asian and Hispanic encompasses an extensive myriad of nationalities (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean under Asian; Mexican, Puerto Rican, Brazilian under Hispanic), that for simplicity purposes the large umbrella grouping of Asian and Hispanic was used. However, doing so limited the opportunity to discover any differences perceived among these specific nationalities. Another limitation was that gender for the 46 participants used in the pilot study was not recorded. This information may have revealed gender differences in how men and women within the four ethnic groups in this

study were characterized. Lastly, as with all studies using rating scale measurements comes the limitation of social desirability from participants. Although participants were instructed to describe characteristics they felt society viewed as typical of a particular group of people rather than describe their own personal sentiments, there is a possibility that social desirability might have played a role in affecting participant responses.

### *Future Research*

The hope of the present study was to create and provide a strong foundation for further research within the field of I/O psychology in regards to the effects of stereotypes on job-related decisions in the workplace. The outcomes from this study have revealed additional understanding to the current status of stereotypes and have, as a result, brought several interesting questions to the forefront in which to help to direct further research. Further research should examine the growing similarities between Caucasian Americans and Asians. Specifically, is the gap growing closer between perceptions of Caucasian Americans and Asians, and how does the portrayal of Asians in society affect this group, both positively and negatively, within the workplace environment? In addition, knowing that negative perceptions hold strongly for African Americans and Hispanics, researchers should investigate how these two ethnic groups may follow after the road Asians took to achieve their current positive portrayals. As immigration continues to be a problem for the United States, researchers should further understand how hiring opportunities and growth within the workplace affect ethnic groups seen as immigrants, such as Asians and Hispanics, with regard to discrimination. In addition, researchers should continue to study the interaction effects of gender and ethnic stereotypes. One outcome which begs

to be studied further is the differences and similarities between society's portrayal of African American men and women. The current study showed how African American women were perceived to be just as masculine as their male counterparts. Researchers should study how this perceived masculinity may aide this group in possibly breaking the glass ceiling for women in the workplace. Future researchers may also want to delve deeper into the data and control for the ethnicity of the participants to examine differences in stereotype perceptions. It would be interesting to study whether, for example, Asian participants hold the same stereotypes regarding Asians as Caucasian participants do. It is also recommended that researchers replicate this study with other population samples, such as individuals who are out of college and in the workplace, to study whether there is any diversity among different populations.

This study offers the field of I/O psychology a glimpse into how stereotypes may directly play a role into how decisions are affected within the workplace setting. The results of this study may be used by I/O practitioners when developing diversity training programs and when educating management within organizations on the powerful effect of ethnic and gender stereotypes. Categorizing individuals into specific social groups and, thereby, stereotyping is an act which is oftentimes automatic for a person. The sooner people understand that this automated way of thinking is not always accurate in portraying specific individuals they encounter, the sooner society may become aware of its erroneous perceptions of particular groups and change for the better. It is the hope that this study has helped to pave the way for just this change.

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*Appendix A*

**Consent Form, Debriefing, and Survey**

**CONSENT FORM**

This study is being conducted by Dr. Megumi Hosoda, an Assistant Professor at the Department of Psychology at San Jose State University. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to describe our society's stereotype of a particular group of people.

Participation in this study is on a voluntary basis; therefore, you have the right to withdraw your participation at any point in time. No service of any kind, to which you are otherwise entitled, will be lost or jeopardized if you choose not to participate. All of your responses to the questionnaires will be completely anonymous. In addition, the data from the study will be reported as group totals; no individual responses will ever be identified. There are no anticipated risks involved in the study; probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort are no greater than encountered in daily life.

Upon completion of the study, you will be given an explanation of the research and allowed to ask questions regarding the study. If you have additional questions concerning the study or the results of the study, you may contact Dr. Megumi Hosoda at the Department of Psychology (408-924-5637). Any complaints about this research may be presented to Dr. Kevin Jordan, Chairperson, at the Department of the Psychology (408-924-5600). Questions or complaints about research, participants' rights, or research-based injury may be presented to Dr. Nabil Ibrahim, Associate Academic Vice President for Graduate Studies and Research (408-924-2480).

