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Cultural Differences in the Prevalence of Stereotype Activation and
Explanations of Crime: Does Race Color Perception?

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Psychology

by

Lilia Rebeca Briones

March 2011

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother, Rebeca Briones. Not a day goes by that I don't hear your voice in my heart or feel your hand on my shoulder. Thank you for all of your sermons, I hope I am making you proud.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Cultural Differences in the Prevalence of Stereotype Activation and Explanations of Crime: Does Race Color Perception?

by

Lilia Rebeca Briones

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Psychology
University of California, Riverside, March 2011
Dr. Carolyn B. Murray, Chairperson

Racial prejudice has been linked to influencing perceptions of criminal acts when the criminal is a member of a stigmatized group. The current study addresses reliance on stereotyping and emotional reactions to a crime when the participants are from an ethnically diverse samples (i.e., Latino and Asian Americans) and the crime is stereotypically congruent (i.e., African American assailant) or stereotypically incongruent (i.e., White assailant). Participants were videotaped reacting to a newspaper article about an assault and robbery crime in which the race of the suspect and victim were manipulated. Independent raters coded the reactions in terms of participant's emotional responses and the types of explanations

given for the crime. Attributional styles for explaining criminal behavior are compared by suspect race (Black or White), victim ethnicity (Asian or Latino), and participant ethnicity (Asian or Latino). The fundamental assumptions underlining the “intergroup bias” and the “ultimate attribution error” were tested.

Overall, the results did not fully support the current theoretical framework in that participants did not show a pronounced preference for in-group victims, or explain the perpetrators behavior using mainly dispositional attributions. Although participants used more situational than dispositional attributions overall to explain the perpetrators behavior, some evidence of activation of stereotypes was found. Qualitative analysis of attributions for criminal behavior differed between the Black suspect and the White suspect conditions. For instance, participants were more likely to attribute the Black perpetrators behavior being “gang-related” or a “rite of passage” but in the White suspect condition a common explanation was “childhood neglect” or “abuse.” There was very little overlap in specific explanations given between conditions, which demonstrates that differential framework is being activated by the race of the suspect and that stereotypes may be influencing explanations. Results merit

replication but demonstrate the importance of theory testing in diverse samples. Important ethnic group differences as well as implications, limitations of the current design, such as low variability in several of the judge-rated dependent variables, and future directions are discussed.

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The human capacity to categorize everything in the environment includes other human beings who are assigned group membership based on physical appearance. This tendency to categorize people into "ingroup" and "other", promotes comparisons between groups where the "ingroup" is perceived more favorably. Psychologists have long studied the human tendency to show bias towards things that support one's own worldview and protect one's own culture (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, 1981).

This in-group bias magnifies differences between one's group members and members of other groups by focusing on positive ingroup traits and negative outgroup traits. Such bias has been shown to influence storage and retrieval of information (Greenberg & Goshen-Gotistein, 2009,) which promotes reliance on stereotypes about other groups. For instance, there is evidence that activation of group stereotypes influences the way we witness events, such that our expectations are confirmed, and we tend to better remember what we have witnessed than if our stereotype had not been confirmed (Fyock & Stangor, 1994). This expectancy bias influences not only the information that we attend to, but also that which is stored in memory, and later available for retrieval (Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1994; Stangor & McMillen, 1992).

Numerous studies have been conducted that demonstrate the prevalence of ingroup preference (Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Lee, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), reliance on stereotypes (Devine, 1989; Kawakami, Dion & Dovidio, 1998) and subsequent racial discrimination (see Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980). However, the large number of studies relating to racial prejudice has raised some contextual and demographic issues, which should be addressed within the context of the 21st century. For instance, most of these studies have used a standard Black/White paradigm in which the racial prejudice of the White group towards the Black group is assessed. A few exceptions have assessed White prejudice *towards* Jewish, Asian, Latino and Muslim groups but there are relatively few studies on the prejudicial attitudes of people of color towards others (Allport, 1954; Liu, Pope-Davis, Nevitt, & Toporek, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Further, assumptions about ingroup preference extending to all groups has recently been scrutinized and some studies have suggested that low status groups (i.e., women and ethnic minorities) may internalize a more multicultural perspective than high status group members (Lee, 1993; Negy, 2003).

The purpose of the current research is 3-fold; first, to determine if ethnic minorities (i.e., Asians and Latinos) demonstrate the same

biases (ingroup preference/favoritism and attributional style) previously documented in the literature, and further, to determine if such biases differentially influence perceptions of criminal behavior. A second purpose is to assess the degree to which Asians and Latinos rely on stereotypes about "race" and crime--more, specifically, the extent to which African Americans are viewed as more criminal than Whites. Finally, the current research seeks to demonstrate the importance of non-reactive, experimental designs in uncovering unconscious bias that may not be apparent in self-report data.

The present study examines the research on both traditional prejudice, which was easily assessed and overtly expressed prior to the enactment of civil rights laws, and modern racial prejudice, which has developed since the passage of such laws. An evaluation of some guiding theories such as social identity theory and attribution theory will also be reviewed in relation to racial prejudice. Finally, a review of the literature will focus on what is known about the acquisition of stereotypes, the reliance on stereotypes, and the evidence for a strong stereotypical association between Black people and crime.

Definition of the Terms

Racial prejudice is defined as negative evaluations of a person based on stereotypes about the "racial" group to which the person

belongs, especially in the face of contradictory information. This definition of prejudice is generally accepted by most contemporary intergroup relations researchers, (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Jones, 1997; McConahay, 1986; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), although the definition often extends to include acts of harassment and discrimination based on group membership. The contemporary definition of racial prejudice has not changed much since before the civil rights era. Allport (1954) defined racial prejudice as “an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be (inwardly) felt or (overtly) expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole or towards an individual because he is a member of that group” (p. 9).

It is important for clarification to differentiate between racial prejudice (attitudes), which are assessed at the micro/individual level, and racism (systemic), which is a macro-level phenomenon. On the basis of the current definition of racial prejudice, it is apparent that all groups can potentially hold bias against any other group, which results in negative attitudes towards said group. However, racism can only be perpetuated or maintained by the group or groups that have the power to define themselves and others (e.g., the rule makers). Although all groups can display racial prejudice and discrimination, it is usually

without the support of society and often with severe penalties (Murray, 1998). The present focus seeks to determine if stereotypical associations of African Americans and criminal behavior have been internalized and the extent to which such internalization influences ethnic minorities (e.g., Asians and Latinos). This association of seeing African Americans as criminal has been demonstrated and replicated in contemporary studies of racial prejudice (Correll, et al., 2007; Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie & Davies, 2004; Payne, 2001). However, a major limitation of the existing research is that it focuses primarily on the attitudes of Whites and has largely ignored the attitudes of other ethnicities.

Even though the racial prejudice literature deals specifically with issues of race, the ethnicity of the participants was usually omitted from empirical articles. It is assumed and often implied that the prejudicial attitudes reported represented White attitudes. Not only are other groups generally excluded from analyses, the results are often taken as universal and until very recently have not been investigated in diverse groups (Choi, Nisbett & Norenzayan, 1999). This dissertation will demonstrate the importance of examining theories across diverse populations in order to better understand the intricacies of contemporary intergroup relations.

Traditional racial prejudice

Contemporary researchers define traditional racial prejudice as the blatant and overt expression of negative attitudes—typically those that were prevalent prior to the civil rights movement (Jones, 1997; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988). The basic tenets of traditional prejudice are built on an idea of racial superiority of the White “race” and the inferiority of other “races”—demonstrated by “lower intellectual capability”, immorality, and criminal tendencies. This superiority is thought to be biologically grounded and thus self-evident (Allport, 1954; Jones, 1997). These ideas were well accepted socially, and overtly stated in self-report measures with little concern about social desirability effects. In fact prejudice was such a strong social norm that even those who reported low prejudice on self-report measures still demonstrated racial discrimination towards people of color (Warner & DeFleur, 1969). Such racial discrimination was demonstrated by a lack of willingness to be photographed with an African American person of the opposite sex or to choose an African American roommate in college dormitories (DeFleur & Westie, 1958; Linn, 1965).

Interestingly, the majority of these early studies of ingroup preference were collected at universities (as they are today) during a

time when college enrollment consisted predominately of White males. Thus, the theories generated cannot be fully generalizable to other populations, especially when considering the socio-economic resources and the status of White Americans in the 1940-1960's compared to other ethnic groups. Further, we now know that many of the claims made under traditional prejudice were based on pseudo-science and have been largely discredited by modern research (Silverman, 2003). Nevertheless, somewhat smaller sectors of traditional prejudice continue to persist in American society although their behavior and attitudes, which were once seen as normal and justified, are now largely seen as socially deviant or "politically incorrect" (Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov & Duarte, 2003).

Modern Racial Prejudice

While many American policies have been implemented to outlaw racial discrimination (Williams, 2007), and scientific advances have often refuted genetically based differences based on race (Kamin, 1978), American racial attitudes have been slower to change (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). There is mounting evidence that expressions of prejudice have shifted towards a less detectable form in which bias is demonstrated without the use of racially charged language (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder & Nadal,

2007)). Indirect displays of prejudice can be transmitted in nonverbal expressions without the fear of being seen as a transgressor of anti-prejudiced norms, which would violate the social norm in most cases (Deschamps, Vala, Marinho, Costa Lopes & Cabecinhas, 2005).

In the 1980's when social science was documenting a vast improvement in level of racial tolerance, there was a simultaneous rise in racially motivated crimes including defacing of synagogues, raping women of color and other forms of racial biases (Jones, 1997). There was also an increase in disagreement between minority and majority opinions about "race" conditions such that the majority reported that there was a marked improvement and minorities continued to believe they were being subjugated (McClelland & Auster, 1990).

In 1989, President George H. W. Bush signed the Hate Crimes Act into law in the United States to combat the rise in racially charged crimes by providing more severe punishments for acts committed purely on the basis of hate for another "race", religion, disability or sexual orientation. The Hate Crimes Act was also supposed to send a message that any blatant threat to equality would no longer be tolerated (Jones, 1997). However, there still exists a sizeable number of people who are unwilling to see African Americans and other ethnic minorities as equally capable and worthy (Jones, 1997; Williams, 2007).

Further, even though racism has become more covert and harder to detect, there is overwhelming evidence that improvements still need to be made. As recently as 2006, it was documented that hate crimes have increased by 6% since 2004 in Los Angeles and Riverside counties (CA State of the Region Report, 2006). Of the hate crimes reported, 66% were related to "race"/ethnicity or national origin bias. Similarly, the Anti Defamation League reported that as of 2007, there were 19 known "skinhead" organizations in California and that number increased to 27 organizations only a year later (ADL.com, 2008). The rise of *national* hate organizations is even more daunting given the increase in music lyrics that promote hate and "race" wars since the early 1980's (ADL.com, 2008).

Meanwhile scores on traditional paper and pencil measures of racial prejudice continue to be well below the mean--indicating low prejudice; however, there is growing evidence in psychological literature that individuals are also growing more sophisticated in answering measures assessing prejudicial attitudes. Participants are aware that prejudice is no longer seen as politically or socially correct in most public venues and therefore are motivated not to violate the social norm (this time in the opposite direction). Therefore, there is a decrease in the efficiency of measuring *overt* racial prejudice since it is

no longer socially correct to answer in a prejudiced way, even if it reflects the actual beliefs of the individual. This inconsistency between what is happening in society and the attitudes reflected on survey measures, led researchers to begin to ask different questions. For instance, some researchers look at support for policies that seek to improve equality, rather than asking direct questions that assess racial attitudes and affect towards outgroups (McConahuey, 1986; Sears, 1981). When assessed without the use of reactive measures, White racial bias continues to be documented and their perceptions of the racial climate differ drastically from attitudes of African Americans (Bobo & Charles, 2009).

Prejudicial Attitudes of Asian and Latino Americans

Research on prejudicial attitudes of Asian and Latinos is lacking and until very recently has failed to be considered in the enormous body of social scientific research (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2006). By only reflecting the White experience (Hunt, 2000; Nteta, 2004) many researchers have warned that this omission leaves a void in understanding racial bias. The few existing studies of racial attitudes of Asians and Latino Americans have provided mixed results. Some theorists argue that Asians and Latinos attitudinal styles fall somewhere between the polar attitudes of African Americans and

Whites with Latinos reporting attitudes more similar to African Americans and Asian Americans reporting attitudes more similar to Whites (Bobo & Charles, 2009).

This pattern of attitudes is theorized to closely reflect the current racial hierarchy of position and power within contemporary American society (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, 2001). It is assumed that a group's position influences attitudes of its members who seek to attain or maintain their current power and status. Therefore, high status groups consisting of Whites and Asians, seek to maintain the status quo, while low status groups, consisting of Latinos and African Americans, seek to equalize power (Bobo, 2009; Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz & Federico, 1998). Other findings have reported that Asian Americans are more likely than Latinos to support racial policies that allocate funds for improving conditions for African Americans and White Americans are least likely (Nteta, 2004). These findings are inconsistent with a recent assessment of diverse racial attitudes that found that Asian Americans self reported significantly higher personal and cognitive prejudice than Latinos (Briones & Murray, 2007).

The assumption that Latinos will report similar attitudes as Blacks due to shared lesser status (Bobo & Charles, 2009; Levin, et. al., 1998) was not supported in two recent studies assessing belief in

“just world” and stereotypes about African Americans (Hunt, 2000). According to the just world hypothesis, people get what they deserve based on their actions and if they were to behave properly, it would reduce the likelihood of bad things happening to them (Klugel & Smith, 1986). Agreement with the just world hypothesis has been associated with increased victim derogation (Wyer, Bodenhausen & Gorman, 1985) and less support for policies such as affirmative action (Smith & Green, 1984). Traditionally, Whites have endorsed the just world hypothesis while most Black samples have refuted it. Recently, Latinos were found to strongly support the belief in the just world hypothesis, followed by Whites, and then African Americans (Hunt, 2000). Similarly, a national report of the racial attitudes of Latino immigrants found strong prejudice against, and negative stereotypes towards, the African American group (Asquith, 2006).

