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The Stereotype of the Indian in the New Mexico Press

Robert L. Brizee

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THE STEREOTYPE OF THE INDIAN
IN THE NEW MEXICO PRESS

By

Robert L. Brizee

A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THIS STUDY

I. PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY

The purposes of this study were an attempt to determine by empirical procedures whether or not stereotypes of the Indian are present in the newspapers of Albuquerque, Gallup, and Taos, New Mexico, and to describe any stereotypes that are found in these newspapers.

II. THE INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO

The population of New Mexico is composed primarily of three groups, the Anglos, the Spanish-Americans, and the Indians. The classification of the people of this state into these three groups is more of a regional folk expression than a scientific evaluation, thus it is difficult to find reliable criteria to differentiate the three groups. However, Anglos appear to be white Americans who are not of Spanish descent; Spanish-Americans appear to be individuals who have a Spanish ancestry and who speak the Spanish language; while Indians appear to be individuals who have an Indian ancestry and who speak one of the Indian languages. Perhaps the two most important criteria for determining the group to which an individual belongs are that individual's idea as to which

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group he belongs, and the group to which other people believe he belongs.

The Indians differ in race from the Anglos and Spanish-Americans. The Indians are usually thought to be members of the Mongoloid race, and have characteristic physical features including skin color, hair color and texture, and facial features. While these physical characteristics may be generally seen among the Indian people, if they were used as criteria to differentiate between an individual Indian and an individual who was not an Indian they would many times be found inadequate for this purpose. However, it may be recognized that the Indians, generally speaking, differ physically from the Anglos and Spanish-Americans.

The Indians also differ from the Anglos and Spanish-Americans in certain cultural aspects, including dress, language, religion, method of obtaining livelihood, and type of dwelling. The cultures of the Indians living in New Mexico are not homogeneous. Differences in the cultures are found among the three major groups of Indians living in this state, the Apaches, Navajos, and Pueblos. Even among the various Pueblo Indians certain cultural differences are noticeable.

Thus, the Indians differ both in race and culture from the remainder of the population of New Mexico, as well as differing among themselves culturally.

The early history of the United States government's relations with the Indian people is a history of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises on the part of the government. The Indian Bureau was first organized within the Department of War, for its primary function was that of controlling and suppressing the Indians by force.

In 1871 the Indian Bureau began a policy that was aimed at weakening the tribal organization of the Indians, destroying their cultures, and forcing assimilation of the Indians into the "white" culture. This policy was practiced until the Indian Reorganization Act was passed in 1934. This Act advanced a new philosophy which proposed to integrate the Indians into national life as Indians while retaining as much of their tribal culture and group identification as possible. Thus there have been a number of policy changes in the federal government's relations with the Indians and the relations have not always been favorable.

The New Mexico Indians obtained their right to United States citizenship in 1924 by an act of Congress, but not until 1948 were they given the right to vote, and only since 1953 have they been able to purchase liquor legally. Today many Indians in this state live on federal government reservations and are assisted by schools, hospitals, and other services maintained by the Indian Bureau.

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Because of this present relationship and the historical relationship with the United States government, the Indians are considered "wards" of the federal government.

In summary, the Indians differ from the remainder of the population of New Mexico in reference to race and culture, as well as in their unique relationship to the federal government. The Indian cultures are not homogeneous, but rather differ among the various Indian groups. These racial, cultural, and historical factors have influenced the relations between the "whites" and the Indians. This study is concerned with the relations between the "whites" and the Indians; therefore it seemed of value to briefly review certain general information regarding the Indians of New Mexico.

III. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Definition of ethnic. The term ethnic is used in this study to refer to both racial and cultural characteristics of a group. This term seems applicable for use in this study due to the fact that the Indians may be distinguished from other peoples both by racial and cultural factors, and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate Indian characteristics as to whether they are racial or cultural.

For example, Pueblo Indian babies who spend their

early years of infancy strapped to cradle boards usually have flattened heads. If one who was not familiar with the culture of the Pueblo Indians were to notice that these people had flattened heads, he might think that this was a racial characteristic rather than a cultural factor.

Definition of stereotype. Walter Lippmann introduced the concept of a stereotype to the social sciences in 1922. Lippmann defined a stereotype in the following manner:

> But modern life is hurried and multifarious, above all physical distance separates men who are often in vital contact with each other, such as employer and employee, official and voter. There is neither time nor opportunity for intimate acquaintance. Instead we notice a trait which marks a well known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes we carry about in our heads.[1]

He further described stereotypes:

> They are an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world, to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts, and our hopes have adjusted themselves. They may not be a complete picture of a possible world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted. In that world people and things have their well-known places, and do certain expected things. We feel at home there. We fit in. We are members.[2]

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[1] Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945), p. 89.

[2] Ibid., p. 95.

Authors since that time have written that Lippman defined a stereotype as a "picture in our heads". It is this definition which appears to be most popular in the social sciences today. A number of research studies, which will be described more fully in Chapter III, seem to imply that a stereotype is a combination of traits which typify racial, national, occupational, or ethnic groups. However, several studies refer to a single term which described a group as a stereotype.

The latter studies appeared to be more similar in scope to this study. For this reason, the following operational definition of a stereotype was employed in this study: A stereotype is a term which is found frequently in the newspaper to describe the Indians as a group. The term "Indian" was considered the name of the ethnic group and not a stereotype.

IV. FUNCTION OF STEREOTYPES

Some authors feel that stereotypes are "bad", because an injustice is done when a complex personality is placed into a simple type or when all members of a group are thought to be alike in certain traits. While this may be an injustice, it should be noted that stereotypes serve a necessary function in our society.

<u>In simple societies</u>. In simple societies stereotypes are of little importance, for each person may know his family,

neighbors, and friends intimately and realize the many features of their personalities. People are recognized as separate personalities with unique and complex features.

In complex societies. In a complex society stereotypes may serve as a substitute for intimacy. An individual must deal with many people with whom he has but only a casual acquaintance, yet his welfare may depend upon his adjustment to a number of people he meets, to whom he relates himself, and from whom he is then severed.[3]

> Contrast in this respect the personality knowledge of the old-time country-store merchant, whose customers were mainly old and intimate "friendly enemies", and that of the modern department-store salesman, whose customers may never return for a second time. Each makes his living by selling goods to other human beings. The former has a steady and only slowly changing group of customers, the latter, a series of customers. In all walks of contemporary life and in most phases of human association, we today are in the position of the man who must sell to strangers. Moreover, the personalities of these strangers are, as we have seen, extremely varied.
>
> It is in an effort to avoid the time and errors involved in the working out of adjustments to strangers on the basis of trial and error that we stereotype them. This consists of putting a person into a simple personality "type" and treating him in terms of the "known" type attributes, rather than attempting to treat him in terms of his actual, but unknown, personality.[4]

Thus in our complex and fast-moving society, stereotypes are convenient and time-saving, for without them it

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[3] Richard T. LaPiere and Paul R. Farnsworth, Social Psychology (Second Edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942), p. 190.

[4] Ibid.

would be necessary for an individual to interpret each new situation and personality as if he had never encountered anything of the kind before.[5]

Stereotypes not only serve as labor-saving devices, but they also tend to make one feel at home in his environment. If one has classified the various situations and personalities that he meets each day, he will not be confronted with unexpected and unusual situations which are difficult to understand.

In an attempt to offer a more scientific method of describing individual behavior, Bogardus proposed the concept of a sociotype. This is a type rarely of persons or of groups but of behavior reactions and is based upon empiric methods, adequate sampling and reliable generalizing. This is in contrast to stereotypes which he defines as the "unscientific and hence unreliable generalizations that people make about other people either as persons or groups."[6] Thus a sociotype would function as a more scientific approach to the process of stereotyping.

In ethnic relations. In the area of ethnic relations stereotypes serve to distinguish between in-groups and out-groups.

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[5] Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), p.214.

[6] Emory S. Bogardus, "Stereotypes Versus Sociotypes," Sociology and Social Research, 34:286, March-April, 1950.

Berelson states that stereotypes of minority group members "served to label the 'outsider' as an outsider, so that he could be easily identified, appropriately reacted to, and conveniently rejected."[7]

Stereotypes can most effectively label a member of a minority group as an outsider when this group has some noticeable physical feature, such as skin color, or some undesirable social attributes, such as belonging to the lower economic strata or having a large amount of criminality and delinquency. Thus a stereotype tends to ascribe to a minority group uniformity of culture traits which distinguish it from the majority group.

It appears also that stereotypes may tend to rationalize and justify the discrimination shown minority groups. If a minority group is stereotyped as being different from the majority, it would seem logical to accord this group different treatment than that accorded to the majority group.

The following stereotype of the Negro: "They are sloppy, dirty, filthy; they depreciate property; they are taking over; they are forcing out the whites; they have

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7 Bernard Berelson and Patricia J. Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, 10:179, Summer, 1946.

low character; they are immoral and dishonest;"[8] would seem to justify the "whites" not associating with them, not living near them, as well as thinking of them as a threat to the security of the "whites".

Stereotypes of this nature may cause unfavorable relations between two ethnic groups when individuals of the majority group react to a member of a minority group in terms of the stereotype rather than in terms of the personality of the minority group member.

A minority group may perpetuate the stereotype that the majority group holds of them. A member of a minority group may behave in the way that the stereotype pictures him when in contact with people of the majority group so that their relations will be favorable. The majority person can see by the minority person's behavior that the stereotype must be accurate, so his belief in the stereotype is reinforced.[9]

In summary, stereotypes are of little importance in simple societies, for individual personalities are

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8 Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, "Ethnic Tolerance: A Function of Social and Personal Control," American Journal of Sociology, 55:145, September, 1949.

9 Paul A.F. Walter, Jr., Race and Culture Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), p. 310.

well known and their uniqueness and complexities are recognized. In complex societies stereotypes serve an important purpose. Stereotypes may serve as labor-saving devices, for they make it possible for a relatively unknown person to be placed into a simple personality type so that he can be treated according to the known attributes of that simple personality type.

In ethnic relations, stereotypes function to label members of minority groups as outsiders so that they can be accorded different treatment than that given to members of the majority group. Stereotypes may foster unfavorable ethnic relations when individuals are reacted to according to the stereotype of them rather than according to their individual personalities. Members of minority groups can perpetuate stereotypes of themselves by their action when in contact with majority group members.

V. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter I has been concerned with the purposes of this study, a general introduction to the race, culture, and history of the New Mexico Indians, the operational definition of terms, and a brief description of the function of stereotypes. Chapter II presents the importance of this study to the local situation and to sociological theory, and proposes three hypotheses to be

tested in this study.

Chapter III briefly summarizes thirty-four research studies which have been made in the field of stereotypes, and concludes with some of the important findings of these studies. Chapter IV describes the methods employed in this study, as well as the revisions in methods which have occurred as this study has progressed. Chapter V presents the results and conclusions of this study, and suggestions for further research in this area of study.

CHAPTER II

IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY AND THESE HYPOTHESES

I. IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY TO THE LOCAL SITUATION

The importance of this study lies within the realm of the acculturation problems of the Indians of New Mexico. The various Indians of this area have retained their own cultural ways of living in varying degrees while resisting somewhat the acceptance of the "white" culture.

> The strain imposed upon Indian groups by the pressure to acculturate on the one hand, and the desire to remain Indians on the other, manifests itself in the behavioral difficulties of many Indian persons. In the case of those Indians either working off the reservations or residing in white communities, discrimination against them as Indians aggravates still further personality maladjustment.[1]

The Navajo Indians are coming into contact with the "whites" to a greater extent as they become more urbanized and an increasing number are seeking employment off the reservation. Many Pueblo Indians are now working for industrial and business firms in New Mexico towns while still residing in their traditional communities.

Florence Hawley, in discussing the acculturation of the Indians into the "white" culture, states:

No matter how great his [Indian] effort to understand and

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[1] Charles F. Marden, Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1952), p. 341.

to participate in the new culture, success will depend not only upon his own training and perseverance but also upon the degree of prejudice within the community, and upon stereotyped [italics not in the original] ideas concerning the intelligence, energy, cleanliness, morals, or color of his people.[2]

An article appearing in the February 5, 1954 issue of the Albuquerque Journal serves to bring alive the fact that the Indians sometime feel that there is prejudice and discrimination shown toward them in a community:

> ...70 years of resentment boiled over when for the first time in the memory of the oldest Navajo, Gallup businessmen came to the Indians and sought their help.... It was a moment long awaited by the tribe. The statement blasted this self-styled Indian capital of the world as a place where the "flagrant abuse of the civil rights of Navajos is a matter of common knowledge."
>
> ...the Redmen proposed a joint committee to take the community of 12,000 apart and "tell the townspeople how to put it back together again as a model community". ..."Where else," the tribal leaders asked, " is a citizen shackled to a lamp post by the arresting officer in the middle of town in the middle of the day for all passersby to see, when the culprit has done nothing worse than perhaps double park his truck?"..."they couldn't abuse your civil rights in that way--why should they assume that they can treat an Indian differently?" ..."what would be your reaction if you were forced to spend even one night in that squalid hole that serves your community as a jail?" "What other town harbors racketeers who live like parasites on the misfortunes of the Navajo tribe...."
>
> "We realize that the problems of our people in Gallup are not always one-sidedly in our favor although we feel

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[2] Florence Hawley, The Indian Problem in New Mexico (Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1948), p. 12.

strongly that a very large part of the blame lies fundamentally on the town."[3]

If the "white" people living in a community hold unfavorable attitudes and stereotypes concerning the Indian, they would appear to make it more difficult for an Indian to become a participating member of that community.

Several studies have suggested that a newspaper of a community reflects the attitudes and feelings of the people living in that community.[4]

The importance of this study to the local situation appears to be that through a study of the newspapers it may be possible to gain a better understanding of the stereotypes by which the "white" people picture the Indian. This may give some indication of the attitudes and feelings between the "whites" and Indians living in New Mexico.

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[3] News item in the Albuquerque Journal, February 5, 1954.

[4] Jessie D. Ames, "Editorial Treatment of Lynchings," Public Opinion Quarterly, 2:77, March, 1946.

June Blythe, "Can Public Relations Help Reduce Prejudice," Public Opinion Quarterly, 11:342, Fall, 1947.

Noel P. Gist, "Racial Attitudes in the Press," Sociology and Social Research, 17:25,35-6, September-October, 1932.

Alfred M. Lee, "The Press in the Control of Intergroup Tensions," Controlling Group Prejudice. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 244: 146-48, March, 1946.

II. IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY TO SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

This study may add to the knowledge of sociological theory. It appears from past research that while the stereotypes of certain ethnic groups are well known, the stereotypes of the Indian have not been widely studied. It would seem that any information regarding stereotypes of the Indian would add to the knowledge of ethnic relations.

The newspaper has not been frequently utilized as a source of data in previous studies of stereotypes. Thus, a study using the Indian as a subject and the newspaper as a source of data appears to be a rather unique combination in the field of stereotypes.

Stereotypes have been found to exist when individuals were asked to choose traits characteristic of various ethnic groups. One group of students attending a southwestern college pictured the Indian as being brave, artistic, peaceful and friendly, loyal and trustworthy, and ignorant.[5]

Stereotypes have been found to exist in various forms of communication media.

> In films, radio, comic cartoons, the press, advertising copy, and short stories, the Writer's War Board found little to choose among the sins of stereotyping, misrepresentation, or omission by virtue of reliance on "snob appeal". L. D. Reddick, in a study of what he

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[5] Edward C. McDonagh and Eugene S. Richards, Ethnic Relations in the United States (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953), pp. 206-7.

regards as the principal media--films, radio, press, and libraries--has listed 19 common stereotypes of the Negro alone....[6]

Since stereotypes have been found in these forms of communication media and since it is suggested that people in the southwest may have stereotypes of the Indian, it would seem important to see if stereotypes of the Indian are present in the newspapers of New Mexico.

Several studies in the past have found stereotypes of groups to remain relatively stable, even though the groups being stereotyped had undergone some change. Traits or characteristics thought to typify the groups were found to be consistent over a period of time even though these traits would have been more descriptive of the groups at a former time. This study attempts to see if stereotypes of the Indian have remained stable over a period of thirty years from 1923 to 1953.

This study also attempts to determine whether any differences in stereotypes of the Indian are present in the newspapers of the three communities where there are differences in the size of the Indian group near a community, differences in the proximity of the Indian group to a community, and differences in the culture of the Indian group near a community.

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[6] Blythe, op. cit., p. 345.

In this area the community of Gallup considers itself to be the Indian capital of the world, for it is situated within twenty miles of a reservation populated by over 60,000 Navajo Indians. Albuquerque, the metropolitan center of the state, is situated near a number of small Pueblo communities which average a population of several hundred people. Taos is situated within four miles of a pueblo having a population of approximately 1000 people.

There are several reasons why differences in stereotypes may be expected in the three newspapers. One author, in speaking of the Indians, states that "they are categorically discriminated against by white Americans where ever they live in numbers in the proximity of whites".[7]

A second hypothesis has been ventured that:

> ...in this century there has been a rough correlation between the attitudes of white people and their proximity to the Indians. By this we suggest that the concept of the Indian as a noble, mistreated person is more frequently found among those white people whose picture of the Indians has been derived from secondary sources; whereas, the notion picturing the Indian as an inferior, lazy fellow is more widely prevalent among whites living in areas close to reservations.[8]

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[7] Charles F. Marden, op. cit., p. 341.

[8] Ibid., pp. 332-33.

It must also be noted that there are definite cultural differences between the Navajo and Pueblo Indians, and certain cultural differences between each of the Pueblo groups.

The study may be of importance to sociological theory because it may give some understanding of the stereotype of an ethnic group which has been given little study in this field, it will attempt to determine whether stereotypes are present in the press of this area, it seeks to determine if a stereotype is stable, and it will attempt to note any influences that the size of an ethnic group, the proximity of an ethnic group, and the culture of an ethnic group may have upon the stereotype of this ethnic group that is held by a majority group.

III. HYPOTHESES PROPOSED IN THIS STUDY

Three hypotheses were proposed in this study:

1. Stereotypes of the Indian are present in the newspapers of Albuquerque, Gallup, and Taos, New Mexico.

2. The stereotypes of the Indian have remained stable during the past thirty years.

3. The stereotypes of the Indian differ in each newspaper.

The reason for proposing that a stereotype exists in these three newspapers is that research has indicated that

stereotypes of various ethnic groups are present in movies, comic books, short stories, radio, advertising copy, and newspapers.[9]

Stereotypes of the Indian have been found by other methods of investigation. Agogino found a stereotype of the American Indian in comic books, movies, and popular magazines.[10] McDonagh and Richards found that students attending a southwestern college had rather standardized ideas as to the characteristics of the Indian.[11]

In the Albuquerque Journal an Indian cartoon character called "Pronto" is used in advertisements of various business firms. "Pronto" has a large nose, a smiling face showing two big buck teeth, one long braid, and a large black ten gallon hat upon his head. In the advertisements he uses such words as "walk-um", "think-um", "heap nice", and does not always use the correct words or grammar. Also, "Pronto"

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[9] George Agogino, "The Stereotype of the American Indian," (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1950).

Bernard Berelson and Patricia J. Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, 10:168, Summer, 1946.

Blythe, op. cit.

[10] Agogino, op. cit.

[11] McDonagh and Richards, op. cit.

appears with the "Lone Stranger", a cowboy, in a cartoon series called "This is New Mexico." From viewing this material one might gain the impression that a stereotype of the Indian is present in the newspaper.

The reason for proposing the second hypothesis is that stereotypes have been found to be relatively stable through empiric research.[12] Agogino states that:

> From all indications it appears that cultural changes affecting Indians are not adequately reflected in the current media of mass circulation. The present stereotype of the Indian does not to any great extent reflect the changed relationships with the whites, nor does it reflect the vast transformation of the culture of the American Indian.[13]

The reasons for expecting different stereotypes in the three newspapers have been noted earlier. It is thought that differences in the size and proximity of an Indian group to the communities may be related to differences in stereotypes in the newspapers of those communities. The two hypotheses that Indians are discriminated against by whites when they live in numbers in the proximity of whites,

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[12] Max Meenes, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of 1935 and 1942," Journal of Social Psychology, 17:327, May, 1942.

Harry R. Meyering, "The Turkish Stereotype," Sociology and Social Research, 22:112, November-December, 1937.

Dorothy W. Seago, "Stereotypes, Before Pearl Harbor and After," Journal of Psychology, 23:55, January, 1947.

[13] Agogino, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

and that there may be a rough correlation between the attitudes of white people and their proximity to the Indians, serve to support the hypotheses of this study.