Please sign below to indicate your voluntary consent to participate. Thank you very much.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name (please print)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## **DEBRIEFING**

### **Gender Stereotypes of Various Racial/Ethnic Groups**

This sheet is meant to give you more information about the study in which you have just participated. We are interested in examining our society's stereotypes of men and women of four various racial/ethnic groups (e.g., White, Black, Asian, Hispanic). Thus, altogether, there were eight different experimental conditions. You and other participants responded to only one of these eight conditions (e.g., White women, Black men).

The major reason we conducted this study was that many researchers have examined gender stereotypes and have found that men and women are perceived to be quite different (e.g., men are more aggressive, assertive, etc., women are more sensitive, affectionate, nagging, etc.) in our society. However, these gender stereotypes are based on society's stereotypes of Whites. Several researchers have pointed out that different gender stereotypes exist for racial/ethnic groups others than Whites. This means that gender stereotypes for Whites are different from the gender stereotypes for Asian, or Hispanics. Unfortunately, little research attention has been given to the examination of the gender stereotypes associated with various racial/ethnic groups other than Whites. Therefore, we have decided to examine what gender stereotypes are like for different racial/ethnic groups.

If you have any questions right now, please ask the person who administered the questionnaire. If you have any questions or any concerns about anything to do with this study, please feel free to contact Dr. Megumi Hosoda at (408) 924-5637. We wish to extend our deepest appreciation for your participation in this study.

**INSTRUCTIONS**  
**PLEASE READ THIS SHEET BEFORE YOU BEGIN!**

Thank you for your participation. This study should take you about 20-30 minutes to complete.

In this study, we are interested in **your knowledge of our society's gender stereotypes about various racial/ethnic groups**. It is true that not all white men are alike (e.g., some white men are more aggressive than others), nor are all white women alike (e.g., some white women are more emotional). However, people in our culture perceive that some characteristics are more frequently associated with white men (e.g., aggressive) than with white women, and some are more frequently associated with white women (e.g., emotional) than with white men.

Now, your task is to describe **society's stereotype of White men**. Remember, we are not asking you for your personal opinion of what characteristics are typical of White men; rather, we are asking you to describe those characteristics that people in our society, as a whole, consider typical of white men.

On the top of each page, you will see the following instruction and a list of items.

---

Using the scale presented below, please place the number in the space to the left of each item which best describes society's stereotype of **white men**.

<b>Not at all</b>			<b>Moderately</b>			<b>Extremely</b>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Competent                      2. \_\_\_\_\_ Violent

---

For example, if you think that people in our society consider that white men, in general, are very competent, you place 6 in the space to the left of the item "Competent". Likewise, if you think that people in our society consider that white men, in general, are not violent at all, you place 1 in the space to the left of the item "Violent."

The attached sheets contain a rating scale and items. Do not spend too much time on any one item. If you have any questions, please ask your experimenter now. Thank you in advance for your participation in this study.

Using the scale presented below, please place the number in the space to the left of each item which best describes the society's stereotype of **White men**.

<b>Not at all</b>		<b>Moderately</b>		<b>Extremely</b>
1	2	3	4	5
				6
				7

**Society views white men as**

- |                                       |                                  |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. _____ Generous                     | 26. _____ Lazy                   |
| 2. _____ Helpful to others            | 27. _____ Confident              |
| 3. _____ Affectionate                 | 28. _____ Respectful             |
| 4. _____ Independent                  | 29. _____ Cooperative            |
| 5. _____ Aggressive                   | 30. _____ Polite                 |
| 6. _____ Demanding                    | 31. _____ Attractive             |
| 7. _____ Intimidating                 | 32. _____ Criminals              |
| 8. _____ Abusive(verbally,physically) | 33. _____ Decisive               |
| 9. _____ Upper class                  | 34. _____ Foreigners/Immigrants  |
| 10. _____ Bad attitudes               | 35. _____ Avoids confrontation   |
| 11. _____ Appreciative                | 36. _____ Dependent              |
| 12. _____ Boring                      | 37. _____ Hold white color jobs  |
| 13. _____ Career-oriented             | 38. _____ Arrogant               |
| 14. _____ Law-abiding                 | 39. _____ Devotes self to others |
| 15. _____ Competitive                 | 40. _____ Disrespectful          |
| 16. _____ Argumentative               | 41. _____ Assertive              |
| 17. _____ Ambitious                   | 42. _____ Drug dealers           |
| 18. _____ Good at math/science        | 43. _____ Caring                 |
| 19. _____ Condescending               | 44. _____ Bad-tempered           |
| 20. _____ Responsible                 | 45. _____ Follower               |
| 21. _____ Friendly                    | 46. _____ Gang members           |
| 22. _____ Considerate                 | 47. _____ Good entertainers      |
| 23. _____ Articulate                  | 48. _____ Hard-working           |
| 24. _____ Dishonest                   | 49. _____ Self-centered          |
| 25. _____ Controlling                 | 50. _____ Interesting            |