One purpose of the present thesis is to investigate the racial attitudes of Latino and Asian Americans. Given the dearth of existing studies on this subject, and the inconsistency in the few studies that do exist, the present investigation is largely exploratory.

Stereotype Activation

Stereotypes are cognitive categories that define beliefs about traits, attributes and behaviors of a group. Stereotypes are not necessarily always negative but negative stereotypes about outgroup members are more likely to be remembered, possibly because it provides a boost in one's own self-esteem (Jost & Banaji, 1994). A comprehensive annual review of psychology was dedicated specifically to identifying patterns in stereotyping that have emerged in experimental research over the last 40 years (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). The review outlined the psychological knowledge of the "How, When and Why?" of stereotyping and also thoroughly discussed the representation, formation, maintenance and application of stereotypes.

In terms of the "how," authors suggested that stereotypes are learned at a young age and allow us to effectively organize our worldviews. They can be shaped and strengthened in a number of different ways. One well-documented path to stereotype formation is through *self-fulfilling prophecies* in which an expectation of an outgroup member flavors interactions such that they become self-fulfilling. This tendency has been documented in light of both positive (manipulated attractiveness, beliefs corresponding to attractiveness ratings, and teacher expectancies resulting in intellectual performance)

and negative (treating a worker as less capable, resulting in poorer worker ratings) expectancies (Darley & Gross, 1983; Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968; Snyder, Decker Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977).

Another route to stereotype formation is “nonconscious detection of covariation” which occurs when a perceiver encodes the behavior of one individual and generalizes it to other group members (Lewicki, 1986). This detection of a relationship is outside of the perceiver’s awareness but nonetheless influences subsequent interactions with other group members (Nisbett & Ross, 1980). This perceived relationship is further strengthened in the face of confirming information but non-confirming information is often ignored. Researchers further indicate that a tendency to form nonconscious covariation is more likely when the perceiver has little experience with target group members, making these types of associations more likely to be formed about outgroup rather than ingroup members (Lewicki, 1986).

Similarly, stereotype formation is aided through drawing *illusory correlations* or exaggerating the relationship between minority group members and negative behaviors (Mullen & Johnson, 1990). Researchers explain that this erroneous correlation may be formed in part due to the shared distinctiveness of the behavior and the

inexperience with the outgroup member. Once the association is made any image (an actual person behaving stereotypically or more commonly, media portrayals) that confirms the stereotypical relationship reaffirms the stereotype and creates an even stronger association (McConnell et. al, 1994).

The tendency to apply the association to all other group members is driven by the "*outgroup homogeneity effect*" in which outgroup members are seen as more alike and sharing more traits. Further, there is also the tendency to focus on outgroup traits which are more negative or to place the ingroup at a *level of optimal distinctiveness*. Compounded then, these two cognitive processing tendencies lead perceivers to view outgroup members as more alike but also less favorably (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). This effect has been documented in both a *minimal group paradigm* where group distinctions were based on arbitrary labels (Simon, Mlicki, Johnston & Caetano, 1990) and in a more pronounced manner in which a "real" group membership is threatened (Judd, Ryan & Park, 1991). Thus these processes can work in tandem to shape and strengthen group stereotypes.

In terms of the "Why" stereotypes persist--even in the face of contradictory information--several theories have attempted to explain

the often robust reliance on stereotypes. The two most common explanations are very distinct but can be complimentary. The first, a *social cognition perspective*, suggests that we need to categorize people into schematic groups to efficiently assess our world and to identify with "similar" others that will help us if we are under threat. The second perspective is somewhat *psychoanalytic* in nature that we unconsciously derogate outgroups and focus on the positive attributes of our ingroup in order to bolster our self-esteem and protect our cultural worldview (Jones, 1997).

Finally, in terms of the "When?" a litany of studies has been conducted to demonstrate when activation and reliance on stereotypes is most likely. Some of the predictors of reliance on stereotypes are: (1) lack of personal experience with a target group, (2) after a threat to the in-group's self esteem, (3) high explicit prejudice (no big shocker there), (4) low cognitive resources, and (5) ambiguous behaviors (which can be attributed to prejudice or some other social acceptable explanation such as political conservatism or evidence of criminality). Although, much work has been done in this area, one could argue that we still know very little about "when" stereotyping will occur. This is largely because the tendency towards stereotyping depends on the interaction of individual traits, motives and personal

experiences and whether a specific contextual setting activates an internal stereotype (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). All of these components make stereotyping difficult to predict because individual experiences can vary dramatically. Because group membership may directly influence outgroup interactions and individual experiences, it is useful to examine ethnic group attitudes and reliance on stereotypes.

Interestingly enough, the annual review of psychological literature on stereotypes cited 129 *empirical* studies but only 12 of them reported participant ethnicity (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). Of the 12 studies that did report ethnic breakdown, 9 stated that the participants were all White, and that the handful of other ethnic groups sampled were excluded from the analyses (the 3 remaining studies were conducted in Bangladesh or Italy). Although the remainder of the studies failed to report the ethnicity of participants, it can be assumed that most likely they were also predominantly White Americans--given that the emphasis in the stereotype paradigm is generally majority attitudes towards minority group members. Further, the samples were typically all college undergraduates from universities with low campus diversity (e.g., University of Oregon, Mount Saint Mary's, Maryland, and University of Wisconsin). This reality is problematic in that it begs the question: do ethnic minorities display the same patterns of

stereotype formation, activation and maintenance as White Americans? If not, (and given the unique cultural experiences of minority groups in America one would not expect this is the case) theory-testing of some of the fundamental assumptions of the stereotyping literature is necessary.

Stereotypes about Black and Crime

Stereotypes continue to be an important area of study due to the increasing evidence that they operate outside of our conscious awareness and may therefore be unacknowledged by people who believe themselves to be non-prejudiced (Devine, 1989; Dovidio, Evans & Taylor, 1986; Jones, 1997; McConahay, 1986.)

A number of experimental studies have been designed to demonstrate that many individuals have internalized an association between "Black" and Crime (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie & Davies, 2004; Sommers, & Ellsworth, 2001). This relationship has been demonstrated in a number of innovative ways. For instance one study found people were more likely to misidentify a tool as a weapon when held by Black person than when held by a White person (Correll, et.al., 2007). Evidence exists that racial stereotyping may occur even in trained "professionals" such as police officers. In a recent study of 350 police officers, results indicated that when primed with a crime related

stimulus, officers were quicker to identify an African American face than a European American face. In addition, police officers were more likely to describe African American photographs as more criminal and in more stereotypical terms than European American photographs (Eberhardt et al., 2004). These findings were again, based on attitudes of the majority group, but it is unclear if ethnic minorities will display the same racial biases in processing information.

There is ample evidence that stereotypes are prevalent and well learned by members of our society (Jones, 1997; Rowley, Kurtz-Costes, Mistry, & Feagans, 2007), but it is possible that ethnic minorities are more sensitive to them because they are exposed to stereotypes about their own group. In order to better understand the reliance on stereotypes by Latino and Asian Americans, ingroup preference and attributional styles will be assessed using an experimental paradigm in which race is manipulated. Assumptions about prejudicial tendencies based on the tenets of the current theoretical framework will be tested in an attempt to confirm basic components of the existing theoretical framework with minority samples. This assessment allows for better understanding the generalizability and utility of such theories in explaining prejudice in other groups. Literature covering reliance on stereotypes, intergroup

bias, and attributional styles will be discussed separately as well as predictions based on each theory.

Reactivity to Stereotype Congruent versus Incongruent Information

In 1954, Allport suggested that prejudging others should not be looked at as deviant behavior that only bigots commit, but rather something that all humans are prone to doing. However, since that time, little has been done to understand ethnic group differences in terms of prejudice and reliance on group stereotypes (Bobo, 2000). Most of the existing research suggests that the activation of stereotypes is an automatic process and that individuals may be relying on them without conscious awareness (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994; Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie & Davies, 2004; Jones, 1997). It is important to understand the ways in which activation of a stereotype can influence processing of information and lead to biased conclusions.

It is also important to understand if there are racial/ethnic differences in the activation and application of stereotypes. The current study assesses the use of stereotypes by two ethnic minority groups (Asians and Latinos) in an attempt to understand if reliance on stereotypes is in fact similar to the patterns and tendencies documented in the literature. Namely, that in a context that is seen as stereotypically congruent and negative, the stereotype will be

activated and used to explain behavior (Kawakami et. al, 1998; Kunda & Spencer, 2003). To elicit a negative group stereotype, participants will be exposed to a newspaper article in which the perpetrator is an African American and is committing a stereotypically congruent crime, specifically, robbery and assault (Gordon, Michels & Nelson, 1995). Other participants will be exposed to a White perpetrator committing the same crime, which is incongruent with common group stereotypes (Gordon et. al., 1995). Research suggests that incongruency, or a violation of what is expected, should elicit a strong emotional response and more effort in explaining the inconsistency (Jones, 1997; Stangor & McMillen, 1992). It has also been documented that when a negative stereotype is activated and the expectations of the perceiver are confirmed, individuals might feel justified in using more stereotypical explanations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

Prevalence and Reliance on Stereotypes

Stereotypes are thought to be learned very early and are generally learned from parents as well as through messages in the media (Devine, 1989; Williams, 2007). Piaget demonstrated that once these world-view schemas are formed, they are very stable and resistant to change (Piaget, 1953). Such stereotypes are organized just like any other cognitive structure and function similarly by

organizing information about groups of people into quick reference categories (Jones, 1997). Stereotypes are internalized before children have the capacity to critically evaluate their validity or utility (Devine, 1989). This may happen when the child is witness to the negative behavior of an outgroup member, and the parent provides a stereotypical explanation for that behavior (Williams, 2007). Learned stereotypes are reinforced many times over before children acquire the cognitive ability to evaluate them; therefore, stereotypes are very resistant to change once internalized (Fiske, 2005; Williams, 2007).

There is also a great deal of evidence that there is an auto-maintenance to stereotyping, such that the stronger we hold a stereotype the more likely we are to perceive, interpret and evaluate behaviors in ways consistent with our expectations (Devine, 1989; Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Neuberg, 1994). The importance and relevance that we place on the social category of the stereotype will depend on the example that comes to mind when the category is activated, such as positive meaning or negative meaning (Smith & Zarate, 1992). Our attitudes towards other groups are therefore based on societal categories, filtered through our own experiences. Stangor, Sullivan and Ford (1991) demonstrated that the number of positive or negative interactions with target group members (rated very favorably

to very unfavorably) and the emotional association made, strongly predicted bias against the group. Individuals, who reported limited interactions with the target group and rated the interactions as negative, were more likely to report bias against the group. As the number of interactions increased, so did positive affect towards the target group. Further, positive affect based on positive interactions, was predictive of group attitudes even when controlling for knowledge of group stereotypes (Stangor, et. al., 1991). This finding suggests that if a person has had positive interactions with stigmatized group members (such as African Americans) that the positive experiences would predict attitudes about the group better than any pre-held group stereotype. This finding is corroborated in a recent book analyzing differences in White students attitudes' towards Blacks based on early childhood experiences (Williams, 2007).

It has also been demonstrated that differential stereotype activation can be context specific, such that negative or positive stereotypes may be activated in stereotypically congruent situations (O'Brien, Kinias, & Major, 2008). For instance a positive stereotype of athleticism may be activated in the context of watching Black men playing sports. However, seeing two Black men arguing might activate the negative group stereotype of aggression or hostility (Chen & Bargh,

1997). For example, Dovidio and Gaertner (1996) had participants read two articles about a Black man, one that was stereotype congruent about an altercation, and one that was stereotype incongruent in which he acted heroically and saved people from a burning building. In the incongruent condition his race was never mentioned once in explaining his behavior and participants were quick to praise him. In the stereotype congruent condition however, his race and group membership were used to explain his behavior and little else was mentioned. This suggests that in the stereotype congruent condition the stereotype was activated, and was relied upon to explain the situation, but not in the stereotype incongruent situation.

Therefore, the context *and* our personal experience with target group members interact to color our perceptions of what we see. If we are confronted with information that confirms our preexisting stereotype that was formed based on group membership, societal norms, and our own experience, we have little reason to evaluate it further. Without careful evaluation of the accuracy of the stereotype it will tend to be confirmed and even strengthened (Neuberg, 1994). However, if we hold stereotypes that are weakly formed, but strongly believed, any contrary information activates cognitive processes and may arouse emotional defenses (Jones, 1997). In modern American

society it has been documented that group stereotypes about African Americans are well known and consistent across samples (Devine, 1989; William, 2007). Not all stereotypes about African Americans are negative but they all distort real group differences. One particularly negative stereotype is the evidence of an association between Black and crime.

Associations between Black and Crime

One stereotypical association that has been well documented is the reciprocal relationship of Black and crime (Bobo, 2009; Correll, 2006; Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie & Davies, 2004; Sommers, & Ellsworth, 2001). Studies have demonstrated that priming a participant with a Black face caused them to match a gun faster than when primed with a White face (Payne, 2001). This relationship has been demonstrated to be reciprocal in that the order of the prime (weapon or a Black face first) are consistently matched more quickly than in the White face Crime condition. In a similar study participants primed with pictures of a gun and other crime related objects attended to a Black face longer than a White face (Eberhardt, et. al 2004). Participants are also more likely to misidentify a tool as a weapon when it is paired with a Black person over a White person (Correll et. al., 2007; Payne, Lambert, & Jacoby, 2002).