It would seem possible that communities which have only a few Indians living nearby would perhaps picture them as picturesque and unique, whereas a community having a large number of Indians living nearby and continually entering the community would perhaps picture the Indian as being more commonplace.

IV. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

The importance of this study to the local situation appears to be that through a study of the newspapers some indication of the stereotypes of the Indian held by people living in a community may be found. These stereotypes may give some understanding of the attitudes and feelings between the "whites" and the Indians in New Mexico.

The importance of this study to sociological theory appears to be that added information may be gained about the stereotypes of an ethnic group which have been previously studied very little. Information may be gained as to whether stereotypes are stable. Also the possible influence of the size, proximity, and culture of an ethnic group upon the stereotypes of this ethnic group held by a majority group will be noted.

Three hypotheses were proposed: that stereotypes of the Indian are present in the newspapers; that these stereotypes have remained stable during the past thirty years; and that the stereotypes differ in each of the newspapers. These hypotheses were based upon the findings of research studies of stereotypes and hypotheses advanced by writers in the field of ethnic relations.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON STEREOTYPES

Thirty-four studies were reviewed in an effort to gain understanding of the type of research which had been carried out in the area of stereotypes. More specifically definitions, hypotheses, methods, and conclusions regarding stereotypes were sought. These studies were briefly summarized here for the aid they may give any person who wishes to do further research in this area.

The studies were classified according to the methods employed because definite patterns in methods were readily seen. Studies employing similar methods appeared also to study similar subject matter, thus this method of classification appeared to be the most convenient.

The thirty-four studies were divided into six categories, each category including those studies which employed similar methods. A brief description of the six categories follows.

The first group of studies employed subjects who were asked to choose from a list of traits those characteristic of a group or to compare two groups in reference to certain traits. Eleven studies followed this general method of research.

Six studies were concerned with the response to stereotypes. Subjects were asked to record their emotional response to ethnic names, political concepts, or other terms thought to be stereotyped.

Four studies accepted Lippmann's definition of a stereotype as a "picture in our heads" literally and asked subjects to match photographs of individuals with social types, nationalities, or occupations.

Four studies obtained stereotypes through the analysis of communication media, including technical journals, comic books, movies, and popular fiction.

Four studies were able to compile stereotypes by interviewing individuals and asking them of their feelings toward an ethnic group.

Five studies did not appear to follow any pattern in the methods employed. Two of these studies offered theoretical discussions of stereotypes, while the remaining three studies investigated other aspects of stereotypes.

A brief summary follows each of the six categories to emphasize the findings of the studies found in the categories. A summary at the end of the chapter includes the subjects employed, definitions employed, and general conclusions of the thirty-four studies.

I. STEREOTYPED TRAITS APPLIED TO GROUPS

Eleven studies employed the technique of asking subjects to choose traits which are typical of groups. Most of the studies were concerned with the stereotypes of racial and national groups, while two studies revealed stereotypes of college students and college sororities.

Study by Katz and Braly. Katz and Braly[1] analyzed the stereotypes of ten ethnic groups held by Princeton university students. Ten ethnic groups were placed in rank order by sixty students on the basis of preference for association with their members. The ten ethnic groups were: Americans, English, Germans, Japanese, Irish, Jews, Chinese, Italians, Negroes, and Turks. The preferential ranking was similar in its main outline to the results reported by investigators in all parts of the United States.

A change in instructions designed to elicit private responses as against public attitudes had a significant effect only in the case of the Negroes, who were placed a rank higher in private than in public preferences. Students showed the greatest agreement in ranking the Americans, English, and Germans for both public and private preferences.

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[1] Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly, "Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 30:175, July-September, 1935.

The least agreement in public preferences occurred for the Jews, Japanese, and Chinese, and in private preferences for the Negroes, Jews, and Chinese.

A list of eighty-four traits, given as the typical characteristics of the ten ethnic groups by a group of students, was rated by another group of students on the basis of their desirability for associates. From these ratings scores were assigned to the ten ethnic groups, the relative weight of which agreed closely with the preferential private and public rank orders. The ten ethnic groups were ranked in the following order: Americans, English, Germans, Japanese, Irish, Jews, Chinese, Italians, Negroes, and Turks.

The authors concluded that racial prejudice is a generalized set of stereotypes of a high degree of consistency which includes emotional responses to race names, a belief in typical characteristics associated with race names, and an evaluation of such traits.

Study by Katz and Braly. In a second study Katz and Braly[2] investigated the nature of attitudes toward racial and national groups. One hundred Princeton students were asked to choose five traits which they considered most characteristic of each of the following ten groups: Germans, Italians,

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[2] Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28:280, October-December, 1933.

Negroes, Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Turks.

The traits most frequently assigned to the ten groups were: Germans, scientifically minded; Italians, impulsiveness, passionate, and quick-tempered; Negroes, superstiticus and laziness; Irish, pugnacity and quick-tempered; English, sportsmanship, intelligence, conventionality, love of tradition, and conservatism; Jews, shrewdness; Americans, industry, intelligence, materialistic, and ambitious; Chinese, superstitious, sly, and conservative; Japanese, intelligence; and Turks, cruelty.

The most definite stereotype was that of the Negroes, with the Germans and Jews also having a consistent pattern of response. The Chinese, Japanese, and Turks furnished the least clear cut stereotypes. The definiteness of the stereotyped picture of a race had little relation to the prejudice exhibited against that race. Prejudice of this kind seemed largely a matter of public attitude toward a race name or symbol.

Study by Bayton. Bayton[3] investigated the attitudes of a minority group toward the native white population and other racio-national groups. One hundred Negro college

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[3] James A. Bayton, "The Racial Stereotype of Negro College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 36:97, January, 1941.

Negroes, Irish, [illegible] and Turks.

The traits [illegible] were: Germans, [illegible] mass, passionate, [illegible] and laziness; Irish, [illegible] sportsmanship, [illegible] tion, and conservatism; [illegible] intelligence, [illegible] atition, sly, and [illegible] Turks, stealth.

The most [illegible] with the Germans and [illegible] response. The [illegible] least close out stereotypes [illegible] typed pictures of [illegible] exhibited against [illegible] largely a matter of [illegible] symbol.

Since Mr Garret [illegible] of a minority group [illegible] other racio-national [illegible]

[illegible] James A. [illegible], [illegible] College Bulletin, [illegible] 32:197, January, [illegible]

students were asked to choose ten adjectives from a possible eighty-five which they thought to be typical of the following groups: White Americans, Jews, Negroes, Germans, English, Irish, Italians, Chinese, Japanese, and Turks. Later the students were asked to choose ten adjectives which characterized the typical student at their Negro college.

The resulting stereotypes were compared with the stereotypes found by Katz and Braly in a similar study using Princeton men as subjects. The two groups of college students, Negro and white, exhibited a high degree of similarity in the stereotypes they possessed of the various racial and national groups.

One important result was that the Negro students when asked to assign traits to "the Negro" were not greatly influenced by the traits which they considered themselves to have. Thus in American culture, where definite characterizations are assigned to the various racial elements, the Negro accepts these "typings" including much of the one assigned to himself. However, the characteristics of their own college groups were traits which were decidedly different from those they thought characteristic of "typical Negroes".

The characteristics of the Negro college students were formulated from personal "face-to-face" contact, whereas the characteristics of the "typical Negro" were formulated

by the propaganda of movies, cartoons, jokes, radio, and theatre.

In conclusion, Negro college students had racial stereotypes highly similar to those possessed by white college students. Negro college students assigned characteristics to themselves which were different from those assigned to the "typical Negro". Propaganda was more influencial in the formation of stereotypes than were personal "face-to-face" contacts.

Study by Child and Doob. Child and Doob[4] isolated some of the variables which affect national stereotypes. Three variables were examined: the traits an individual attributes to a country; the individual's attitude toward the traits; and the individual's attitude toward the country. Students were asked to choose traits characteristic of eight nationalities. The nations were America, England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, and Russia. This procedure was carried out in 1938 and again in 1940.

When all the traits were considered together it was found that approved traits tended to be attributed to the citizens of preferred countries, regardless of whether these traits were attributed by the subjects to themselves;

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[4] Irvin L. Child and Leonard W. Doob, "Factors Determining National Stereotypes," Journal of Social Psychology, 17:203, May, 1943.

that disapproved traits which the subjects did not believe to characterize themselves tended to be attributed to the people of non-preferred countries; and that disapproved traits which the subjects believed to characterize themselves showed a slight tendency to be attributed to the people of preferred countries.

Study by Cobb. Cobb[5] compared two groups of college students as to the character and degree of stereotyping regarding the Japanese. Over one hundred students who reported direct personal experience with persons of Japanese descent were compared with forty-seven students who were relatively unfamiliar with Japanese people as individuals.

Subjects were asked to compare Americans with Japanese in regard to sixty traits. Four alternative answers were possible for each trait question: "Americans", "Japanese", "No Difference", and "Don't Know". A response favoring either Japanese or Americans regarding a given trait was considered stereotyped.

The following conclusions were drawn from the findings of the study. Familiarity with persons of Japanese descent is associated with less uniformity in stereotypes regarding the Japanese (when compared with Americans), responses

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[5] Walter J. Cobb, "Personal Familiarity and Variations in Stereotypes Regarding Japanese," Sociology and Social Research, 33:441, July-August, 1949.

favorable to the Japanese, a low degree of stereotyping regarding the Japanese, and a high degree of non-stereotyped responses.

Study by Meyering. Meyering[6] analyzed the stereotype of the Turk that was held by college students. In previous literature the Turk had been rated low on social distance and racial preference scales. However beginning in 1922 Turkey had made a number of fundamental and revolutionary changes which were given some notice in American newspapers and magazines. This study proposed to see if the changes in that country had changed American students' mental image of those people.

One hundred students were given a check list having favorable and unfavorable words describing the Turks. The words checked most frequently by the students as describing the Turks were: sultan, governmental reforms, harems, fez, dirty, mosque schools, treacherous, swords, Western dress, Western education, backward, progressive, massacring, and lazy. The words checked appeared to be concepts which were true of old Turkey.

Students checked an average of 70.1 as many unfavorable words concerning the Turks as they did favorable words.

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[6] Harry R. Meyering, "The Turkish Stereotype," Sociology and Social Research, 22:112, November-December, 1937.

favorable to the development of [illegible]
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Many students showed either a decided liking or dislike for the Turks by marking rather consistently favorable or unfavorable words. A large percentage of the students obtained their information of the Turks from newspapers, magazines, movies, and hearsay.