Using the scale presented below, please place the number in the space to the left of each item which best describes the society's stereotype of **White men**.

<b>Not at all</b>		<b>Moderately</b>		<b>Extremely</b>
1	2	3	4	5
				6
				7

**Society views white men as**

- |                            |                               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 51. ____ Short-tempered    | 76. ____ Rebellious           |
| 52. ____ Inarticulate      | 77. ____ Spoiled              |
| 53. ____ Manipulative      | 78. ____ Resilient            |
| 54. ____ Intelligent       | 79. ____ Hold blue color jobs |
| 55. ____ Logical           | 80. ____ Masculine            |
| 56. ____ Satisfied         | 81. ____ Inconsiderate        |
| 57. ____ Educated          | 82. ____ Welfare dependent    |
| 58. ____ Leader            | 83. ____ Self-disciplined     |
| 59. ____ Computer-literate | 84. ____ Faithful             |
| 60. ____ Loud              | 85. ____ Skilled in business  |
| 61. ____ Impatient         | 86. ____ Street smart         |
| 62. ____ Unfaithful        | 87. ____ Well-mannered        |
| 63. ____ Religious         | 88. ____ Submissive           |
| 64. ____ Humorous          | 89. ____ Family-oriented      |
| 65. ____ Not intelligent   | 90. ____ Bitchy               |
| 66. ____ Outspoken         | 91. ____ Athletic             |
| 67. ____ Clean             | 92. ____ Large family         |
| 68. ____ Emotional         | 93. ____ Financially secure   |
| 69. ____ Self-reliant      | 94. ____ Superficial          |
| 70. ____ Passive           | 95. ____ Talkative            |
| 71. ____ Rude              | 96. ____ Racist               |
| 72. ____ Patient           | 97. ____ Hostile              |
| 73. ____ Powerful          | 98. ____ Successful           |
| 74. ____ Quiet             | 99. ____ Unemployed           |
| 75. ____ Greedy            | 100. ____ Timid               |

Using the scale presented below, please place the number in the space to the left of each item which best describes the society's stereotype of **White men**.

- | Not at all |   |   | Moderately |   |   | Extremely |
|------------|---|---|------------|---|---|-----------|
| 1          | 2 | 3 | 4          | 5 | 6 | 7         |
- Society views White men as**
- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 101. ___ Middle class         | 126. ___ Small family                        |
| 102. ___ Use drugs/alcohol    | 127. ___ Discriminated against               |
| 103. ___ Sociable             | 128. ___ Traditional                         |
| 104. ___ Humble               | 129. ___ Conservative                        |
| 105. ___ Unclean              | 130. ___ Chauvinistic                        |
| 106. ___ Understanding        | 131. ___ Single parent                       |
| 107. ___ Flirtatious          | 132. ___ Lower class                         |
| 108. ___ Unsuccessful         | 133. ___ Insecure                            |
| 109. ___ Workaholic           | 134. ___ Employed                            |
| 110. ___ Sneaky               | 135. ___ Multilingual                        |
| 111. ___ Conscientious        | 136. ___ Concerned with social status        |
| 112. ___ Dissatisfied         | 137. ___ Whiny                               |
| 113. ___ Irresponsible        | 138. ___ Materialistic                       |
| 114. ___ Passionate           | 139. ___ Concerned with image or appearances |
| 115. ___ Prejudiced           | 140. ___ Unassertive                         |
| 116. ___ Unemotional          | 141. ___ Stay home mom                       |
| 117. ___ Jealous              | 142. ___ Charming                            |
| 118. ___ Honest               | 143. ___ Promiscuous                         |
| 119. ___ Uneducated           | 144. ___ Seductive                           |
| 120. ___ Secure               | 145. ___ Heavy accent                        |
| 121. ___ Feminine             | 146. ___ Bad drivers                         |
| 122. ___ Impulsive            |  |
| 123. ___ Feels superior       |  |
| 124. ___ Working mom          |  |
| 125. ___ Takes care of elders |  |