Similarly juror bias has also been assessed in regards to differential outcomes based on race of the defendant. It has been documented that in a complex judgmental situation, such as jury duty, individuals are more likely to use relevant stereotypes to organize information (Bodenhausen & Lichtenstein, 1987). Conversely, there is also evidence that when a crime has racial underpinnings, such as a racial hate crime, jurors may be motivated to suspend racial stereotypes to uphold an egalitarian view of the evidence. In fact, it has been shown that White participants are more likely to recommend harsher sentencing for a White defendant who committed a hate crime against a Black victim (Markus-Newhall, Blake & Baumann 2002).

At face value, these findings may indicate that racial bias is not a factor in juror sentencing or verdict. However, these findings only appear under certain conditions in which the crime is obviously race related. In such cases egalitarian views are made salient and jurors are motivated to reduce reliance on stereotypes due to the racial component of a case (Markus-Newhall et. al., 2002). However, when the race of the defendant is irrelevant to the evidence in a case, the defendant race has a strong influence on jury sentencing.

Thus, African Americans are more likely to be found guilty and recommended for harsher sentences than European Americans in the

same paradigm (Sommers & Ellsworth, 2001). Juror motivation to control bias may be stronger in cases where race is relevant in order to reduce the possibility of accusations of prejudice. However, when race is not relevant to the case, jurors may be less likely to fear such accusations and, therefore, may rely on stereotypes when processing information (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2001).

The findings of these studies have real-world implications, for instance, it has been shown that a predisposition to prejudice, or an internalization of racial stereotypes, is predictive of capital punishment support and bias in harsher sentencing (Flexon, 2006). Further, it has been documented that African Americans are sentenced to longer prison terms than European Americans who are apprehended for similar crimes (Iguchi, Bell, Ramchand & Fain, 2005; US Department of Justice, 2004). In the same vein, an analysis of looking stereotypically Black (darker skin and broader features) was strongly associated with real defendants being sentenced to death (Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns & Johnson, 2006). This relationship was found even when controlling for a number of covariates including: victim and suspects socioeconomic status, attractiveness of the suspect, severity of the murder, and aggravating and mitigating circumstances. Further, harshness in African American defendant sentencing varied greatly

depending on the race of the victim, such that defendants were most likely to be sentenced to death if the victim was White and the defendant looked stereotypically Black (Eberhardt, et. al, 2006). These findings have been consistent and robust but they have been based primarily on participant samples made up of Whites, and may not be generalizable to the current sample (Asians and Latinos).

Asian and Latino Group Attitudes

There is a dearth of literature on ethnic minority racial attitudes but there is some evidence to suggest that Asians will display more racial bias in a manner similar to high status groups (e.g., White men) as opposed to low status groups (Latinos and African Americans: Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998). This bias is usually displayed in support for policies that are hierarchy enhancing, such as the dismantling of affirmative action programs (Levin, et. al., 1998; Sears, Sidanius & Bobo, 2000). Conversely, low status groups (e.g., African Americans) are more likely to endorse hierarchy-attenuating policies (Bobo & Charles, 2009; Bobo, 2000, Levin et al., 1998; Nteta, 2004). It is generally agreed upon that Asians and Latinos attitudes fall somewhere in between the attitudes of Whites and Blacks (Hunt, 2000; Nteta, 2004). This finding amongst Asian and Latino groups are not always as consistent as Black and White attitudes, and are found

to be mediated by immigration status, such that the more recent immigrants are more likely to endorse policies similar to Whites (Asquith, 2006). Due to the lack of research and the inconsistencies in Latino and Asian racial attitudes, further analysis is merited.

Prior Findings

A similar experimental study was previously conducted in our lab in which 207 participant interview responses were transcribed. Raters coded the responses to determine if there were differences in emotional reactions and stereotypes used in the Black vs. White suspect conditions. Some interesting differences between the suspect conditions emerged such that the Black suspect was rated significantly more stereotypical than the White suspect. Also, participants in the Black suspect condition were rated as being more comfortable, but also more angry than in the White suspect condition. In the White suspect condition, participants were rated as more anxious than in the Black suspect condition. These findings demonstrate that the participants were more likely to be comfortable and use stereotypical explanations in the condition that reinforced the stereotype (Black suspect). However, when the stereotypical expectation was violated (White suspect), participants were more anxious and uncomfortable (Briones & Murray, 2008; Festekjian, Briones & Murray, 2009).

These findings support prior research that suggests that when a stereotype is not confirmed, individuals will pay more attention to the disconfirming information and possibly display more emotional reactions (Stangor & Ruble, 1989). Interestingly, no significant differences were found between the ratings of interest level or ratings of violence between the Black and White suspect conditions. Of the participants originally sampled, 78% reported being Asian or Latino. The remaining participants were White and Black.

We expect to replicate these findings in the current study given the similarity in sample demographics and experimental design. It is expected that differences may be even more pronounced given that the video data provides much more information (body language, gender and ethnicity of the participants, etc.) than the transcribed interviews. All remaining possible interactions between suspect race and victim race will be tested on each of the emotions rated which are listed in tables 1 and 1.1.

Intergroup Bias

Intergroup bias refers to a theoretical model that helps to understand the tendency for individuals to embrace ingroup superiority and to derogate outgroups (Hewstone, 1990). The theory of intergroup bias encompasses two outcomes in terms of intergroup

attitudes: the first is a strong, systematic preference for the ingroup including norms, traditions and ideologies, and the second, is outgroup derogation or discrimination, which results from inflated differences in norms or ideologies (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002).

Intergroup bias theory is seen as the theoretical underpinning of several models of intergroup prejudice (Hewstone et.al., 2002) and is the basic premise of both social identity theory (SIT) and realistic group conflict (RGCT). SIT posits that individuals identify with similar others and value a set of specific norms pertaining to that group in order to maintain a collective culture that is self-validating and therefore boosts self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). RGCT suggests that such preference for ingroups will only be heightened when resources are scarce or under threat (Sherif, 1961)--especially from a group that is perceived as culturally dissimilar (Zarate, Garcia, Garza & Hitlan, 2004). In such cases, ingroup preference will not only increase but the likelihood of outgroup derogation may also increase due to real or perceived threat (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Turkaspa, 1998).

This phenomenon has been demonstrated such that when allocating resources participants exhibited preferential distributions to ingroup over outgroup members (Billig & Tajfel, 1973). A tendency for

unequal allocation has been demonstrated between groups based on both actual group memberships and arbitrary group memberships (minimal group paradigm), such as the preference between two pieces of art (Tajfel & Billig, 1974; Tajfel et al., 1971). In terms of actual group memberships, the emphasis has been on outward salient features such as gender and "race". In "race" studies of ingroup preference, results have been consistent such that a significant preference, allocation of goods and/or reduction of harm for ingroup members has been demonstrated (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

The tendency to demonstrate an ingroup preference has been shown in experimental data in a number of paradigms both within the laboratory and in real world settings (Brewer, 2001; Stephan & Stephan 2000, Turner & Reynolds, 2001). However, outgroup derogation is not as reliably uncovered as ingroup preference or favoritism, except under certain conditions (e.g., threat: Henderson-King, 1997). These studies however, have largely assessed White participants allocation of resources to outgroup members usually represented by African Americans. One such study was conducted on White participants who were asked to evaluate applicants (Black or White) for a job and make a recommendation about hiring them (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). In spite of the fact that both the ingroup

(i.e., Whites) and the outgroup (i.e., Blacks) applicants had average qualifications for the job, participants were more likely to give ingroup members the benefit of the doubt and offer them the job. There is clearly evidence of ingroup preference but the same effects have not been examined within the Black ingroup, which would be necessary to truly demonstrate ingroup preference or bias as generalizable to other groups.

While these results have been robust and replicated many times with White participants (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002) it cannot be definitively concluded that such ingroup preference is true of all racial/ethnic groups. In fact, there is some evidence that certain underrepresented groups may actually display a preference for the dominant outgroup than their own. This preference has been documented in African Americans since the landmark study of Mamie and Kenneth Clark demonstrating African American children's preference and positive affect toward White over Black baby dolls (Clark & Clark, 1953). As recently as 2006, the results of the Clark study have been replicated in a sample of young African American children in New York. Black children referred to the Black doll as "bad and ugly" and the White doll as "nice and pretty" even though they

also clearly demonstrated the understanding that the Black doll looked most like them (abcnews.go.com).

There is evidence, however, that ingroup preference develops in older African American children and that preference for the ingroup over the outgroup is higher after about the age of nine (Murray & Mandara, 2001). These findings suggest that the assumption of ingroup preference may not always be applicable to other ethnic groups. Ethnic/racial status of the individual may moderate preference for ingroup. Although this distinction has been investigated minimally with African Americans, such investigations are nearly non-existent for other racial ethnic groups in the United States.

In the current study the accumulated knowledge of intergroup bias findings and research on SIT, RGCT, and social categorization theories, are investigated to optimize conditions for generating outgroup bias. For instance some studies demonstrate the social self must be made salient in order to activate this ingroup bias (Turner & Reynolds, 2001). However laboratory studies tend to use personal identification primes, such as filling out demographic information to activate the social ingroup category. However, this procedure may be problematic in that one may self-identify as Chicano (Mexican-

American) on a paper-pencil survey, but understand they are part of a larger social category, which is the Latino group, or vice-versa.

The current study activates group category by describing the victim as either an Asian or Latino man rather than a specific ethnicity such as Korean or Mexican. In terms of the specific cultures used, the participant sample is either Latino or Asian both which have been categorized as more collectivistic cultures than the westernized culture of the United States (Raeff, Greenfield & Quiroz, 2000). Collectivistic cultures have demonstrated a tendency to display more ingroup bias (Triandis & Trafimow, 2001). The current design allows us to assess if such bias extends itself to increased interest or outrage when an ingroup member is wrongfully victimized.

A recent 2 X 2 X 2 model has been operationalized to understand the conditions under which ingroup members will become outraged by a threat (Mummendey & Otten, 2001). The first condition is either a direct or indirect threat, second is positive (stereotype-congruent) or negative (stereotype-incongruent) behavior, and the third is whether the behavior is committed by an ingroup or outgroup member (Mummendey & Otten, 2001). Studies using this model have demonstrated that when an outgroup member behaves in a negative manner and such behavior is perceived as a direct threat to the

ingroup, derogation of the out-group is most likely to occur (Gardham & Brown, 2001; Otten et al, 1996). This model can be applied to the present study such that we have controlled for the race of the suspect (outgroup member), who commits a heinous crime (negative behavior), in which an ingroup member is robbed and assaulted (direct threat). These conditions are expected to elicit the most agitation and also degradation of the outgroup member. To contrast and compare participant reactions between ingroup victims, half of the participants were exposed to an out-group member (Asian or Latino) who was assaulted. This assessment allows for comparisons of differential reactions based on ingroup preference. Further, the current design also manipulates the race of the perpetrator of the crime. This manipulation allows for comparisons in status differences such that both Black and White assailants are outgroup members to the participant regardless of condition, but the status of the perpetrator, high (White) versus low (Black), may also influence interpretations of the crime.

Attribution Theory

Attribution theory seeks to describe the process by which people explain others behaviors. Researchers have revealed that there are two basic types of attributions that we can use to explain behavior, internal or external. An *internal* or *dispositional* attribution means that the behavior of the person, say speeding in a car, is attributed to something in their personality or character, such as the person being reckless. *External* or *situational* attributions explain the person's behavior as being influenced by something in the situation or environment, such as the person speeding because she has a plane to catch. It is evident then, that the way the perceiver explains behavior will also influence whether these actions were seen as favorable or unfavorable. In western culture, an *actor-observer bias* has been documented in which observers of behavior tend to focus on the actor and therefore view them as the casual agent of the behavior (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). The focus on the actor as the cause, leads to making more internal attributions about his or her behavior. Researchers have suggested that this bias is due to our perspective, such that when we are focused on others, their behavior is more salient than the situation. Focusing on the actor rather than being attuned to their environment leads to *discounting* situational influences (Ross, 1977).

This perceptual bias is problematic because it has been recognized that we have a tendency to explain our own behavior differently. It has been well documented that when we explain our own behavior we are much more likely to acknowledge situational influences than when describing the behavior of others (Jones & McGillis, 1976). This discounting of situational influences in others often leads us to make internal attributions about the behaviors of others, but we are quick to attribute our own behavior to the outside forces. This differential processing bias has been dubbed the *Fundamental Attribution Error* (Ross, 1977) and refers specifically to underestimating the situational influences when observing others behavior. For instance, this effect was first demonstrated in a study that had participants read pro and anti Castro essays, and then rate the author's attitudes towards Castro. Participants rated the author as having more positive attitudes towards Castro in the pro-Castro essay condition and more negative attitudes in the anti-Castro condition even when participants were told that the authors were assigned what to write (Jones & Harris, 1967). This tendency towards the *Fundamental Attribution Error* is also referred to as *correspondence bias*, and demonstrates the tendency to discount situational influences on others (Jones & Harris, 1967). Many variations of this effect have

been replicated; for instance, one study told participants that the person they were about to interact with had been told to behave in a friendly or unfriendly manner. Even when blatantly told the person was acting, the participants still rated the “real” personality of the actor as cold in the unfriendly condition and warm in the friendly condition (Napolitan & Goethas, 1979).