Study by Blake and Dennis. Blake and Dennis[7] investigated the development of stereotypes of the Negro held by pupils in elementary school and high school. Pupils from grades four through eleven in a Virginia school for white children were asked to compare Negroes and whites in regard to sixty characteristics.

It was found that the high school seniors showed a high degree of agreement among themselves in regard to which race possessed a specific trait. The younger subjects showed lower degrees of agreement. However the younger subjects attributed to the Negro certain traits which the older students believed to be characteristic of the white people. The early grades rated the Negro as being less religious and cheerful than the whites, whereas the high school juniors and seniors reversed these judgments.

It was proposed that the young white child first acquires a generally unfavorable attitude toward the Negro,

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[7] Robert Blake and Wayne Dennis, "The Development of Stereotypes Concerning the Negro," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 38:525, (n.d.), 1943.

which makes him unwilling to attribute to the Negro any "good" traits. With increased age and experience the child gradually learns to apply the adult stereotypes of the Negro, a few of which are complimentary.

Study by Meenes. Meenes[8] compared the stereotypes of ten ethnic and racial groups in 1935 and 1942. Two different groups of Negro college students were asked to choose five adjectives to describe the following groups: Irish, Jews, English, Negroes, Germans, Turks, White Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Italians. This procedure took place in 1935 and again in 1942.

The stereotypes of the Irish and Jews were most consistent, with each of the following groups showing progressively less consistency: English, Negroes, Germans, Turks, White Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Italians.

The stereotypes obtained in 1942 agreed in large measure with those found in 1935, except in the cases of the portrayals of the Chinese, Japanese, Germans, Turks, and Italians.

The 1942 stereotype of the Germans was much like that of the 1935 stereotype, except for the appearance of revengeful, cruel, and treacherous in the 1942 picture. The 1942

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[8] Max Meenes, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of 1935 and 1942," Journal of Social Psychology, 17:327, May, 1942.

stereotype of the Chinese was much more favorable and the 1942 stereotype of the Japanese much less favorable than the 1935 stereotypes. The particular terms used to describe the Turks and the Italians in 1935 and 1942 differed somewhat, but the general picture did not change markedly.

Study by Seago. Seago[9] studied the stereotypes of three national and one "racial" group during the five year period between 1941 and 1945. The groups studied were the Americans, Negroes, Germans, and Japanese.

The Americans were chosen as a standard of comparison, the Germans and Japanese to reveal attitudes toward enemy nations, and the Negroes for evidence of attitudes toward a minority group within our own nation. College women were asked to select five traits which characterized each of the four groups.

The results showed that the stereotype of the Americans was consistently more favorable than any other group, the German stereotype changed from favorable in 1941 to indifferent in the following years, the Japanese stereotype

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[9] Dorothy W. Seago, "Stereotypes: Before Pearl Harbor and After," Journal of Psychology, 23:55, January, 1947.

changed from favorable in 1941 to consistently unfavorable in the following years, and the Negro stereotype remained unfavorable with a high degree of stability throughout the five year period.

It was concluded that attitudes showed, from one point of view, considerable stability despite significant changes in world events. The stereotypes seemed to be relatively uninfluenced by events that did not immediately invoke the emotions of the stereotyper. Stereotypes were subject to some change under the influence of world events that impinged directly upon the lives and emotions of the stereotypers. The stereotype of a minority group within one's own nation remained practically invariable despite the changing role of that minority group during the period studied.

Study by Cronbach. Cronbach[10] presented the stereotypes of six sorority houses held by sixty-five girls attending Washington State College. The girls were asked to check one of eleven characteristics which best typified each sorority house. The characteristics were: good-looking, pin collectors, poised, activity hounds, dead, brainy, friendly, snobbish, campus leaders, fast, and rich.

striking evidence was obtained that stereotypes

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[10] Lee J. Cronbach, "Stereotypes and College Sororities," Journal of Higher Education, 15:214, April, 1944.

of sorority houses exist. Two factors appeared to perpetuate the stereotypes. Girls planning to join a sorority could not know each house in reality, but compared herself with the stereotype of the house, such that a girl who came to college for fun would tend to join the house noted for fun. Also other students on the campus reacted to the house as its stereotype suggested, such that a girl would be welcomed into campus affairs because she came from a house of campus leaders.

The stereotypes of the sorority houses held by sorority members differed widely from the stereotypes held by girls living in dormitories.

Study by Fink and Cantril. Fink and Cantril[11] analyzed the stereotype of the college student. Students were asked to select four terms which describe the typical student attending Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale. The subjects were students attending each of the above universities, such that each student described the typical student at his university as well as the typical student at the three other universities.

It was found that stereotypes of the various college men were similar at different schools. There were slight

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[11] Kenneth Fink and Hadley Cantril, "The Collegiate Stereotype as a Frame of Reference," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 32:352, October-November, 1937.

differences, yet the general pattern was highly consistent. The outdoor, college-loyal, hard-drinking Dartmouth man was never confused with the blase, snobbish, intellectual Harvard product; while Yale's loyal, collegiate athletes did not fit the picture of Princeton's style-setting gentlemen.

The stereotypes regarding college men were well-defined. Also college students' stereotypes of themselves were more complimentary than their stereotypes of others. Finally, the reality of types was questioned by a minority of the students.

Summary. Two early studies by Katz and Braly revealed that college students have rather consistent ideas as to the traits which typify racial and national groups. Bayton found that Negro college students hold racial and national stereotypes which are quite similar to "white" college students. Child and Doob showed that individuals tend to attribute approved traits to preferred countries, whereas they attribute disapproved traits to non-preferred countries. Cobb found that familiarity with the Japanese people was related to a low degree of stereotyping, to less uniformity of stereotyping, and to responses favorable to the Japanese.

Meyering concluded that the stereotype of the Turks held by college students was rather unfavorable and was more representative of the Turks who had lived a number of years

previously. Blake and Dennis found that grade school children first hold definitely unfavorable stereotypes of the Negro, but upon completing high school they have learned the adult stereotypes of the Negro which picture him as having several favorable attributes along with the unfavorable attributes.

The two studies by Meenes and Seago revealed that the stereotypes of various racial, ethnic, and national groups have remained relatively stable over a period of several years. Cronbach found that stereotypes of sorority houses exist, and Fink and Cantril showed well-defined stereotypes of college men.

II. EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO STEREOTYPED TERMS

Six studies were concerned with the response to stereotypes. In these studies subjects were asked to record their emotional response to ethnic names, political concepts, and other terms thought to be stereotyped.

Study by Razran. Razran[12] described the ethnic dislikes and stereotypes of Jews, Italians, and Irish held by 150 individuals living in New York City. In this study thirty photographs of college girls were projected on a

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[12] Gregory Razran, "Ethnic Dislikes and Stereotypes: A Laboratory Study," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45:7, January, 1950.

screen and were presented for judgment to a group of male college students and a group of older men. The subjects were asked to judge each of the girls for general liking, beauty, intelligence, character, ambition, and entertainingness.

The procedure was repeated a month later with the addition of surnames to the photographs. Fifteen photos were given typical Jewish, Italian, and Irish names; while fifteen other photos were given common American names. The primary aim of the study was to note any change in the judgment of the photographs before and after the surnames had been added.

The evidence for the existence of very definite unfavorable stereotypes and dislikes of Jews, Italians, and to a small extent of the Irish, was unmistakably due to the change in judgment of the photographs after the addition of the ethnic names. Also the particular surnames apparently served as stereotyped indices of the "social class" of the individual in his ethnic group.

In quantitative terms the mean of ethnic dislike of Jews was about 50 per cent higher than that of Italians and about five times as great as the dislike of the Irish. Conversely, a considerable number of individuals had a favorable attitude and stereotype of the Jews, while this favorable attitude was not found toward the Italians or Irish.

Study by Sargent. Sargent[13] investigated the effects of emotional stereotypes upon newspaper readers. Forty terms were selected from the news columns of the Chicago Tribune, twenty of which had been used to refer to policies that it did not support and twenty of which had been used to refer to approved policies. Ten neutral terms were added to the forty terms.

The subjects in the study were six adult groups. Each subject was asked to list his immediate emotional reaction to the terms by checking one of the following: "like", "dislike", or "no feeling about it". The terms which aroused the most consistent emotional responses were considered stereotyped.

A similarity of responses was noted among the groups, except for a workers forum. The workers group was strongly favorable toward: "collectivist economy", "spending program", "radical", "economic innovations", and "assault on business". They showed a negative reaction toward: "Tribune" "tax payer", "conservative", "capitalism", "private enterprise", and "business men".

The group which showed the least feeling about the

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[13] S. Stansfeld Sargent, "Stereotypes and Newspapers," Readings in Social Psychology (Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley, editors; revised edition; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 103-6.

fifty terms was college students. Subjects who liked the term "Tribune" showed a dislike for the following terms: "radical", "agitator", "brain trust", "court packing", and "assault on business". The same subjects expressed a liking for the following terms: "business", "private enterprise", and "The Constitution".

The most striking contrast between Tribune likers and dislikers concerned the degree of emotional reaction. It appeared that those who liked the Tribune also had pronounced likes and dislikes in political and economic matters.

Study by Hatt. Hatt[14] measured the response of students to a list of social types. A list of social types, one-half of which were judged stereotyped and one-half of which were judged to be colorless, was given to 443 students.

The stereotyped and colorless social types were as follows: Niggers, Negroes; Reds, Communist Party Members; Wops, Italians; Atheists, People who don't believe in God; Hunkies, Hungarian immigrants; Jews, People who believe in Judaism; Limeys, Englishmen; Capitalists, People who are rich; Ofays, White People; and Goyim, Non-Jews; respectively.

The students were asked to encircle the name of any

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[14] Paul Hatt, "Stereotypes and Minority Group Conflict," Sociology and Social Research, 31:110, November-December, 1946.

social type which they would not want as a next-door neighbor or as a personal friend.

It was found that the students responded differently to the stereotyped social types than to the colorless social types. The students showed negative attitudes toward the stereotyped terms. Hatt suggests that such stereotyped terms contribute to minority-majority conflict.

Two terms, thought by the investigator to be stereotyped, which actually received fewer negative responses than the accompanying colorless terms were Atheist and Red. Apparently these two terms did not have an unfavorable connotation to the subjects.