**Information About You**

This section asks you questions about yourself.

1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the society's stereotype of the group that you have just described? Please circle the number that best describes your opinion.

Strongly disagree			Neither disagree nor agree			Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Sex       Female  Male

3. Age       years

4. Race/Ethnicity (e.g., African American, Mexican, Latino, Caucasian, Chinese).

5. Continent of birth

<input type="checkbox"/>	North America	<input type="checkbox"/>	Asia	<input type="checkbox"/>	South America
<input type="checkbox"/>	Europe	<input type="checkbox"/>	Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify)

6. Your major

7. Year in school

<input type="checkbox"/>	Freshman	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sophomore	<input type="checkbox"/>	Junior
<input type="checkbox"/>	Senior	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify <input type="text"/> )		

8. Currently employed?       Yes    No

9. How long have you been employed?

10. If yes on 7, what is your current job title?

**This concludes the survey. Thank you very much for your participation.**

*Appendix B*

**Survey Items by Construct**

**Antisocial Attitudes and Behaviors**

Abusive (verbally, physically)  
Bad attitudes  
Argumentative  
Condescending  
Criminals  
Drug dealers  
Bad-tempered  
Gang members  
Self-centered  
Short-tempered  
Manipulative  
Impatient  
Rude  
Greedy  
Rebellious  
Inconsiderate  
Superficial  
Racist  
Hostile  
Use drugs/alcohol  
Prejudiced  
Jealous  
Feels superior  
Promiscuous

**Intellectual Competence**

Good at math/science  
Articulate  
Intelligent  
Logical  
Educated  
Computer-literate  
Skilled in business  
*Uneducated\**  
*Inarticulate\**  
*Not intelligent\**

**Immigrant status**

Foreigners/Immigrants  
Takes care of elders  
Multilingual  
Heavy accent  
Bad drivers

**High Social Status**

Upper class  
Hold white collar job  
Successful  
Employed  
Concerned with social status  
Materialistic  
Concerned with image or appearance  
*Hold blue collar jobs\**  
*Welfare dependent\**  
*Unemployed\**  
*Middle class\**  
*Unsuccessful\**  
*Lower class\**

**Masculine Attributes**

Aggressive  
Intimidating  
Competitive  
Controlling  
Decisive  
Arrogant  
Assertive  
Leader  
Powerful  
Masculine  
Unemotional  
Chauvinistic

**Feminine Attributes**

Dependent  
Follower  
Emotional  
Passive  
Quiet  
Submissive  
Bitchy  
Timid  
Humble  
Whiny  
Unassertive  
Feminine  
Avoids confrontation

**Social Competence**

Friendly  
Good entertainers  
Interesting  
Humorous  
Outspoken  
Well-mannered  
Talkative  
Sociable  
Flirtatious  
Charming  
*Boring\**

**Integrity**

Law-abiding  
Faithful  
Honest  
*Dishonest\**  
*Unfaithful\**  
*Sneaky\**

**Conscientiousness**

Ambitious  
Responsible  
Hard-working  
Self-disciplined  
Conscientious  
*Lazy\**  
*Irresponsible\**

**Concern for Others**

Generous  
Helpful to others  
Affectionate  
Appreciative  
Considerate  
Respectful  
Cooperative  
Polite  
Devotes self to others  
Caring  
Patient  
Understanding  
*Disrespectful\**