Some more recent studies suggest that the fundamental attribution error may not be committed universally and some important cultural differences have been documented. For instance, researchers found that *collectivistic cultures*--cultures in which group harmony is the focus rather than individual happiness--are less likely to discount situational forces (Masuda & Kitayama, 2004). Further cross-cultural researchers have found that when social constraints (e.g., being assigned to write a particular position) are made salient Asians (Koreans, Japanese and Chinese samples) are much less likely to commit the *Fundamental Attribution Error* than Americans (Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzyana, 1999). Other researchers have demonstrated that Americans, including Latinos and Asians, favor internal attributions when explaining the misfortune of other groups (Hughes & Tuch, 2000). Therefore there are some inconsistencies that arise when the *correspondence bias* is assessed in more diverse samples. More

exploration is necessary in order to better understand the utility of the *Fundamental Attribution Error* in such samples. This is especially true if we hope to understand how type of attributions made may influence intergroup attitudes.

The Ultimate Attribution Error

Researchers have uncovered a bias in perception that combines attributional style and differentiation between ingroup and outgroup members. Studies have demonstrated that individuals have a tendency to attribute the negative behaviors of outgroup members to internal factors and the positive behaviors of outgroup members to external factors (Stewart, Latu, Kawakami & Myers, 2009). This tendency, dubbed the *Ultimate Attribution Error* (UAE, Pettigrew, 1979) is problematic in that it helps to maintain stereotypes, because the tendency to commit the error is especially prevalent in regards to stereotypical behavior. For example, studies have demonstrated a link between stereotypical behavior (a Black man being late to work) and the tendency by White participants to utilize internal attributions (laziness, irresponsibility) to explain his behavior (Stewart, et al., 2009). These findings persisted even among participants rated low on self-reported measures of prejudice--indicating that individuals had internalized an association between the group stereotype and

dispositional attributes of group members. If individuals attribute stereotypical behavior to an internal disposition, it reinforces the negative attitude about the characteristics of the group. However, if counter stereotypical behavior is attributed to situational constraints, it thereby allows the stereotype to persist in spite of the exception (Stewart, et. al., 2009).

There is some evidence that the number and type of attributions made will vary as a result of stereotype congruent versus incongruent information. For example, information that is inconsistent with expectations may lead perceivers to consider more alternatives for the behavior than if the information is consistent with their stereotype (Wong & Weiner, 1981). For example, one experiment found that both Black and White participants expected a White child to outperform a Black child on an academic task, and when the opposite happened more attributions of cause were generated than when expectations were confirmed (Wong, Derlega & Colson, 1988).

Research on the *Ultimate Attribution Error* has been conducted utilizing a predominately Black/White paradigm, in which White attitudes about Blacks are observed. While the tendency to commit the *Ultimate Attribution Error* has also been documented in ethnic minority groups (see Hewstone, (1990) for a review), and it has generally been

studied in countries other than the United States such as China, Malaysia and India. Further, although these studies have demonstrated the prevalence of using differential causal attributions for failures and successes of ingroups versus outgroups, it has been in a paradigm that looks at majority attitudes as opposed to minority attitudes (Hewstone, 1990). For instance, one study conducted in Malaysia demonstrated that individuals attributed positive behaviors to internal traits in majority members (Malaysians) more than for minority members (Chinese residents of Malaysia) although the tendency for outgroup derogation was not as pronounced as in American samples (Hewstone & Ward, 1985). A replication study was also conducted in China to determine if there were also differences in causal attributions for majority (Chinese) versus minority members (Malaysian residents) and was unable to find such a bias indicating that the tendency towards committing the *Ultimate Attribution Error* may not be universal (Hewstone, 1990).

In terms of causal attributions made by ethnic minorities in the United States, one study found that White, Mexican American and Black 6th graders all demonstrated a tendency to make more internal attributions for the positive behaviors of ingroup members (Stephan, 1977). However, the bias was strongest for White students followed by

Mexican American students and almost nonexistent for the Black students. Again, this demonstrates that status may have an impact on tendency to commit the *Ultimate Attribution Error*.

Current Study

To test whether a perpetrator's negative, stereotypical behavior is explained primarily in terms of internal attributions and if race influences emotional reactions, a crime was fabricated. Participants were exposed to one of four conditions in which a robbery and assault was committed against a liquor store attendant where the suspect was an outgroup member and the victim was either an ingroup member or an outgroup member. This type of crime was rated to be a stereotypical behavior associated with Black men (Gordon et. al., 1995) and therefore the perpetrator's "race" was manipulated to be either Black or White.

Participants were asked to explain the behavior of the suspect to understand, in part, how an ethnically diverse participant would explain stereotypically congruent and incongruent criminal behavior. UAE research would suggest that the negative behavior of an outgroup member would most likely be explained in terms of internal, dispositional attributions. This tendency may be more pronounced in

the condition which confirms a stereotype (Black suspect condition). However, given that the sample is made up of ethnic groups that are associated with more collectivistic rather than individualistic tendencies, more situational explanations may be utilized.

The research questions are largely exploratory and seek to understand whether Latino and Asian Americans demonstrate a tendency to derogate the outgroup member by making more internal attributions about the suspects behavior. Also type of attributions made, internal or external, will be analyzed to understand any differences between the stereotype congruent (Black suspect) or incongruent (White suspect) conditions. The race of the victim will also be manipulated to understand if victim ethnicity affects type of causal attribution made.

In terms of emotional reactions to the crime, all of the 18 adjectives rated (cf. Table 2 for a complete list) will be analyzed across participants and then separately for each ethnic groups and also by ingroup/outgroup comparisons. Only significant results will be reported.

Research Questions:

RQ1: Will the assailant's race influence emotional reactions to a crime when the crime is stereotypically congruent (committed by a Black person) compared to when it is stereotypically incongruent (committed by a White person)?

RQ2: When the participant and victim ethnicity are matched, will the participant display an ingroup bias by demonstrating more concern, anger and empathy than for an outgroup victim?

RQ3: When the victim is an ingroup vs. an outgroup member, will the "race" of the suspect make a difference in amount of ingroup bias displayed?

RQ4: Will the attributions made about the assailant's behavior differ based on the race of the assailant and the race of the participant?

RQ5: Will the race of the suspect, participant and victim interact to influence the use of internal and external attributions?

Method

Participants

Subjects were recruited from the undergraduate subject pool and received partial course credit for participating in the study. They ranged in age from 17-23 years, with the average age being 19 years. A disproportionate number of participants reported being Psychology majors (28%) followed by Biology (14%) and Business (9%) majors. Participants were randomly assigned to a condition in which the victim was an ingroup or outgroup member (Asian or Latino) and the perpetrator of the crime was either Black or White.

Asian participants (n= 44) consisted of 27 females and 17 males, with most reporting that they were second generation Americans (66% born in the US of foreign born parents), followed by 31% first generation (born outside of the US) and a small percentage (3%) reported being 3rd or more generation (at least one grandparent, both parents and participant all born in the US). The Asian participants were primarily underclassmen, with the majority (81%) reporting being either a freshmen or sophomore. In terms of political orientation, 48% reported being slightly to moderately liberal, while 52% reported being slightly to moderately conservative. In terms of political party

affiliation, 43% reported being Democrats and 30% reported being Republicans. Finally, in terms of household income, 29% of the Asian participants reported an annual income of \$100,000 or higher. Thirty-three percent reported an annual income between \$51,000-99,000, and the remaining 38% reported annual household incomes of 50,000 or less.

Latino participants (n = 42) consisted of 29 females and 13 males. Like the Asian participants, most (58%) reported being second generation Americans (born in the US of foreign born parents), followed by 28% first generation (born outside of the US), and a small 14% percentage (although larger than for Asian respondents) reported being 3rd or more generation (at least one grandparent, both parents and participant all born in the US). Latino participants also consisted mostly of underclassmen, with 77% reporting being either a freshmen or sophomore. In terms of political orientation, 74% reported being slightly to moderately liberal, while 19% reported being slightly to moderately conservative. In terms of political party affiliation, 67% of the Latino participants reported being Democrats, 14% reported being Republicans, and 9% reported being Independent. Finally, in terms of household income, only 9% of the Latino participants reported an

annual income of \$100,000 or higher (compared to 30% of Asians). Seventy-one percent reported an annual income of \$50,000 or less, and the remaining 20% reported annual household incomes between \$51,000-99,000. The annual income of Asian and Latino respondents differed considerably.

Procedure

Each participant was randomly assigned to conditions using a random numbers table prior to the start of the experiment. Participants were invited into a private room with a video camera clearly visible and were walked through the procedure by a research assistant and asked their consent to participate. The "race" (European American) of the research assistant conducting the question and answer portion was held constant. Participants were first asked to read a neutral news article about rain levels in the Mojave Desert. After reading this article, they were prompted to recall everything they could, being as specific as possible. Participants were directed to address the video camera when responding, rather than the research assistant seated just behind them.

Secondly, participants were asked to read the experimental news article which was about a robbery and assault committed in a local

suburban mini market. Following the article, a number of scripted prompts were given to respondents asking them to recall as much information as they could about the physical descriptions of the suspect, victim, explanations for their behavior, and details of the crime itself. Participants were also asked about the severity of the crime and rated it on a 1-9 violence scale. All responses were again directed at the video camera and participants were given as much time to answer as they needed. The prompts used to interview the participants were scripted and held constant across participants. After the interview process, participants were instructed to complete a survey packet containing demographic information. Videotapes of the proceedings were then given to individually trained research assistants to convert to digital format and burn onto DVD's.

Stimulus Material

This crime was discussed in great detail, as was the perpetrator who was described as being still "at-large". The "race" of the perpetrator was manipulated to be African American half the time and European American half the time. The name of the perpetrator (Kevin Thompson) remained constant. This name was chosen after being rated as "race neutral" in a pilot study, meaning that it could equally

pertain to an African American or a European American individual.

The race of the victim of the crime was also manipulated to be Latino or Asian, and was paired with a previously rated stereotypically fitting name. The name of the Asian victim was Thomas Kim and the name of the Latino victim was Ernesto Alvarez. The purpose of using stereotypical names was to ensure that the ethnicity of the victim was primed and made salient. All of the other details regarding the crime were held constant (c.f., appendix for example of actual stimulus material). This 2X2X2 experimental design resulted in 8 experimental conditions; 4 in which the perpetrator was described as European American, and 4 in which the perpetrator was described as African American. Victim race was also manipulated such that 4 conditions contained an Asian victim, and 4 conditions had a Latino victim. Finally participant ethnicity was matched to the victim (e.g., Latino participant and Latino victim) or unmatched (e.g., Latino participant and Asian victim).

Ratings Data

Once DVD's of the interviews were created, they were grouped based on condition, and separated into numbered spools. Each rater was supplied with a random number that was to be utilized to view the

numbered spools so that no rater saw all of the participants in the same order. Raters were instructed not to discuss the ratings with one another and to carefully watch each segment and pause between articles. No time limit was given so that each could work at his or her own pace. Raters were told that the ratings were based on their own opinions and that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers. Ratings were collected on a weekly basis and logged into a database using both the participant number, as well as the corresponding rater identification number.

Ratings

Rating questionnaires consisted of adjectives constructed on a Likert scale, ranging from "not at all descriptive" to "completely descriptive" (0-4). The adjectives were repeated for both the neutral and crime articles in order to account for baseline levels of participant emotions. For example, some of the adjectives used were: "angry", "nervous", "caring", and "uninterested" (For a complete list of all adjectives included in the ratings please see Table 2). Emotional items were selected to assess overall anxiety level of the participants and possible emotional reactions to the crime such as sympathy and hostility. Additional questions were also asked after reading of the

crime article; these included ratings of the complexity or simplicity of the participant's response, amount and type of attributions made for why the perpetrator committed the crime and stereotypicality of the responses (c.f., appendix). Finally, raters were asked to report the participant's response to the question: "On a scale of 1-9, 9 being most violent, how violent would you rate the perpetrator of the crime?"

Raters

Undergraduate research assistants were interviewed and selected to be raters based upon the following criteria: grade point average, ethnicity, English proficiency, prior research experience and commitment to working in the lab. Two raters from each of the experimentally manipulated ethnic groups were selected to control for ethnic biases. This resulted in 2 Latino raters, 2 Asian American raters, 2 African American raters, and 2 European American raters. In addition, to control for gender effects a male and female rater was included from each ethnic group. However, 3 of the raters did not finish rating all of the participants and therefore their data could not be used. The final rater count was reduced to 5; 1 African American Male, 1 African American female, 1 Latino Male, 1 Latina female, and 1

White female. Inter-rater reliabilities for each item ranged from $\alpha = .38$ to 1.00; however no item having an alpha of .50 or lower was aggregated (cf. Table 2 for a complete list of variables and alphas).

Results: Stereotype Reactivity

Stereotype reactivity was assessed by examining differences in participants' emotional responses to both the victim and the perpetrator of the crime. Aggregated mean composites were formed across raters on all of the dependent variables, which consisted of 18 affect ratings (nervous, angry, etc.), stereotypes used to describe the suspect, stereotypes used to describe the victim, and ratings of violence. Tables 1 and 1.1 display the means for the variables of interest as divided by condition (SR X VR X PR).

Main effects for Suspect Race:

To assess differences in participant reactions between suspect conditions (Black or White) on ratings of anger, a factorial ANOVA was run on aggregated anger (interrater reliability $\alpha = .52$). Contrary to previous findings, no significant differences were revealed between suspect conditions on anger ($F(1,83) = .478, p = .491$). Specifically, the average ratings of anger in the White Suspect condition ($M = .08$) and the Black Suspect condition ($M = .05$) did not significantly differ.