Study by Menefee. Menefee[15] studied the direction and extent of influence exerted by eight stereotyped political terms: fascism, communism, radicalism, conservatism, pacifism, patriotism, liberalism, and socialism. A list of sixteen political statements was presented to 742 subjects who were asked to mark, "Yes" or "No", as to whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement. Two statements corresponded to the viewpoint of each political stereotype.

Four weeks later the subjects were asked to mark their agreement or disagreement with each of the eight

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[15] Selden C. Menefee, "The Effect of Stereotyped Words on Political Judgment," American Sociological Review, 1:614, August, 1936.

stereotyped political terms. Immediately following, a list having each of the stereotyped political terms placed directly above the two statements representing that viewpoint was presented to the subjects. The subjects were told that the two statements were typical opinions of the stereotyped political terms and that they were to agree or disagree with each statement.

The addition of the stereotyped political terms changed the meaning that some statements held for the subjects. Liberalism was found to be the most popular term, with pacifism and patriotism also drawing a majority of favorable responses. Fascism, radicalism, and communism drew only a small minority of positive responses.

Menefee concluded that fascism, radicalism, and communism produced marked negative responses and when these terms were linked with political statements the responses were reliably more negative than when the statements were presented alone.

Study by Edwards. Edwards[16] investigated the directionality and uniformity of stereotypes. In an effort to clarify Lippmann's definition of a stereotype, Edwards proposed this definition: A stereotype is a stimulus

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[16] Allen L. Edwards, "Studies of Stereotypes: I. The Directionality and Uniformity of Response to Stereotypes," Journal of Social Psychology, 12:357, November, 1940.

which arouses standardized preconceptions which are influencial in determining one's response to the stimulus.

Two important characteristics of responses to stereotypes were shown to be evident from previous studies of sterectypes, the directionality of response and the uniformity of response. The former was assumed to be indicative of the "affective tone" of the stereotype and the latter the "definiteness" of the stereotype.

The hypothesis was proposed that there should be greater uniformity in responses to a stereotype when the directionality of the responses is the same. To test this hypothesis a group of "communist" and "non-communist" college students were given a list of thirty statements and were asked to check those statements characteristic of democracy, fascism, and communism.

The response of the two groups to communism was found to be less uniform than the responses to fascism and democracy. This was thought to be due to the difference in directionality of responses to communism between the two groups, for one group favored communism while the other group was unfavorable towards communism. There was a uniformity of response to fascism, for both groups were definitely unfavorable toward that stereotype. Both groups were favorable toward democracy, thus the response was rather uniform. The study suggested that intensity of feeling

with regard to the stereotype must also be considered.

Study by Edwards. In a second study Edwards[17] proposed four variables which must be considered in the study of responses to stereotypes. The four variables are uniformity, direction, intensity, and quality. These terms were defined operationally. Uniformity indicates to what extent an individual's response is in accord with the responses of others; direction indicates whether the response is favorable or unfavorable; intensity indicates the degree of favorableness or unfavorableness; and quality indicates the content of the response.

Two questions were asked in this study. They were: will individuals who respond in one direction to a stimulus word have qualitatively different responses to the term than those who respond in a different direction to it? and, will individuals who make more intense responses to a stimulus word show more uniformity in their response to the same word?

In an attempt to answer these questions, college students were asked to rate their attitudes toward the three concepts of democracy, fascism, and socialism.

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[17] Allen L. Edwards, "Four Dimensions in Political Stereotypes", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 35:566, October, 1940.

The results showed that groups with relatively homogenous intense attitudes toward the three concepts of government showed greater uniformity in response to these concepts than groups with less intense attitudes. The uniformity of response was directly related to the intensity of response. It was also found that while two groups may respond in opposite directions to a concept and still show equal uniformity and intensity of response, one may expect to find significant qualitative differences in the responses of the two groups. Qualitative differences seemed to be directly related to differences in direction of response.

The study presented four variables which must be considered in studying responses to stereotypes, and advanced the tentative hypothesis that uniformity of response is related to intensity of response, while quality of response is related to direction of response.

Summary. Razran indicated that the addition of ethnic surnames to photographs of girls caused a change in response to the photographs. Sargent found consistent emotional responses to terms selected from the Chicago Tribune. Hatt obtained different responses to colorless and stereotyped social types. Menefee concluded that the addition of stereotyped terms changed the meaning of political statements.

Edwards found that communist and non-communist students showed more uniformity of response to the concepts of fascism and democracy than to communism. In a second study of responses to political concepts, Edwards proposed that uniformity of response is related to intensity of response, while quality of response is related to direction of response.

III. STEREOTYPES OF PHOTOGRAPHED INDIVIDUALS

Four studies accepted Lippmann's definition of a stereotype as a "picture in our heads" literally, and asked subjects to match photographs of individuals with social types, nationalities, and occupations.

Study by McGill. McGill[18] showed the existence of a school-teacher stereotype among college students. Ten photographs, five men and five women, were presented to 141 college students and they were asked to identify the occupational class of each of the persons in the photographs. Three of the photographs were school-teachers.

One of the three school-teacher photographs was recognized by the students as a school-teacher eighty-six times out of a possible 141. The school-teacher occupation

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[18] Kenneth H. McGill, "The School-Teacher Stereotype," Journal of Educational Sociology, 4:642, June, 1931.

was used to describe this photograph six times more often than any other occupation. A similar proportion was found for one other school-teacher photograph. The two photographs appeared to represent the school-teacher stereotype.

The question was then asked, What is there about the school-teacher's face that calls up the stereotype? The students listed a brief reason for each identification. Some of the appearences which suggested the school-teacher identification were stern, dignified, reserved, determined, firm, set, intelligent, capable, serious, patient, hopeless, thoughtful, sympathetic, composed, trim, prim, and neat. Other appearences were tired, bored, disgusted, forceful, old-maidish, impersonal, hard, nervous, and strained.

Study by Gregory. Gregory[19] investigated the affective reactions of students to photographed individuals. Fifty students were presented with a list of fifteen nationalities and were asked to rate the name of each nationality on a continuum of favorableness-unfavorableness. Later the students were presented sixteen photographs, each representing a nationality group. Without reference to the procedure followed before, the students were asked to place each photograph on a continuum of favorableness-unfavorableness.

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[19] W. S. Gregory, "A Study of Stereotyped Thinking: Affective Reactions to Persons as the Basis for Judging Their Nationality," Journal of Social Psychology, 13:89, February, 1941.

They were asked to explain their rating by listing traits, abilities, or factors which influenced their rating. Later the students were asked to identify the nationality of each photograph.

The students did not identify the nationalities of the photographs accurately above chance expectation; however, the subjects demonstrated affective reactions to the photographs and definite nationality name prejudices. The question the author wished to answer was whether the affective reaction of the subjects to the photos in any way influenced their attempted identification of the nationalities. Many of the students stated that they were influenced by their direct reaction to the photo in deciding that the person was of a certain nationality.

The study suggested the hypothesis that in addition to direct indoctrination and other procedures by which ideational stereotypes are acquired by the individual, stereotyped thinking which is based upon affective sets may be another source of ideational stereotypes.

Study by Rice. Rice[20] showed the existence of stereotypes concerning the supposed appearance of persons of various social types. Nine photographs representing the

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[20]Stuart A. Rice, "'Stereotypes:' A Source of Error in Judging Human Character", Journal of Personnel Research, 5:267, November, 1926.

the following social types: bootlegger, European premier, bolshevik, U.S. senator, labor leader, editor politician, two manufacturers, and financier were presented to a group of college students and Grange members. The subjects were asked to match the photographs with the correct social types.

Both groups correctly matched the photographs with social types to a greater extent than would be expected by chance. However wherever there was concentration among the identifications, correct or incorrect, there was evidence of the existence of a common stereotype. In a second portion of the study the subjects were asked to grade the nine photographs according to intelligence and craftiness.

The study advanced three general conclusions. First, the existence of common stereotypes concerning the various classes of persons was clearly indicated. These stereotypes led to numerous errors of judgment. Second, the stereotypes found among students and Grange members were similar, but there appeared to be a somewhat greater uniformity among the latter group. Third, estimates of intelligence and craftiness, presumably based upon the features portrayed, were in reality influenced by the supposed identity of the photograph.

Study by Litterer. Litterer[21] observed the ability of individuals to match a series of photographs with a list of social types, by repeating the procedure used by Rice. The study concerned itself with the question of whether stereotypes issue out of a general experience background or out of specific training.

Photographs of ten men and eight women were used to represent specific social types. The photographs and a list of social types were presented to a group of college students and business men who were asked to match the social types with the photographs.

The results showed that the number of correct identifications of photographs with social types exceeded a chance value to an extent which suggested the influence of stereotypes. While business men and university students live in a somewhat different environment the interpretation seemed justified that the stereotypes of university men, university women, and business men issue out of a common general experience background.

Summary. McGill showed the existence of a schoolteacher stereotype among college students through their ability to recognize the photographs of individuals in

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[21] Oscar F. Litterer, "Stereotypes," Journal of Social Psychology. 4:59, February, 1933.

this occupation. Gregory found that college students were influenced by their emotional responses to photographs of individuals in determining to which nationality each individual belonged. Rice found stereotypes of the supposed appearance of certain social types through the technique of matching social types with photographed individuals. Litterer repeated the technique employed by Rice and concluded that stereotypes issue out of a common experience background.

In three of the four studies the subjects were able to identify the social type or occupation of the photographed individuals above a chance expectation; however one study found that subjects could not identify the nationality of photographs above a chance expectation. The ability of the subjects to match photographs with social types, nationalities, or occupations seems somewhat dependent upon the particular photographs used in each study.

IV. STEREOTYPES IN COMMUNICATION MEDIA

Four studies obtained stereotypes through the analysis of communication media, including technical journals, comic books, movies, and popular fiction.

Study by Lerner. Lerner[22] found pathological Nazi

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[22] Eugene Lerner, "Pathological Nazi Stereotypes Found in Recent German Technical Journals," Journal of Psychology, 13:179, April, 1942.

stereotypes in German technical journals during the years 1939 to 1941. Excerpts selected from the German journals showed a considerable number of unscientific and pathologically toned articles.

Several main trends in pathological thought and feeling were found. There was evidence of excessive over-evaluation of the strength of other individuals, especially the omniscience and omnipotence of the Fuhrer and the National Socialist Party. Sadistic aggressiveness and a need for obsessively rigid regulations were indicated. A marked sociocentric picture of the environment within and outside Germany was evident.