An aggregated mean composite was formed across raters ($\alpha = 0.55$), on stereotypical explanations used for the suspect. A factorial ANOVA was run using perpetrator race (Black or White) as a predictor of stereotypes used. No significant main effect was found in ratings of stereotypes used based on race of the perpetrator ($F(1, 84) = .035, p = .852$). Such that there was no difference in rated use of stereotypes when the participant was in the White perpetrator condition ($M = .50$) versus the Black perpetrator condition ($M = .47$).

An aggregated mean composite was formed on anxiety ($\alpha = 0.48$). A factorial ANOVA was run between perpetrator race condition (Black or White) as a predictor of anxiety. Contrary to prediction, no significant differences were found in ratings of anxiety based on Race of the perpetrator ($F(1, 77) = .130, p = .720$). There was no difference in rated anxiety when the participant was in the White perpetrator condition ($M = .99$) versus the Black perpetrator condition ($M = .95$).

However, for aggregated rating of nervousness ($\alpha = 0.65$), a marginal main effect was uncovered for suspect race ($F(1, 80) = 3.05, p = .084$), such that participants in the White suspect condition were rated as moderately more nervous ($M = .65$) than participants in the Black suspect condition ($M = .51$).

No other significant main effects were revealed for suspect condition, participant ethnicity or victim ethnicity.

Interaction effects: **Suspect Race (SR) X Victim Race (VR)** on affect ratings, suspect stereotype and victim stereotype and rating of violence. Only significant interactions will be discussed. A SR X VR interaction was found on ratings of Anger ($F(1, 81) = 6.01, p = .016$), such that participants were rated as most angry when the victim was Asian and the suspect was White regardless of participant ethnicity (Please see Table 3 and figure 1.2).

Victim Race (VR) X Participant Race (PR): A marginal interaction on ratings of Anxiety ($F(1, 74) = 3.31, p = .07$) was uncovered such that participants were rated as most anxious when the victim was Asian and the participant was Latino ($M = 1.01$) and lowest when both the victim and the participant were Asian ($M = .81$) (cf. Table 5). No other significant two-way or three-way interactions were revealed.

Results: Intergroup Bias

To better understand how intergroup bias may operate participants were categorized into a victim matched (ingroup) versus victim unmatched (outgroup) paradigm. Several 2 X 2 ANOVAS were conducted on affect ratings. Each ANOVA compared mean differences

on affect ratings (e.g., warm, relaxed, nervous, hesitant) by suspect race (Black or White) and if the victim was an ingroup or outgroup member. To create the ingroup/outgroup variable, self reported participant ethnicity was either matched (ingroup=1) to the victim ethnicity or differed (outgroup=0) from the victim ethnicity. Analyses were first conducted across all participants and then separately for Asians and Latinos.

A marginal main effect was found for matched versus unmatched participant ethnicity on ratings of anxiety across groups ($F(1,72) = 3.31, p = .07$). Surprisingly, participants were rated as more anxious when the victim was an outgroup member ($M = 1.06$) versus an ingroup member ($M = .89$). Across ethnic groups, evidence of ingroup bias was not supported; no significant interactions between suspect race and matched victim race were found on ratings of participant anger, interest or caring.

Asian and Latino Ethnic Group Differences

Some interesting ethnic group differences were revealed between ratings of Asian and Latino participant affect. For instance when analyzed separately, Asian participants were rated as more anxious ($F(1,36) = 3.57, p = .06$) when the victim was an outgroup member ($M = 1.05$) versus an ingroup member ($M = .82$). For Latino

participants, however, no significant differences were found between ratings of anxiety ($F(1,34) = .55, p = .46$) when the victim was an outgroup member ($M = 1.07$) versus an ingroup member ($M = .97$) although the trend is in the same direction.

An interaction for warmth occurred for Latino, but not Asian participants between suspect race and the matched victim. Latino participants were rated as most warm when the victim was an ingroup member and the suspect was Black ($F(1,36) = 4.19, p = .048$, cf. Table 6) even when controlling for baseline warmth. Similarly, a main effect on relaxed occurred ($F(1,36) = 4.21, p = .048$) such that Latinos participants were rated as more relaxed when the victim was an ingroup member ($M = 2.16$) than an outgroup member ($M = 1.94$) even when controlling for baseline rating of relaxed. These findings are the inverse of what was expected if Latinos were displaying ingroup favoritism. However, for Latino participants a marginal interaction on caring that was more in line with intergroup bias theory also occurred. Latino participants were rated as caring the least ($M = .68$) when the victim was an outgroup member and the suspect was Black, and caring most ($M = 1.34$) when the victim was an ingroup member and the suspect was Black ($F(1,37) = 3.66, p = .06$).

Also demonstrating some ingroup preference, an interaction was found for Asians participants on ratings of anger ($F(1,40) = 5.56, p = .02$, cf. Table 8). When analyzed separately Asian participants had the highest ratings of anger (on a 0-4 scale,) when the victim was an ingroup member and the suspect was White ($M = .12$) compared to when the victim was an outgroup member ($M = .00$, cf. Figure 1.6). No such interaction was found for Latinos ($F(1,37) = 1.77, p = .19$).

Results: Attributions

In order to address the research question will the attributions made about the assailant's behavior differ based on the race of the assailant and the race of the participant? Several 2 (SR) X 2 (VR) X 2 (PR) ANOVAS were conducted on internal attributions, external attributions, difference scores (Internal-external) and reasons provided.

Main effects: A marginal main effect of suspect race (SR) on number of internal attributions made by participants was found ($F(1,81) = 3.15, p = .08$), such that participants made more internal attributions when the suspect was White ($M = 1.5$) compared to when the suspect was Black ($M = 1.0$). No significant SR difference in the number of external attributions for suspect behavior were found ($F(1,81) = 1.35, p = .25$) between the Black suspect ($M = 1.96$) and

White suspect ($M = 1.71$) conditions. A significant main effect of PR was found with respect to the number of external attributions made ($F(1,81) = 4.16, p = .04$), such that Latino participants made more ($M = 2.05$) external attributions for the suspects behavior than did Asian participants ($M = 1.63$).

In addition, to create a difference score, internal attributions made were subtracted from external attributions made for each participant. A one-sample T-test on the difference score was significant ($T(1,84) = -3.132, p = .002$) indicating that overall more situational rather than internal attributions were made ($M = -.56$). A factorial ANOVA was also run on the difference score between Black and White suspect conditions and was found to be marginally significant ($F(1,77) = 3.10, p = .08$). This finding indicates that participants made significantly more external attributions than internal attributions for the Black suspect ($M = -.88$), than for the White suspect ($M = -.24$). No other significant main effects were revealed.

Interactions:

A significant 2-way interaction was found between **SR and PR** on reasons given for the suspects behavior, ($F(1,81) = 6.5, p = .01$) such that more reasons were given when the suspect was White and the participant was Latino ($M = 1.6$); fewer reasons were given when

the suspect was Black and the participant was Latino ($M = .76$). Asian participants pattern was the inverse with most reasons given when the suspect was Black ($M = 1.3$) than when the suspect was White ($M = .96$). (cf. figure 1.3).

None of the other 2-way or 3-way interactions were significant for participant differences in external attributions, internal attributions, difference score and reasons given.

Discussion

Stereotype Reactivity

Our research findings are surprising because few, albeit notable, participant differences between the Black suspect and White suspect conditions were found with regards to affect ratings. Based on prior findings using a similar paradigm, and also based on the stereotypicality of the crime (Gordon & Anderson, 1995; Gordon et. al, 1995), we expected to find significant participant differences in ratings of emotion and use of stereotypes between suspect conditions. The analysis of anger differences between suspect conditions was not significant. In an earlier study of transcribed interviews, a main effect on angry was revealed such that participants were rated as significantly more angry in the Black suspect condition.

In the current study, much “richer” video data was used to rate the participant’s affect. Using video provided raters with more information such as participant voice tone, body language, etc., rather than rating transcribed interviews. However no significant difference in rating of participants’ anger was found between suspect conditions in the current sample. In fact the overall ratings for angry were extremely low with majority of participants being rated as exhibiting no anger at all (n=67). It may be the case that there are inconsistencies in the channels of communication. For example, the participants may be giving a harsh or stereotypical verbal explanation of the suspect’s behavior, but their demeanor may have been very relaxed and they may have used a soft tone of voice. This could have led raters to minimize the emotional connotations of the specific words that were chosen due to the inconsistencies in voice tone and body language.

Another possibility is that the newspaper article (in any condition) may not have angered participants because they have been desensitized by an abundance of violent media image exposure. Violent images are prevalent and readily accessible through movies, video games, Internet clips and sensationalized in the news. This reasoning is supported by the data, such that *all* conditions elicited

very little anger in participants. Rated on a 0-4 point scale, the highest average rating of anger was ($M = .16,$) indicating practically no anger at all. This indicates that either participants were not displaying signs of anger from the manipulation, or that the raters were not able to identify indicators of anger.

We suspect that the lack of anger between suspect conditions may have been due to the in part to the reinforcement of the stereotype through confirmation in the Black suspect condition. In terms of what they have been used to seeing in the media they consume, participants may have confirmed a stereotype when exposed to a Black suspect and therefore did not demonstrate a strong emotional reaction. There is some evidence that when an expectation of a strongly held stereotype is confirmed, very little conscious processing occurs in the perceiver (Blair, 2002; Devine, 1989; Jones, 1997). This might have allowed the participant to engage in very little processing and therefore react with less disdain.

Interestingly, an interaction effect was uncovered on anger when the stereotype was violated, such that when the suspect was White and the victim was Asian, participants were more angry overall regardless of their ethnicity. While all participants displayed little anger in any of the conditions, Asian participants displayed the most

anger in this condition compared to any other condition. Surprisingly, Latino participants were also rated as displaying the most (albeit very little) anger in the Asian victim, White suspect condition. In fact, Latino participants were rated as displaying slightly more anger than the Asian participants in the same condition (Please see Table 1.1). One plausible explanation is that the noticeable display of anger may be the result of a violation on the part of the suspect *and* the victim. For instance, as discussed Whites are not expected to commit the type of crime committed (Gordon et. al., 1995) but also a prevalent stereotype for Asians is passivity (Festekjian, 2009; Paek & Shah, 2003). If the perceiver thought of the Asian victim as passive and non-aggressive, it may explain why they were rated as most angry when describing his brutal attack. This may also explain why Latino participants were angriest in the White suspect/Asian victim condition since Latinos may be more likely to rely on stereotypes about Asians than Asian themselves. It should be reiterated that overall ratings of anger were very low in all conditions.

Also contrary to prior findings, no main effects for suspect race on ratings of participants' anxiety were revealed. However, an interaction on ratings of participant anxiety was found between victim race and participant race, such that when the victim was Asian, and

the participant was Latino they were rated as most anxious. Similarly, Latino participants were also rated as more relaxed when the victim was an ingroup member compared to an outgroup member.

These findings did not support the occurrence of an ingroup preference for Latino participants because more distress (anxiety) was displayed when the outgroup was victimized than when the ingroup was victimized. Latinos participants in the Black suspect condition were also rated as warmest when the victim was Latino and less warm when the victim was Asian. These findings taken together demonstrate very little support for ingroup preference in Latinos because Latinos demonstrate more comfort (warmth) when their group was victimized and more discomfort (anxiety) when their outgroup was victimized. This pattern is obviously very different than what would be expected under theories like ingroup bias--which would predict more agitation when an ingroup member is being unjustly victimized. This finding may be partly explained by prior studies that suggest that low-status group members are more likely to show preference for the outgroup over the ingroup, or equal preference for both the ingroup and outgroup, as compared to high-status group members (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charelton & Hume, 2001).

Although the findings are not supporting ingroup bias, it should not be assumed that bias is not influencing the perceptions of the crime. There is some qualitative evidence that a stereotypical framework was activated in terms of explanations given for the behavior of the suspect. As noted, prior research found that the suspect's race was a significant predictor of stereotypical explanations used. Findings demonstrated more stereotypes were used when explaining the Black suspect's behavior than the White suspect. The current study did not reveal a difference between conditions in the *amount* of stereotypical explanations used by participants to explain the suspect's behavior, but the qualitative data demonstrated that the *type* of stereotypes applied greatly differed. For example, the Black suspect's behavior was attributed to "greed" twice as often as the White suspects. Further the White suspects behavior was often attributed to some sort of "childhood neglect", a possibility that was mentioned only once for the Black suspect condition. Similarly, "bad morals" was a common explanation for the White suspect's behavior but never for the Black suspects behavior. This indicates that morality is not salient in the Black suspect condition because the suspect is doing what is stereotypically congruent, and thus, expected for his group. If this were behavior that is expected of African Americans it

would suggest that the belief about the group is that they are immoral to begin with. In the case of the White suspect, his often mentioned "bad morals" are an explanation for an exceptional case in which the suspect has failed to internalize the morality of his group. Both of these types of attributions are being made in a manner that allows the group stereotype to persist despite viewing confirming or disconfirming evidence (Stangor & McMillen, 1992).

Qualitative comparisons by participant ethnicity (Asian or Latino) also revealed some interesting differences. For instance explanations used by Asian participants in the Black suspect condition tended to reflect more negative, stereotypically congruent explanations, than those used by Latino participants. For example, in the Black suspect condition Asians participants cited "drug use" as an explanation of the suspect's behavior four times more often than Latino participants. In addition, Asian participants also cited "for kicks" three times more often than the Latino participants to explain the Black suspect behavior. These explanations provide some evidence that stereotypes may be activated and applied differentially not only when the race of the suspect differs, but also when the ethnicity of the participant differs. The current findings suggest that Asians may be relying more on stereotypes to explain behavior than the Latino participants. One

explanation may be that the Asians in our sample may have had less interpersonal contact with the African American target group than the Latinos sampled. Lack of personal experience with the target group may lead individuals to rely on the group stereotype to process information. It has been well documented that meaningful contact with outgroups greatly diminishes reliance on stereotypes (Devine, 1989; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Williams, 2007). In support of this reasoning, another wave of data from the same sample, found that Asian participants reported significantly lower contact with Black friends at home and at school than Latino participants (Holmes, Briones & Murray, 2009). However, these results should be interpreted with caution and deserve replication and quantification in other samples.