There appeared to be a disordered, confused, and irrational nature of many of these stereotypes shown by various contradictions found in the excerpts. Lerner inferred from this study that a large scale psycho-social deterioration of unprecedented intensity was evident in Nazi Germany.

Study by Agogino. Agogino[23] analyzed the stereotype of the American Indian present in comic books, magazines, and motion pictures. Two hypotheses were proposed in this study: A stereotype remains relatively stable in a culture

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[23] George Agogino, "The Stereotype of the American Indian," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1950).

and a stereotype tends to be value-weighted as "good" or "bad" rather than neutral.

Twenty-five characteristics of the Indian were placed under the following categories: physical appearance, dress and ornamentation, other material culture traits, and miscellaneous. Several of the characteristics examined were: skin color, height, clothes, hair style, weapons, dwelling types, humor, and religion.

The stereotype of the Indian found in this study resembled the Plains Indians of the last century. The stereotype pictured the Indian as being tall and thin in stature; having a cowardly, evil and humorless character; living in a tepee; wearing loincloth, moccasins, and braids; and gaining his livelihood by hunting and raiding.

One conclusion of the study was that while the Indian culture has changed considerably during the past several decades, the stereotype of the Indian has remained relatively stable. A second conclusion was that the stereotype of the Indian seems to be value-weighted as"bad".

Study by Berelson and Salter. Berelson and Salter[24] described the anti-minority and pro-majority discrimination found in populer fiction. The major question asked in the

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[24] Bernard Berelson and Patricia J. Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, 10:168, Summer, 1946.

study was: How do people meet the various ethnic and religious groups of this country in this channel of communication which reaches a large number of people in their relaxed, leisure hours? The data was selected from 198 short stories published between 1937 and 1943.

The characters in the stories were described as personality types which were considered desirable or acceptable rather than by the difficult and complicated elaboration of individual personalities.

The American heroes were typically tall, blond, and handsome. Other American stereotypes were the "darling" southern girl, the "stalwart" college athlete, the "efficient" career girl, and the "modern" housewife.

Stereotypes of minority group members served to label the "outsider" as an outsider so that he could be easily identified, appropriately reacted to, and conveniently rejected. Several of these stereotypes were the amusingly, ignorant Negro; the Italian gangster; the sly and shrewd Jew; the emotional Irish; the primitive and backward Pole; and the patronized native of a Pacific island.

The Negro, Irishman, and Italian were stereotyped most frequently. The investigators stated that these fictional characters may be used by readers to "prove" that Negroes are lazy and ignorant, the Jew sly, the Irish superstitious, and the Italians criminal.

Study by McDonagh. McDonagh[25] described the negative stereotypes which the Japanese held of the Chinese and which the Chinese held of the Japanese. The negative feelings between the two countries had ruled out person-to-person contact so that the descriptions of each of the countries was obtained primarily through propagandistic literature.

The Chinese stereotyped the Japanese as barbarians that the Chinese had educated. The stereotype pictured the Japanese as vulgar upstarts, ungrateful and unprofitable pupils. According to the Chinese, Japan had little else than military vice and evil. The Japanese were pictured most frequently as militarists and physical dwarfs.

Japan believed that its culture was superior to the Chinese culture since Japan had been more skillful in borrowing Western ideas. China was pictured as a flippant borrower of Western culture and as being composed of bandits, war lords, and communists.

Due to the clash in stereotypes each of the countries tended to place the other country lower on a social distance scale. Two reasons were advanced as to why adverse stereotypes augment social distance. First, stereotypes are generally framed in deep-seated feelings of fear and hatred

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[25] Edward C. McDonagh, "Asiatic Stereotypes and National Distance," Sociology and Social Research, 23:474, May-June, 1939.

between international rivals, and second, the mechanisms of national propaganda rarely refute the erroneous stereotypes created during war.

Summary. Lerner found pathological Nazi stereotypes in German technical journals between the years 1939 and 1941. Agogino obtained a stereotype of the American Indian through an analysis of comic books, movies, and popular magazines; and he also found that the stereotype of the Indian was unfavorable and had remained relatively stable during a period of thirty years.

Berelson and Salter concluded that the stereotypes of minority group members found in popular fiction served to label them as outsiders so that they could be easily recognized and rejected. McDonagh presented the unfavorable stereotypes which the Japanese held of the Chinese and which the Chinese held of the Japanese and suggested that these stereotypes were fostered by lack of face-to-face contact between the two countries.

V. STEREOTYPES OBTAINED BY INTERVIEWS

Four studies compiled stereotypes by interviewing individuals and asking them of their attitudes toward an ethnic group.

Study by Cahalan and Trager. Cahalan and Trager[26] investigated the image of the Jews held by individuals living in Denver, Colorado. The respondents were asked two open-end questions: Do you think of most Jews as being different from other people in some ways other than their religion? In what ways are most Jews different from other people?

The stereotypes of the Jews obtained from the responses were classed as unfavorable, neutral, and favorable. Several responses considered unfavorable stereotypes were: clannish, won't intermarry, set up barriers, love money, dishonest, shady, untrustworthy, shrewd, sly in business, domineering, loud, and don't give rights to others.

Several factors classed as neutral or favorable were: good businessmen, good money makers, do business differently, smart naturally, better educated, work Sundays, wealthy, clean, and self reliant.

Fifty-eight per cent of the respondents thought that Jews are different from other people in ways other than religion, 37 per cent did not think of Jews as being different, and 5 per cent answered that they did not know. Of the 58 per cent who thought that Jews are different, 44 per cent attributed unfavorable characteristics to them, while 14

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[26] Don Cahalan and Frank N. Trager, "Free Answer Stereotypes and AntiSemitism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 13:93, Spring, 1949.

per cent mentioned only neutral or favorable characteristics.

Respondents who were the most highly educated and who were in the upper socioeconomic class gave the most frequent unfavorable stereotypes of the Jews. The less educated emphasized economic differences between themselves and the Jews, whereas the more educated placed emphasis upon non-economic differences.

Study by Bettelheim and Janowitz. Bettelheim and Janowitz[27] analyzed the degree of ethnic tolerance of 150 Army veterans toward Negroes and Jews. A major premise of the study was that persons who believe that they have undergone deprivations are disposed to ethnic intolerance.

It was found through a number of interviews that no significant relationship existed between income and socio-economic status on the one hand and intensity of anti-Semitism on the other. Social mobility was found to be related to ethnic hostility, with those veterans having experienced downward mobility being more hostile than those having experienced upward mobility.

A clear association was noted between the display of feelings of deprivation and out-spoken or intense anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes. The existence of stable religious

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[27] Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, "Ethnic Tolerance: A Function of Social and Personal Control," American Journal of Sociology, 55:137, September, 1949.

and political affiliations was correlated with tolerance toward Negroes and Jews. The tendency of a veteran to submit to social controls seemed to account for tolerance of minorities.

The stereotype of the Jews held by the veterans represented a powerful, well-organized group. The stereotype included: they are clannish, they help one another, they have money, they control everything, they are running the country, they use underhanded or sharp business methods, and they do not work.

The stereotype of the Negroes stressed personally "obnoxious" characteristics. The stereotype included: they are sloppy, dirty, filthy, they depreciate property, they are taking over, they are forcing out the whites, they are lazy, they are slackers in work, they are ignorant, they have low intelligence, and they have low character.

Study by Siegel. Siegel[28] described the stereotype of the Jews held by Guatemalan Indians living in a small and rather isolated village. The Indians have never had any contact with the Jews, yet they hold a stereotype of rather vague ideas about the bodily traits of Jews, more sharply defined concepts of their evil character and malicious

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[28] Morris Siegel, "'Horns, Tails, and Easter Sport': A Study of a Stereotype," Social Forces, 20:382, March, 1942.

conduct, and a belief in the age-old charge that the Jews killed Christ.

The bodily traits of Jews included horns and tails, which was assumed to be a confused identification of them with Satan. The Jews always play evil roles in native ideology. The Indians present a dramatization of the Easter festival in which selected persons dress as Jews and run through the village frightening others with sharp sticks. Later a dramatization takes place in which the Jews crucify Christ.

This stereotype of the Jews appears to have begun when Catholic Fathers came to convert the Indians to Christianity. The Jews were introduced as related to the Devil, sorcerers, and Christ-killers.

The stereotype had served a psychological function for the Indians in the past. The Jews functioned as a scapegoat upon which the Indians could release severe frustrations troubling them at that time. While the Jew stereotype did not appear to serve any function at the time of this study, it was maintained in the minds of the Indians by the yearly Easter presentation.

Study by Humphrey. Humphrey[29] investigated the extent

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[29] Norman D. Humphrey, "The Stereotype and the Social Types of Mexican American Youths," Journal of Social Psychology, 22:69, (n.d.), 1945.

to which the stereotype of Mexican American youth actually accorded with empirically perceptible social types. The stereotype of the "average" Mexican American youth pictured him as a law breaker and an anti-socially inclined "zoot-suiter". Through observation and case analysis the role of these youth in Detroit, Michigan was studied.

Five types of roles of these youth were described, with emphasis upon their relation to their parents and their degree of assimilation into the American culture. It was concluded that empirically constructed social types of Mexican American youth diverge largely from the popular stereotype of these youth.

Summary. Cahalan and Trager found that a majority of subjects interviewed thought that Jews are different in ways other than religion from other people, and of this majority of subjects, 44 per cent attributed unfavorable characteristics to the Jews. Bettelheim and Janowitz interviewed Army veterans and found they held a stereotype which pictured the Jews as a powerful, well-organized group and a stereotype of the Negroes which stressed personally obnoxious characteristics.

Siegel observed that a rather isolated group of Guatemalan Indians held a stereotype of the Jews which pictured them as being similar to Satan in both bodily traits and conduct. Humphrey concluded that the stereotype of Mexican

American youth differs to a large degree from empirically constructed social types.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS STEREOTYPE RESEARCH

Five studies did not appear to follow any pattern in the methods employed. Two of these studies offered theoretical discussions of stereotypes, while the remaining three studies investigated other aspects of stereotypes.

Study by Fernberger. Fernberger[30] studied stereotypes of supposed sex differences held by college students. The investigator gave a lecture to an elementary psychology class in which he stressed that many supposed differences between the two sexes had not been experimentally demonstrated.

On the following day a "Psychoquiz" on the question of sex differences appeared in a popular magazine. This quiz was given to 217 undergraduate and 54 graduate students with the instructions that they were to list "men", "women", or leave the space blank in reference to sixteen statements. Examples of the statements were: "who spoiled the children" and "most intelligent". The correct response to each statement was to leave the space blank.