Discussion: Intergroup Bias

Intergroup bias was also assessed both across groups and separately by ethnicity after matching the race of the participant and victim. Findings are mixed in that some provide evidence of ingroup bias such as Asian participants being rated as angriest when the victim was Asian and the suspect was White. However Latino participants also being rated as angriest in that condition does not support ingroup bias. Due to the low variability in the ratings of angry overall, these results

merit replication and should be interpreted with caution. No differences were found between Asians and Latinos participants in terms "interest" or "concern". But an interaction on caring was revealed for Latino participants such that they were rated as "caring" most when the victim was an ingroup member and "caring" least when the victim was an outgroup member--but only when the suspect was Black. This may also demonstrate some ingroup bias such that caring greatly increased in the condition where the victim was an ingroup member. Furthermore, caring did not vary greatly when the suspect was White and the victim was an ingroup ($M = 1.14$) versus an outgroup member ($M = 1.29$) which may suggest that just the suspect being White was enough for the participants to care. Even more telling, was the finding that when the suspect was Black and the victim was an outgroup member ratings of caring were greatly reduced ($M = .68$). A plausible explanation is that the White suspect's behavior was perceived as incongruent with what was expected and therefore participants cared more regardless of whether the victim was an ingroup or outgroup member. However, in the stereotype congruent condition (Black suspect) participant expectation may have been confirmed, and therefore the suspect's behavior was not perceived as disturbing. Furthermore, since the victim was an outgroup member

there was not a direct threat to the ingroup so the participant cared less.

Additionally Latino participants were also rated as most “warm” in the condition in which the victim was an ingroup member and the suspect was Black. This is also the condition in which they “cared” the most; taken together, it seems that Latinos may expect to be a victim and that they expect the person committing the crime to be Black. When the suspect’s behavior is congruent, participants are rated as both more “warm” and “relaxed”. This demonstrates that Latinos may have internalized stereotypical associations about African Americans and crime and that they are comfortable in a position in which they are being victimized. It may also be that the Latino participants were demonstrating more empathy for the ingroup victim, which was interpreted as warmth by the raters.

These findings merit further investigation and replication to be fully understood. In short these results provide mixed support for ingroup preference for Asian and Latino participants and suggest that intergroup bias theory may not apply equally to all ethnic groups.

Discussion: Attribution Theory

The current findings were unexpected in that they did not completely support *ultimate attribution error*--that because the behavior was negative, stereotypically congruent, and performed by an outgroup member, it would be explained through dispositional causal attributions. Overall, Asian and Latino participants were more likely to make situational rather than dispositional causal attributions for the suspects behavior, regardless of suspect race. When looking only at the use of internal attributions, Asian participants used slightly more internal characteristics to describe the White, in contrast, to the Black suspect. This may be due to more cognitive activation because the stereotype was violated and the attributes of the person came under closer scrutiny. The actual internal attributions made for both conditions, were negative--"aggressive", "violent", and "desperate", however, the current study focused only on types of attribution made (internal or external) rather than if the attribution itself was positively or negatively slanted.

Looking strictly at external attributions, Latino participants used significantly more external, causal attributions than Asian participants regardless of the race of the suspect. This was interesting because prior research has found that Asians are much more likely to be

cognizant of situational factors (Hewstone, 1990). Asians did make more external attributions than internal attributions, but not as many as Latinos. One explanation is that prior comparisons were between Eastern/collective culture and Western/individualized culture, and therefore relative to participants from western culture, Asian participants made more situational attributions. In this case, both ethnic groups are considered collectivistic cultures and both groups used more situational than dispositional attributions.

In terms of the differences in the actual content of the explanations, Latino participants tended to use explanations that did not place full blame on the perpetrator such as; "could not find a job" or "needed money quick". One plausible reason is that Latinos are considered to be a low-status group in American society (unlike Asians who are considered to be high status; Levin, et al., 1998) and may therefore be aware of the situational factors that could influence someone to commit a crime. Indeed, the socioeconomic status of Latinos sampled was much lower than the Asians', and therefore may predispose them to be more aware of socioeconomic strains or possible motivations to commit a crime. That said, it is important to note that the external causal attributions made by Latinos were extended equally to Black and White perpetrators, indicating that

“race” of the perpetrator did not influence the prevalence of making “contextual” judgments for Latino participants in our sample. Of the situational explanations made by Latino participants, the most commonly made external attribution was “economic” or “financial problems” in all conditions.

In terms of the external attributions that were not extended equally across suspect conditions, Latino participants in the Black suspect condition made external explanations of the robbery as being a result of “peer-pressure” or because the suspect was “just out of prison.” These attributions that were never made in the White suspect condition. For White suspects, Latino participants often made attributions that were not extended to Black suspects such as “childhood experiences,” “racism” and “under the influence.” These findings demonstrate that the race of the suspect activates differential schema in the mind of the participants. In the explaining the behavior of White suspects only, the most common response from Latino participants was “childhood experiences” which removes a significant portion of blame from the suspect. When compared to “peer-pressure,” used to explain the Black suspects behavior, this attribution places significantly more blame on the individual and also infers that crime is a common group practice.

Asian participants also commonly explained the crime due to the external attribution of "desperation from extreme financial hardship" equally for Black and White perpetrators. For Black perpetrators, Asian participants were more likely to attribute the actions of the Black perpetrator to the "easiest way to get money" and as "gang-related". For White perpetrators, Asian participants were more likely to mention "childhood trauma", "abuse", and "current lack of social support". Again these findings clearly demonstrate differential processing based on the race of the suspect and also in the case of the Black suspect condition, stereotype activation. As noted in the Latino participants explanations, childhood trauma or neglect as an explanation for the White suspect behavior removes some blame from the suspect but also suggests that this is an isolated incident. These findings clearly demonstrate bias which could have very real world implications in processing real crimes and assigning sentences to criminals. Regardless of internal or external judgments made, Latino participants gave more explanations for the crime when the perpetrator was White. This is most likely due to the incongruity of a White suspect committing a crime that is more strongly associated with a Black perpetrator (Gordon, Michels, & Nelson, 1995). Latino participants may have engaged in more conscious processing to make sense of the

incongruency. Further, providing more explanations in the attributional complexity literature has also been associated with less reliance on stereotypes (Schaller, Boyd, Yohannes & O'Brien, 1995).

Overall, despite the brutality of the crime--the victim was beaten even though he fully complied with the robbery--more external attributions were made for the suspect's behavior. This demonstrates two important findings:

First, that Asian and Latino participants may be more likely to take into account the situational constraints rather than attributing all negative behavior only to the perpetrator's disposition. This finding has also been demonstrated in East Asian samples and newspapers (Morris, Nisbett, & Peng, 1995). Researchers content analyzed Chinese and American newspapers describing a local story of a postal worker shooting and killing his supervisor. The American news reports were more likely to attribute the man's behavior to lack of mental stability, and being "darkly disturbed". The Chinese news reports used many more external attributions to explain his behavior, such as having a lot of "pressure to support his family", his "lack of positive interactions with his supervisor", and even "media influences". In terms of Latinos, there also appears to be a strong awareness of situational constraints that could contribute to the perpetrators behavior. It is important to

note that these findings do not indicate that the perpetrator's behavior is seen as acceptable, only that collectivistic cultures may have a more holistic perspective that takes into consideration both situation and personality (Choi, et. al, 1999).

Secondly, the findings are in the opposite direction of what is expected under *Ultimate Attribution Error* theory. This suggests that what has been documented in the Ultimate Attribution Error literature may not be generalizable to all ethnic minority groups. One reason is that many of the theoretical assumptions of UAE theory were tested on predominantly White samples. The current findings provide evidence that culture and status of the participant should be considered when applying attribution theories.

Conclusions

These findings, taken together, begin to elucidate the little that we understand about the prejudicial attitudes of Asians and Latino Americans. While these findings merit further investigation, some fundamental conclusions can be drawn. For instance, in terms of ingroup bias, Latinos did not demonstrate ingroup preference such that participants were rated as most "warm" and "relaxed" when the victim was an ingroup member. Similarly, Asians participants were rated as least anxious when the victim was an ingroup member but most angry

when the victim was an ingroup member and the suspect was White. Intergroup bias theory would predict that participants would demonstrate the most agitation when the victim was an ingroup member, which was only partially supported in the research here.

Furthermore, our data appears to partially contradict the underlining assumption of the theory of *Fundamental Attribution Error*-that more internal explanations will be made when explaining the behaviors of others. Our sample used significantly more *external* attributions to explain the suspect's behavior a trend that clearly violates that assumption. The data also negates the assumption proposed by the Ultimate Attribution Error theory, which suggests that the tendency to use internal, dispositional explanations will be even more pronounced when the actor is an outgroup member and the behavior is negative (Hewstone et. al, 2002).

Although the sample was composed entirely of ethnic minorities and mostly of women and Liberals (groups that are associated with less prejudice), there was still some evidence of reliance on stereotypes. These findings must of course be replicated using other samples. But at least as a preliminary conclusion, it is evident that racial/ethnic background and social status influence intergroup attitudes and processes. Overall our current research raises as many

questions as it helps to explain. While it lends support to the proposition that prejudice can be expressed in automatic, unconscious ways, it also leaves unanswered several questions concerning internalized attitudes. Our sample, though small, is diverse and unique, compared to many college undergraduates typically used for analysis. The vast majority of the research reviewed, as previously discussed, was based on samples of predominately European Americans assessing attitudes of African Americans. Because participant differences in attitudes *were* found between African American suspects and European American suspects, they beg the question as to the process by which, Asian Americans and Latinos internalized these societal stereotypes? What group differences are there in the conditions that promote such internalization? These are questions that can only be answered empirically and through open and honest dialogue. We hope that this research begets more research to answer similar questions

Implications

These findings demonstrate that individuals process information differently and that our cultural lens may influence this processing. We found some evidence that stereotypes are being activated and relied upon to process information and that this is probably happening

without the perceiver's conscious awareness. These findings have real world implications in explaining some disparities between African American and White prison sentencing. For instance, it has been documented that African Americans are arrested and sentenced to longer terms than their European Americans who are apprehended for similar crimes (Iguchi, Bell, Ramchand & Fain, 2005; US Department of Justice, 2004). While socio-economic status and opportunities for legal representation may have an impact on this disparity, there is also evidence that automatic processing through racial stereotypes may contribute to police and juror bias (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie & Davies, 2004; Sommers, & Ellsworth, 2001). Most troubling, looking stereotypically "Black" is a strong predictor of being sentenced to death in the real world (Eberhardt, et. al, 2006). Research in this area must continue to identify methods to reveal automatic bias and suggest ways to highlight techniques that can be applied in real world settings such as jury selection.

Limitations

The current design had a number of methodological flaws that have impacted the findings. One limitation of this study is that the raters used were not as diverse as we would have liked. We planned for a total of 8 raters—an equal number of males and females; from

the four most prominent ethnic groups on campus--Asian, Latino, White and African American. However we had difficulty retaining raters, especially Asian raters who reported feeling anxious as a result of the rating process and did not wish to continue their research participation. One Asian male was questioned about the difficulty of judging individuals and replied that he actually felt he was a very good judge of character, which was precisely why he did not want to continue. Another Asian rater who initially seemed very interested and motivated to complete the ratings, soon became unresponsive and never returned to the lab. This difficulty in attaining Asian raters seems to be due at least in part to a hesitance to participate in any study that was racially or ethnically charged. For instance during data collection, an attempt was made to collect equal samples of all of the ethnic groups in each condition. However when the lab advertised for Asian only participants not one student signed up for the open slots, something that never occurred when sampling other ethnic groups. This is especially puzzling given that Asian participants are disproportionately (40% or more) more typical of our department's subject pool. One interpretation may be that Asians are protective of their ingroup and do not want to participate in any studies that could possibly cast their group in a bad light (being prejudiced). This

possibility is supported to some extent by the literature that suggests that high status groups are more likely to be prejudiced and in favor of maintaining their status and power. In the future, ethnicity and gender would ideally be balanced to control for bias of any particular ethnic group or gender.

In addition there was very little variation in the ratings of emotional responses such that the means and range were very low for some of the items. These items including; angry, nervous, anxious and warm all had means that hover around zero. Given that this variables are highly skewed in the sample all results using them should be interpreted with caution. This lack of variability may be attributed to the rater's inability to detect emotional responses or to the actual lack of emotion displayed by participants. Another limitation is the small sample size, which only allowed for comparisons between about 10 people per condition.

Finally in terms of the measure utilized to collect the ratings, there was at least one important omission, to understand if the explanations were positively or negatively valenced. Knowing the attributions for the suspect's behavior were either internal or external did not fully capture the attitude behind the explanation. In attribution theory literature the internal or dispositional explanation places the

blame on the actor and the external explanation places the blame outside of the actor. Therefore it is assumed that the more negative explanation would be to place the blame on the person and the more positive attribution will place the blame outside the individual.

However attributions in the current study demonstrate the necessity of understanding the negativity associated with each explanation. For instance, in the Black suspect condition, participants cited "gang-related" as an external explanation of the crime but also "couldn't get a job". The first explanation is clearly more negatively slanted than the latter and also places more blame within the suspect. Similarly, "drug addiction" was cited as an explanation in the White suspect condition but so was "childhood neglect" again both are outside forces but drug addiction still has more negative connotations towards the suspect than him being neglected as a child.