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[30] Samuel W. Fernberger, "Persistence of Stereotypes Concerning Sex Differences," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 43:97, January, 1948.

The students' responses revealed that they still held there to be differences between the sexes. Male and female students held quite similar attitudes toward sex differences. The attitudes toward men were that they are more intelligent, more crude, more dependent on the opposite sex, and they have all-around superiority. Students believed that women talk too much and that they are more sensative. The social basis of these stereotypes seemed universal in our culture and were apparently totally independent of sex.

Study by Sherif. Sherif[31] showed a relationship between the preference for an author and the preference for a passage of literature ascribed to that author. A list of sixteen authors was presented to a group of college students who were asked to place the authors in an order of preference.

One month later the same students were presented sixteen short literary passages judged to be of about the same literary value. Under each passage was placed the name of one of the sixteen authors. In reality all the passages were written by an author not included among the sixteen. The students were asked to rank the passages according to personal preference.

Those students who did not make a special effort to

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[31] Muzafer Sherif, "An Experimental Study of Stereotypes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 29:371, January-March, 1935.

overcome the influence of the author's name upon their preference for the passage showed a much higher correlation between order of preference for authors and order of preference for the passages than did the students who made a special effort to overcome this influence or to ignore the author's name.

It was concluded that prestige-suggestion or stereotypes play a considerable part in people's judgments. The attitudes toward authors appeared to serve as reference points. Authors rated high tended to pull up and authors rated low tended to pull down the rating of the passages attributed to them.

Study by LaViolette and Silvert. LaViolette and Silvert[32] described the development of theories of stereotypes in American thought. Perhaps the most important portion of the paper was the conclusions which were stated in the form of several questions to be tested in further research. These questions are listed below.

Stereotypes emerge from conditions of insecurity and group conflict. If this proposition be correct, how and what kinds of new ones develop, if any, when a crisis emerges?

Is it true that the harsher and more difficult are

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[32] Forest LaViolette and K. H. Silvert, "A Theory of Stereotypes," Social Forces, 29:257, March, 1951.

the processes of social change, the sharper, more widespread, and more generalized in image will be the stereotypes?

Stereotypes are one of the foci of inter-group relations. May we state, then, that the more central a stereotype is to a basic premise of group action, the more rigid it is in its structuring?

If stereotypes are used both for maintaining and changing status quo situations, isn't the idea of the contrast-conception as well as the self-conception to be studied as a variety of stereotypes?

Since differences apply both to inter-cultural and intra-cultural relations, would cross-cultural studies of stereotypes find direct application in such day-to-day matters as the conduct of foreign affairs?

The premise that stereotypes are distortions and not based upon facts and that people who stereotype are not using their intellect was questioned by the investigators.

Study by Bogardus. Bogardus[33] contrasted the concepts of stereotype and sociotype. Stereotypes are in the main the unscientific and hence unreliable generalizations that people make about other people either as persons or groups. An alternative to a stereotype is a concept which Bogardus

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[33] Emory S. Bogardus, "Stereotypes Versus Sociotypes," Sociology and Social Research, 34:286, March-April, 1950.

calls a sociotype. It is a type rarely of persons or of groups but of behavior reactions and is based upon empiric methods, adequate sampling and reliable generalizing.

Bogardus described both concepts. Stereotypes require little thought and no research; stereotyping occurs quickly and more or less blindly; stereotyping generalizes broadly on the basis of a few cases; stereotypes attach labels dogmatically; they pass judgment on superficial appearance; they are common sense procedure; they are based on wishful thinking; they are rigid; and they pass value judgments.

In contrast, sociotypes require exacting mental activity; sociotyping is cautious and requires that all data be at hand; sociotypes act on the basis of representative sampling; they qualify their generalizations; they do not act on appearance; they test common sense procedures; they are based on empirically tested data; they are fluid; and they do not pass value judgments.

Study by Bain. Bain[34] presented theoretical and empirical material concerning the stereotyped folk sayings of people. Folk sayings represent naive generalizations about man's adjustment to his physical, biological, and

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[34] Read Bain, "Verbal Stereotypes and Social Control," Sociology and Social Research, 23:431, May-June, 1939.

cultural environment. Many sayings are derived from experience with technological devices, as, "a stitch in time saves nine." Others are based upon sense experience with physical and biological objects, as, "blood is thicker than water."

If proverbs, clichés, and common sayings derive from experience with technological, physical, and biological objects, it would seem that technological and scientific changes would destroy some proverbs and create others. That is, new stereotypical verbation would appear as a result of new technoscientific ways of acting and feeling, and, having appeared, would exert a reciprocal influence on subsequent behavior.

To partially test this theory 133 students were asked to write down all the proverbs possible during an hour and mark them true, false, doubtful, or partially true.

It was found that the males gave more mechanical clichés than the females, and slightly more proverbs. The males thought more of the proverbs were false, and doubted the truth or regarded them as only partially true to a greater extent than did the females.

In reference to urban-rural location, the urban males and females were considerable more critical of the truth of the proverbs than the rural students. Urban students greatly exceeded the rural students in knowledge of mechanical clichés, whereas rural students exceeded urban students in

knowledge of proverbs. It appeared that the urban students, especially the males, had been influenced more by mechanical verbation than the rural students.

Summary. Fernberger showed that stereotypes held by college students concerning supposed sex differences persisted even though the students had been recently told that these sex differences had not been empirically demonstrated. Sherif found that students' preferences for certain authors influenced their preferences for the literary passages ascribed to these authors. LaViolette and Silvert suggested several questions which may be tested in further empirical research. Bogardus contrasted the unscientific stereotype with the scientific sociotype. Bain reported the influence of technological and scientific change upon college students through a study of their knowledge of proverbs, clichés, and common sayings.

VII. SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

Subjects Employed by the Studies. College students were employed in twenty-two of the twenty-eight studies which used subjects. This would suggest that the stereotypes found in these studies were held only by students who make up only a small portion of the total population; however, three studies employed other groups along with students as

subjects and these studies found generally that the stereotypes of these groups and the college students were quite similar. One study concluded that stereotypes issue out of a common general experience background. Thus while these studies included primarily the stereotypes of college students it has been suggested that other groups in the population may hold similar stereotypes.

Definitions employed by the studies. Seventeen of the thirty-four studies explicitly defined a stereotype. Five of the studies employed Lippmann's definition as a "picture in our heads".

The remaining studies employed a variety of definitions. Two of these definitions were as follows: Edwards defined a stereotype as a "stimulus which arouses standardized preconceptions which are influencial in determining one's response to the stimulus".[35] Gregory stated that a stereotype is composed of three major elements: an idea about the quality or status of a group; an emotional set toward the quality or status of that group; and a judgment about that group, brought about by either or both the idea or the emotional set.[36]

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[35] Edwards, "Studies of Stereotypes: I. The Directionality and Uniformity of Response to Stereotypes," op. cit.

[36] Gregory, op. cit., p. 99.

The definition of a stereotype was implied in a number of studies from the methods employed in each study. The implicit definitions appeared to follow three general patterns.

The first pattern implied that a stereotype consists of a combination of traits which are typical of certain groups. Eighteen of the total thirty-four studies followed this general pattern. The second pattern implied that a stereotype is a general agreement as to the appearance of certain social types. Six studies followed this pattern. The third pattern implied that stereotypes are terms which arouse standard emotional responses. Four of the studies followed this pattern. Six of the studies did not appear to follow any pattern.

It appears that over one-half of the studies implied that stereotypes are a combination of traits, adjectives, or characteristics which typify a group. The methods employed by these studies seemed to insure that at least five or more traits were used to typify a group.

A review of six studies concerned with the response to stereotypes revealed that the investigators considered a single term such as Wop, Nigger, patriotism, or atheist to be a stereotype. Three other studies described a single term as a stereotype. Berelson and Salter referred to such stereotypes as the "modern" housewife, the "stalwart"

college athlete, and the "darling" southern girl.[37] Cronbach found college sororities to be stereotyped by a term such as "activity hounds", "brainy", or "snobbish".[38] Lerner implied that a stereotype is a frequently appearing idea or theme.[39]

Several studies refer to a single term as a stereotype. The definition employed in this study was similar to the above studies in that a single term was considered a stereotype.

General conclusions of the studies. Stereotypes of various national, racial, and cultural groups were found to exist, as well as stereotypes of the school-teacher, the college student, and the college sorority. Negro college students were found to hold racial and national stereotypes highly similar to "white" students.

It was suggested that stereotypes of ethnic groups remain relatively stable even though the groups undergo noticeable change. It has also been noted that propaganda material appearing in movies, cartoons, radio, and magazines plays an important role in forming and perpetuating stereotypes.

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[37] Berelson and Salter, op. cit., p. 179.

[38] Cronbach, op. cit.

[39] Lerner, op. cit.

The stereotypes applied by subjects to certain nationalities appear to be unfavorable, whereas the stereotype of one's own nation is usually more complimentary and favorable. It was suggested also that familiarity with persons of another ethnic group is associated with a low degree of stereotyping and favorable responses toward that group.

Stereotypes appear to be based upon emotional factors as well as ideational factors. Emotional responses to certain political concepts and race names were found to be stereotyped.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS USED IN THIS STUDY

Source of data. The three newspapers analyzed in this study were the Albuquerque Journal, the (Taos) El Crepusculo, and the Gallup Independent. During the thirty year period from 1923 to 1953 it was found that two of the newspapers were published under different titles.

The Taos newspaper was entitled the Taos Valley News and El Crepusculo in 1921, the Taos Valley News in 1929, the Taos Valley News and Revista La Popular in 1935, the Taoseno and The Taos Review in 1941 and 1947, and El Crepusculo in 1953.

The Albuquerque newspaper was entitled the Albuquerque Morning Journal in 1923, but since 1929 it has been known as the Albuquerque Journal. Due to the fact that the Gallup Independent was not available for the year 1923, it was necessary to utilize another newspaper published in that community, the Gallup Herald.

Portions of newspaper analyzed. The news articles and editorials found on each of the pages in these newspapers were analyzed. Items not included in this analysis were classified advertisements, cartoons, columns written by national journalists, editorials written by other newspapers, and letters to the editor.

The reason for not including articles by national journalists and other newspaper editors was that stereotypes found in the three newspapers of New Mexico were being studied, and stereotypes found from other sources would not give an indication of the manner in which the Indians were pictured in the three New Mexico communities.