Future Directions

As mentioned, replications of some of the trends uncovered are necessary in larger samples. Further, a quantitative analysis of the qualitative attributions found is warranted. This can be accomplished by having raters code the interviews or by using a content analysis program. These analyses will help elucidate the stereotypicality of the explanations, as well as allow for numerical comparisons among

explanations used. Further, a comparison of inter-channel ratings can be conducted to understand any inconsistencies in communication. If inter-channel inconsistencies exist, it may help to explain the differential findings between transcribed and video data. Further to control for the skewed distribution in emotion ratings some sort of forced choice procedure should be implemented for raters such as a q-sort method which forces rater responses to be equally distributed. Finally inclusion of a negativity scale should be included to any rating data to better understand the types of attributions that are being made.

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Table 1: Means and Standard deviations for all outcome variables by condition

	Suspect Race: Black				Suspect Race: White			
	Asian Victim		Latino Victim		Asian Victim		Latino Victim	
	Asian Participant N=11	Latino Participant N=11	Asian Participant N=12	Latino Participant N=10	Asian Participant N=10	Latino Participant N=10	Asian Participant N=11	Latino Participant N=10
Dispositional Attribution (count)	1.46 (.88)	.84 (.99)	1.12 (1.01)	.92 (.87)	1.45 (.96)	1.73 (1.20)	1.29 (1.02)	1.42 (1.21)
Situational Attribution (count)	1.63 (.90)	1.99 (1.1)	1.80(1.1)	2.43 (.60)	1.40 (1.03)	1.90 (1.15)	1.65 (.81)	1.90 (.98)
Difference score (D-S)	-.17 (1.16)	-1.15 (1.96)	-.68 (1.33)	-1.51 (1.24)	.05 (1.55)	-.18 (2.20)	-.36 (1.44)	-.49 (2.08)
Reasons (count)	1.31 (1.17)	.961 (.81)	1.33 (.26)	.84 (.65)	1.06 (1.09)	1.94 (1.0)	.88 (1.15)	1.20 (1.11)
Angry Averaged (0-4)	.018 (.60)	.055 (.09)	.067 (.77)	.085 (.11)	.120 (.14)	.165 (.32)	.000 (.00)	.040 (.13)
Interest Averaged (0-4)	1.58 (.26)	1.59 (.53)	1.29 (.55)	1.69 (.39)	1.67 (.48)	1.55 (.51)	1.61 (.46)	1.61 (.60)
Violent (1-9, 9 most violent)	7.43 (1.49)	7.71 (.99)	7.62 (1.06)	7.90 (.99)	7.60 (.84)	7.84 (.94)	7.09 (1.54)	8.10 (.74)

Table 1.1: Means and Standard deviations for all outcome variables by condition continued

	Suspect Race: Black				Suspect Race: White			
	Asian Victim		Latino Victim		Asian Victim		Latino Victim	
	Asian Participant N=11	Latino Participant N=11	Asian Participant N=12	Latino Participant N=10	Asian Participant N=10	Latino Participant N=10	Asian Participant N=11	Latino Participant N=10
Nervous (0-4)	.35 (.40)	.41 (.25)	.68 (.78)	.61 (.53)	.44 (.43)	.72 (.59)	.75 (.33)	.64 (.35)
Warm (0-4)	.35 (.28)	.20 (.33)	.39 (.39)	.38 (.32)	.41 (.46)	.30 (.24)	.25 (.34)	.30 (.27)
Relaxed (0-4)	2.35 (.48)	2.09 (.47)	2.03 (.62)	2.12 (.56)	2.07 (.40)	1.78 (.70)	1.87 (.62)	2.20 (.54)
Anxious Averaged (0-4)	.79 (.30)	.93 (.26)	1.08 (.49)	.98 (.39)	.85 (.33)	1.15 (.54)	1.00 (.35)	.96 (.40)
Caring (0-4)	.91 (.40)	1.09 (.68)	.68 (.58)	1.34 (.60)	1.09 (.60)	1.29 (.68)	.89 (.69)	1.14 (.82)
Suspect Stereotype (0-4)	.50 (.164)	.30 (.44)	.40 (.64)	.70 (.90)	.61 (.56)	.43 (.33)	.53 (.47)	.41 (.44)
Victim Stereotype (0-4)	.85 (.69)	.77 (.36)	.75 (.61)	.78 (.91)	.54 (.32)	.85 (.45)	.50 (.39)	.56 (.43)

Table 2 **Interrater reliabilities for ratings for neutral and crime article across raters**

Covariates were only used in cases which both the baseline and manipulations variable had a reliability of .50 or higher and are bolded

	Alphas Neutral Article	Alphas Crime Article
1. Empathetic_all	.39	.75
2. Sensitive_all	.19	.68
3. Hesitant_all	.70	.63
4. Assertive_all	.44	.46
5. Angry_all	.12	.51
6. Passive_all	.38	.57
7. Cold_all	.45	.56
8. Comfortable_all	.60	.54
9. Anxious_all	.33	.48
10. Warm_all	.64	.60
11. Hostile_all	.36	.35
12. Relaxed_all	.50	.55
13. Sympathetic_all	.49	.70
14. Nervous_all	.73	.65
15. Tense_all	.55	.51
17. Caring_all	.42	.72
18. Concerned_all	.54	.70
19. Interested_all	.71	.75
20. Reasons	n/a	.91
21. External attributions	n/a	.71
22. Internal attributions	n/a	.78
23. Suspect stereotype	n/a	.55
24. violent	n/a	1.00

Table 3 Anger

Factorial ANOVA on ratings of anger by Suspect Race x Victim Race X Participants Race

Variable	df	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> values
Suspect race (SR)	1	.557	.458
Victim race (VR)	1	1.517	.222
Participant Race (PR)	1	1.074	.303
SR*VR	1	5.774*	.019
SR*PR	1	.051	.823
VR*PR	1	.029	.865
SR*VR*PR	1	.009	.923
Error	77		
Total	85		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Figure 1. Angry

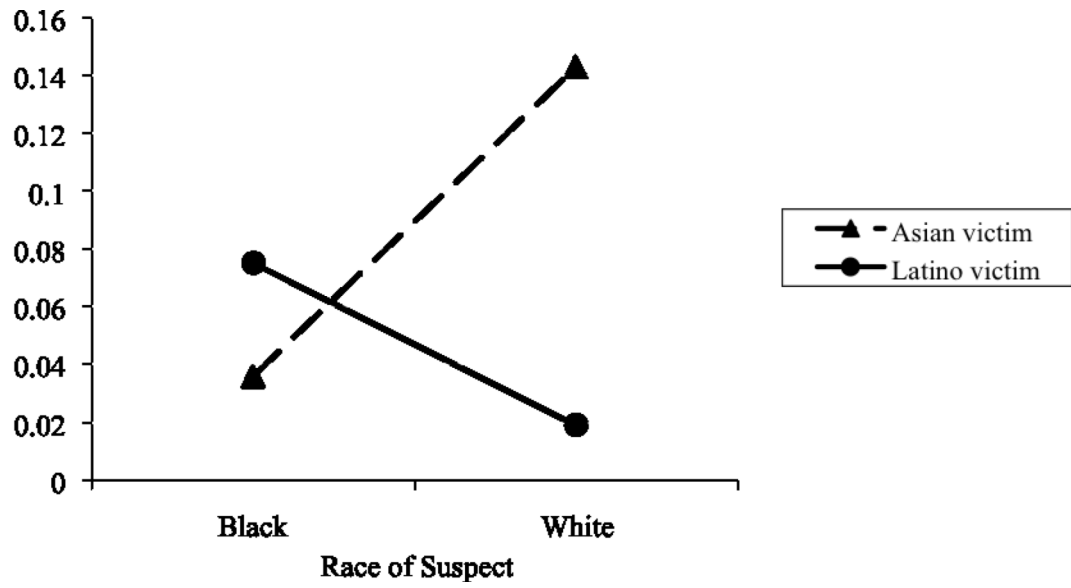


Table 4 Reasons provided

Factorial ANOVA on number of reasons given to explain the suspects behavior by Suspect Race x Participant Race

Variable	df	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> values
Suspect race (SR)	1	1.006	.319
Participant Race (PR)	1	0.008	.927
SR*PR	1	6.500*	.013
Error	81		
Total	85		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Figure 1.2

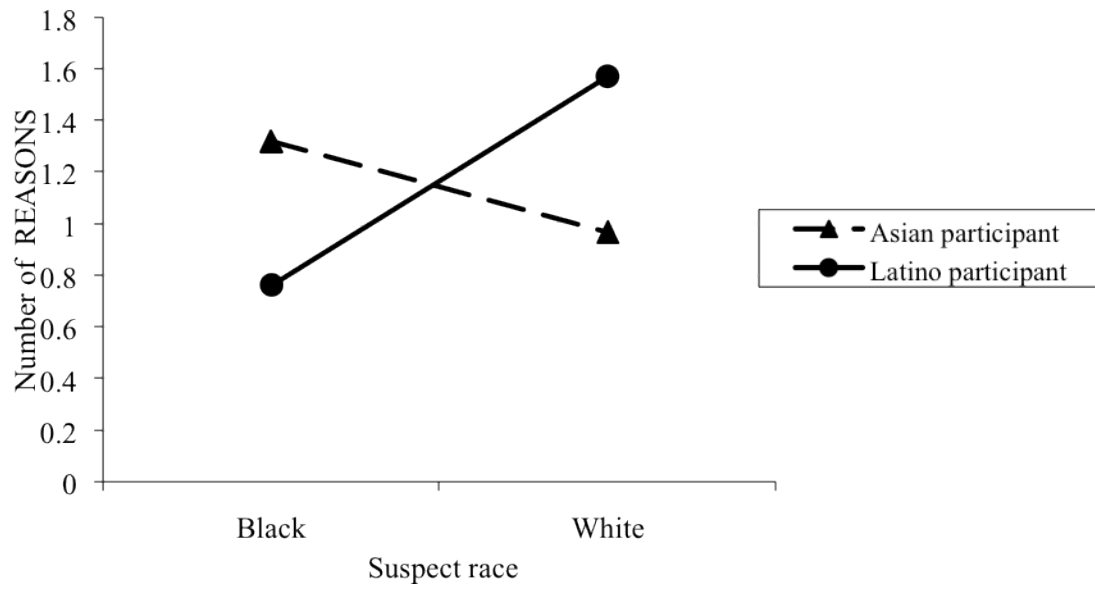


Table 5 Anxious rating

Factorial ANOVA on participant anxiousness by Victim Race x Participant Race

Variable	df	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> values
Victim race (VR)	1	0.505	.480
Participant Race (PR)	1	0.895	.347
VR*PR	1	3.312†	.073
Error	70		
Total	74		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Figure 1.3

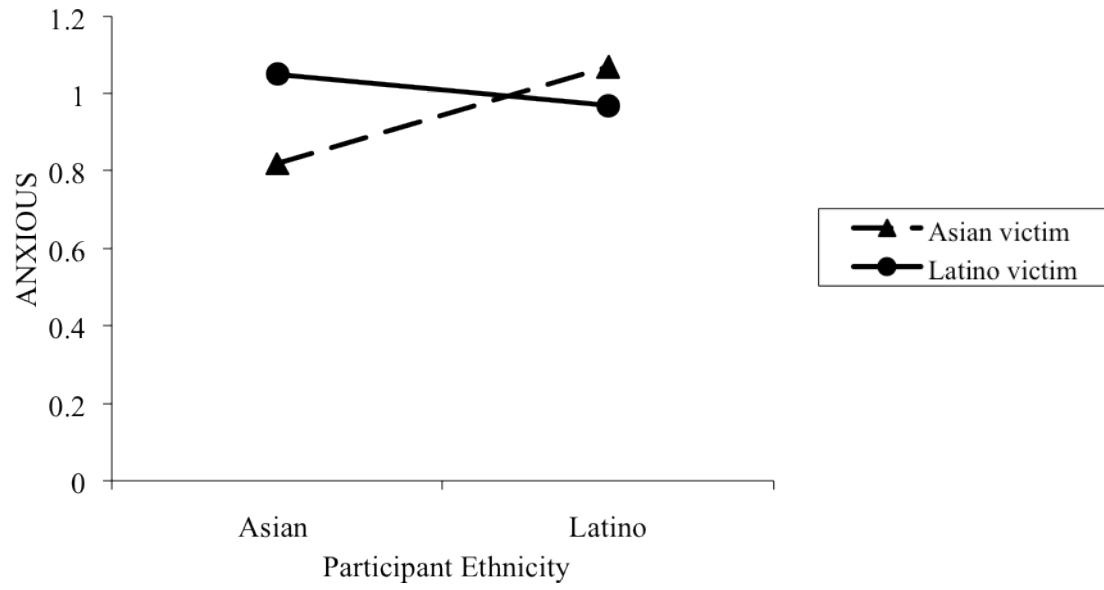


Table 6 Warmth rating, Latino participants only (n=41)

ANCOVA on participant warmth by Suspect race x ingroup/outgroup

Variable	df	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> values
Warm-baseline	1	25.27***	.000
Suspect Race (SR)	1	0.41	.525
Ingroup member (IG)	1	0.94	.340
SR X IG	1	4.19*	.048
Error	36		
Total	41		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Figure 1.4

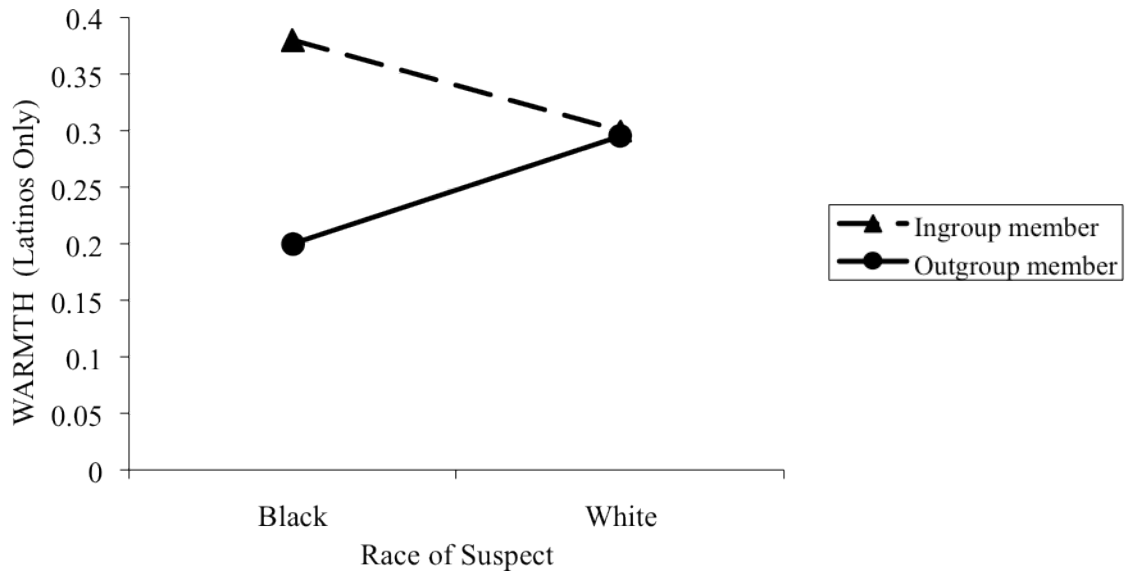


Table 7 Caring rating, Latino participants only (n=41)

Factorial ANOVA on participant caring by Suspect race x ingroup/outgroup

Variable	df	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> values
Suspect Race (SR)	1	0.97	.332
Ingroup member (IG)	1	1.45	.239
SR X IG	1	3.66†	.064
Error	37		
Total	41		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Figure 1.5

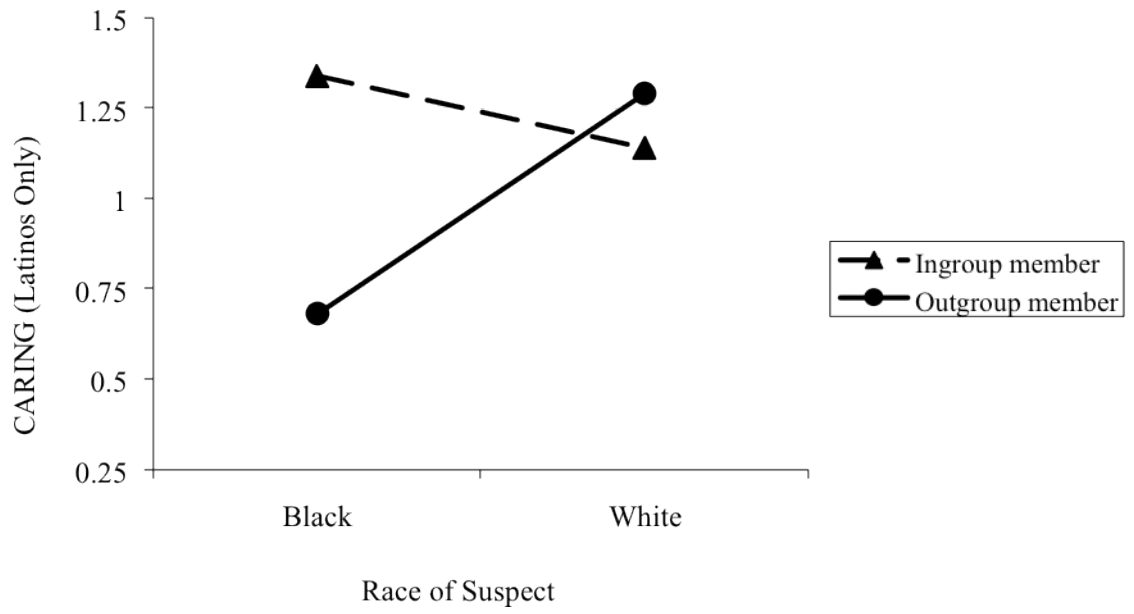


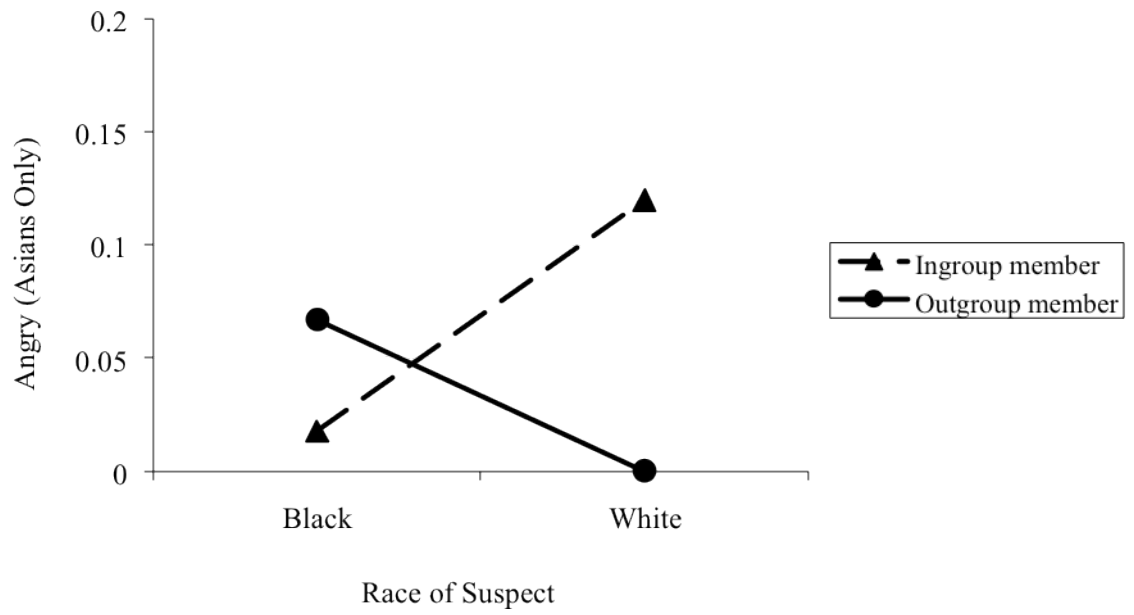
Table 8 Anger rating, Asian participants only (n=44)

Factorial ANOVA on participant anger by Suspect race x ingroup/outgroup

Variable	df	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> values
Suspect Race (SR)	1	0.24	.625
Ingroup member (IG)	1	1.00	.323
SR X IG	1	5.563*	.023
Error	40		
Total	44		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$

Figure 1.6



Appendices

Latino victim, White suspect condition stimulus

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LOCAL

SECTION
B
FRIDAY
August 5, 2005

Convenience store robbed, clerk beaten

The Sun
Staff Writer

On Friday evening, deputies of the San Bernardino Sheriff's Department responded to a robbery that took place at a liquor store on Woodhill and Sierra Avenue in San Bernardino. The store clerk was held at gun-point and beaten during the robbery. In a press release, the Sheriff's Department stated that a surveillance camera captured the assault during which the store clerk fully complied, but was repeatedly beaten. The robber demanded money and lottery tickets and fled the scene on foot, wearing white socks.



Ernesto Alvarez
Victim



Kevin Thompson
Suspect

Although badly beaten, the victim was able to press an alarm button. Alvarez was later transported to a local hospital and remains in stable condition. The Sheriff's Department stated that the surveillance video was in fact very clear and a picture of the assailant was released today. The robber, a Caucasian man named Kevin Thompson, was identified and remains at large. If you have any information in regards to his whereabouts, contact the San Bernardino Sheriff's Department immediately.

Asian Victim, Black Suspect Condition Stimulus

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LOCAL

SECTION
B
FRIDAY
August 5, 2005

Convenience store robbed, clerk beaten

The Sun
Staff Writer

On Friday evening, deputies of the San Bernardino Sheriff's Department responded to a robbery that took place at a liquor store on Foothill and Sierra Avenue in San Bernardino. The store clerk was held at gun-point and beaten during the robbery. In a press release, the Sheriff's Department stated that a surveillance camera captured the assault during which the store clerk fully complied, but was repeatedly beaten. The robber demanded money and lottery tickets and fled the scene in foot, wearing white sneakers, blue jeans, and a black sweat-shirt. The victim, an Asian man named Thomas Kim, was left bleeding on the floor behind the counter. Although Kim was later transported to a local hospital and remains in stable condition, the Sheriff's Department stated that the surveillance video was in fact very clear and a picture of the assailant was released today. The robber, an African American man named Kevin Thompson, was identified and remains at large. If you have any information in regards to his whereabouts, contact the San Bernardino Sheriff's Department immediately.



Thomas Kim
Victim



Kevin Thompson
Suspect

badly beaten, the victim was able to press an alarm button.

Newspaper article actual content

“San Bernardino – On Friday evening, deputies of the San Bernardino Sheriff’s Department responded to a robbery that took place at a liquor store on Foothill and Sierra Avenue in San Bernardino. The store clerk was held at gun-point and beaten during the robbery. In a press release, the Sheriff’s Department stated that a surveillance camera captured the assault during which the store clerk fully complied, but was repeatedly beaten. The robber demanded money and lottery tickets and fled the scene on foot, wearing white sneakers, blue jeans, and a black sweatshirt. The victim, a _____ was left bleeding on the floor behind the counter. Although badly beaten, the victim was able to press an alarm button.

The victim, _____, was later transported to a local hospital and remains in stable condition. The Sheriff’s Department stated that the surveillance video was in fact very clear and a picture of the assailant was released today. The robber, a _____ was identified as _____ and remains at large. If you have any information in regards to his whereabouts, contact the San Bernardino Sheriff’s Department immediately.”

Ratings Sheet

Please rate the extent to which the participant's response to **Article 1** is descriptive of the following variables. Please consider each description carefully and make ratings based on your own interpretation of the response you just read.

	Not at all descriptive	Slightly descriptive	Somewhat descriptive	Very descriptive	Completely descriptive
Concerned	0	1	2	3	4
Empathetic	0	1	2	3	4
Sensitive	0	1	2	3	4
Hesitant	0	1	2	3	4
Assertive	0	1	2	3	4
Angry	0	1	2	3	4
Passive	0	1	2	3	4
Cold	0	1	2	3	4
Uninterested	0	1	2	3	4
Comfortable	0	1	2	3	4
Anxious	0	1	2	3	4
Warm	0	1	2	3	4
Hostile	0	1	2	3	4
Relaxed	0	1	2	3	4
Sympathetic	0	1	2	3	4
Nervous	0	1	2	3	4
Accepting	0	1	2	3	4
Tense	0	1	2	3	4
Caring	0	1	2	3	4

Now read the prompt and response to Article 2

Please rate the extent to which the participant's response to **Article 2** is descriptive of the following variables. Please consider each description carefully and make ratings based on your own interpretation of the response you just read.

	Not at all descriptive	Slightly descriptive	Somewhat descriptive	Very descriptive	Completely descriptive
Concerned	0	1	2	3	4
Empathetic	0	1	2	3	4
Sensitive	0	1	2	3	4
Hesitant	0	1	2	3	4
Assertive	0	1	2	3	4
Angry	0	1	2	3	4
Passive	0	1	2	3	4
Cold	0	1	2	3	4
Uninterested	0	1	2	3	4
Comfortable	0	1	2	3	4
Anxious	0	1	2	3	4
Warm	0	1	2	3	4
Hostile	0	1	2	3	4
Relaxed	0	1	2	3	4
Sympathetic	0	1	2	3	4
Nervous	0	1	2	3	4
Accepting	0	1	2	3	4
Tense	0	1	2	3	4
Caring	0	1	2	3	4

Please answers the following questions based on the participant's responses to article 2:

- In your opinion, how complex was the participant in his/her responses?

Not at all Complex	Slightly complex	Somewhat complex	Very complex	Extremely complex
0	1	2	3	4

2. How well-thought-out and detailed were the explanations provided by the participant:
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------|
| Not at all | Slightly | Somewhat | Very much so | Completely |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
3. To what extent did the participant provide alternative (more than one) reasons for the suspect's behavior?
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------|
| Not at all | Slightly | Somewhat | Very much so | Completely |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
4. Of the reasons provided for the **suspect's** behavior, to what degree were they situational explanations?
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------|
| Not at all | Slightly | Somewhat | Very much so | Completely |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
- Provide example _____
5. Of the reasons provided for the **suspect's** behavior, to what degree were the explanations related to the suspect's character or personality?
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------|
| Not at all | Slightly | Somewhat | Very much so | Completely |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
- Provide example _____
6. Did the participant categorize the **suspect** according to an oversimplified standard (stereotype) image or idea?
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------|
| Not at all | Slightly | Somewhat | Very much so | Completely |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
- Provide example _____
7. Did the participant categorize the **victim** according to an oversimplified standard (stereotype) image or idea?
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------|
| Not at all | Slightly | Somewhat | Very much so | Completely |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
- Provide example _____
8. What was the suspects race? _____
9. Was it clear to you that the participant knew the suspects race?
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------|
| Not at all | Slightly | Somewhat | Very much so | Completely |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

10) What was the victims race? _____

11. Was it clear to you that the participant knew the victims race?

Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Very much so	Completely
0	1	2	3	4

12). How violent did the participant rate the suspect on a scale of 1-9? _____