It was thought that there would be little space given to describing the Indian in the classified advertisements. Cartoons were not analyzed because they were found so infrequently. Letters to the editor may be written by individuals who subscribe to that specific newspaper, but who live in communities located in other areas of the country; therefore, they were excluded from the analysis.

News articles having in their headlines such words as "Indian", "Pueblo", "Navajo", or other words that might indicate that the articles were concerned with Indians were reviewed. Paragraphs, sentences, or terms which described the Indian or expressed an attitude toward the Indian were recorded on cards. The contents of all editorials were scanned, for the titles many times did not give a clue as to the character of the subject matter.

Sampling procedure. The study included the thirty year period between 1923 and 1953. A random method of sampling was employed by which newspapers from every sixth year

were chosen for study. Thus from the years 1923, 1929, 1935, 1941, 1947, and 1953 a sample of newspapers was selected. A rationale for employing this technique is proposed by Parten:

> This method precludes any chance of drawing a poor random sample such as is possible, but very rare, with the lottery technique. Selecting the sample cases at evenly spaced intervals guarantees that a cross-section of the entire universe will be secured. These intervals can be determined by counting a number of cases passed over between each one selected....[1]

The same method of sampling at equal intervals was employed to select newspaper issues within each of the six years.

The Taos newspaper was published weekly, whereas the Albuquerque and Gallup newspapers were published daily; thus a different sample size was selected from the weekly newspaper than was selected from the two daily newspapers.

It would have been desirable to sample an equal number of issues from each of the newspapers, for when the results were compiled the three newspapers could have been directly compared. However to select a representative sample from the daily newspapers, a large sample would have been selected from the weekly newspaper, yet if a representative sample was selected from the weekly newspaper the sample size of the daily newspapers would be grossly inadequate.

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[1] Mildred Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 266.

It was decided that one of every five issues would be sampled from the weekly newspaper, and that one of every ten issues would be sampled from the two daily newspapers.

The Albuquerque newspaper was published seven days a week, whereas the Gallup newspaper was published only six days a week. The Sunday editions of the Albuquerque newspaper and the Indian ceremonial editions of the Gallup newspaper were excluded from this study in an attempt to equate the two daily newspapers as much as possible. It was thought that this exclusion would not have any noticeable effects on the results of the study, for if the newspaper reflects certain attitudes toward the Indian and descriptions of the Indian, it would seem unlikely that these attitudes and descriptions would be different in Sunday and Indian ceremonial editions than in the weekday editions.

The following procedure was used in selecting a sample from the three newspapers. To select issues from the Taos newspaper, five cards of equal size were chosen and numbered from one through five. The cards were shuffled and then one card was drawn. The card had number four written on it, so issue number four was selected as the first issue of the first year to be sampled.

Further issues were chosen by counting an interval of five from the first issue and selecting each fifth issue throughout the year. A continuation of the intervals was carried over from each year to the next year so that a

reliable random sample would be selected.[2] A total sample of sixty-two issues was selected from the Taos newspaper.

The same procedure was utilized to select a sample from the Gallup and Albuquerque newspapers, except that ten cards were used because the sample was to include every tenth issue. The card, drawn from the total ten cards, had the number one written on it, so issue number one of the first year was the first issue to be sampled.

Every tenth issue was selected for study, with the exception of Sunday issues which were excluded. Thus from the dates of the newspapers selected it would appear that every eleventh or twelfth issue was selected, but this was due to the fact that Sunday was not counted in selecting every tenth issue.

Later it was found that the Gallup newspaper was published weekly during the years 1923 and 1929, thus for these two years the sample size was changed to every fifth issue. During the final two months of 1929 the newspaper was published semiweekly so that in selecting every fifth issue a slightly larger number of issues were selected during this year than in 1923.

Thus a total sample of 147 issues was selected from the Gallup newspaper, whereas a total sample of 187 issues

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[2] Ibid.

TABLE I

DATES SAMPLED FROM THE ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL
1923-1953

Months	1923	1929	1935	1941	1947	1953
January	11 23	8 19 31	4 16 28	1 13 24	9 21	6 17 29
February	3 15 27	12 23	8 20	5 17 28	1 13 25	10 21
March	10 22	7 19 30	4 15 27	12 24	8 20	5 17 28
April	3 14 26	11 23	8 19	4 16 28	1 12 24	9 21
May	8 19 31	4 16 28	1 13 24	9 21	6 17 29	2 14 26
June	12 23	8 20	5 17 28	2 13 25	10 21	6 18 30
July	5 17 28	2 13 25	10 22	7 18 30	3 15 26	11 23
August	9 21	6 17 29	2 14 26	11 22	7 19 30	4 15 27
September	1 13 25	10 21	6 18 30	3 15 26	11 23	8 19
October	6 18 30	3 15 26	11 23	8 20 31	4 16 28	1 13 24
November	10 22	7 19 30	4 15 27	12 24	8 20	5 17 28
December	4 15 27	12 24	9 20	5 17 29	2 13 24*	10 22

* December 25, 1947, was selected to be sampled; however no newspaper was published on that date.

TABLE II

DATES SAMPLED FROM THE GALLUP INDEPENDENT
1923-1953

Months	1923	1929	1935	1941	1947	1953
January	20	4	4 16 28	2[x] 13 24	9 21	6 17 29
February	24	8	8 20	5 17 28	1 13 25	10 21
March	31	15	4 15 27	12 24	8 20	5 17 28
April		26	8 19	4 16 28	1 12 24	9 21
May	5	31	1 13 24	9 21	6 17 29	2 14 26
June	9		5 17 28	2 13 25	10 21	6 18 30
July	21*	5	10 22	7 18 30	3 15 26	11 23
August	18	9	2 14 26	12[y] 22	7 19 30	4 15 27
September	22	13	6 18 30	3 15 26	11 23	8 19
October	27	18	11 23	8 20 31	4 16 28	1 13 24
November		15	4 15 27	12 24	8 20	5 17 28
December	1	3 20	9 20	5 17 29	2 13 24[z]	10 22

* July 14, 1923, was selected to be sampled, but that newspaper issue was not available.

[x] January 1, 1941, was selected to be sampled, but no newspaper was published on that date.

[y] August 11, 1941, was selected to be sampled; however this date was the annual Indian Ceremonial issue and included four editions. By analyzing these four editions, a large number of Indian articles would have been found. It was thought that this would make the year 1941 differ greatly from the other years sampled, when in reality the only noticeable difference between this year and other years would be this one issue.

[z] December 25, 1947 was selected to be sampled, but no newspaper was published on that date.

TABLE III

DATES SAMPLED FROM EL CREPUSCULO
1921-1953

Months	1921	1929	1935	1941	1947	1953
January	25	9*16	31	16	2	22
February		28		20	6	26
March	1		7	27	13	
April	5	2	11		17	2
May	10	6	15	1	22	7
June	14	11	20	5	26	11
July	19	15	25	10	31	16
August	23	19	29	14		20
September	27	24		18	4	24
October		28	3	23	9	29
November	1	26x	7	27	13	
December	6		12		18	3

* January 9, 1929, was selected because the January newspapers up to that date were torn so that only a portion of those issues were readable.

x November 25, 1929, was selected to be sampled, but no newspaper was published on that date.

was selected from the Albuquerque newspaper. The total sample selected from the three newspapers was 396 issues.

In carrying out the sampling of the Taos newspaper, it was found that the newspapers published in 1923 were not available. The nearest available years were 1921 and 1926, thus, 1921 was chosen as the year to be sampled.

Pilot study. A pilot study was made in an attempt to determine if stereotypes of the Indian would be found in the three newspapers in the actual study. The years to be reviewed in the pilot study were not chosen systematically. The issues within the years were selected by beginning with the last day in December and reviewing each consecutive date throughout December, and in some cases November and October.

Later newspaper issues were sampled from each month of the year, and finally, the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth date were selected from each month of the year. Thus, it was not until the latter portion of the pilot study that a system was utilized. It is now realized that if a system had been employed, the pilot study would have required less time and would have been more valuable.

Ten years were reviewed in the pilot study of the Gallup Independent, and a different number of issues was selected from each of the years. All of the pages of the

newspapers were scanned and articles about Indians which contained descriptions of the Indians or reflected attitudes toward the Indians were recorded on cards.

In 1928, one issue was selected; in 1929, ten issues were selected; 1930, four issues; 1933, twenty-five issues; 1941, eleven issues; 1944, twenty issues; 1945, thirty-two issues; 1946, seventeen issues; 1947, four issues; and, 1951, seven issues. A total of 131 issues of the Gallup Independent were reviewed in the pilot study.

Only four years were reviewed in El Crepusculo because these were the only issues available in Albuquerque, where the pilot study was made. In 1949, eight issues were selected; 1950, four issues; 1952, eight issues; and, 1953, thirty-six issues. A total of fifty-six issues were reviewed in the pilot study of El Crepusculo.

The impression gained from the two newspapers in the pilot study was that perhaps stereotypes of the Indian were present. It seemed as if El Crepusculo pictured the Indian as being colorful and picturesque, while the Gallup Independent viewed the Indian as a problem.

A small sample was selected from the Albuquerque Journal in the pilot study because it was thought less likely that stereotypes of the Indian would be found in this newspaper. The fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth dates of a month were selected in this newspaper. In 1935,

nine issues were selected, whereas in 1953 only four issues were selected. Rather than complete the pilot study of this newspaper, the actual study was begun by selecting every tenth issue from each sixth year.

Revisions in methods throughout the study. The methods first visualized and the methods finally employed in this study were quite different, because it was necessary to revise them continually as the study progressed.

Some knowledge of past research studies, as well as an acquaintance with the data to be analyzed, was required before adequate hypotheses were advanced in this study. The hypotheses were revised several times over a period of three months before three statements which could be tested in this study were finally synthesized.

A revision was necessary in the method of determining the sample size to be selected from the newspapers. Formulas were available by which it would have been possible to calculate the size of a sample which is adequate for a given population; however, it was found that these formulas require an estimation of the amount of data expected to be found. In this study it was impossible to have an estimation of the amount of data to be found in the newspapers, so after some research into these formulas it was decided to set an arbitrary number as the sample size.

The most revision was necessary in the methods employed to analyze the newspapers. From the pilot study certain traits of the Indian and attitudes toward the Indian were found. Using these traits and attitudes as a basis, a set of categories was constructed so that in the actual sampling most of the data could be readily placed into the categories. It seemed as if this would lessen the amount of time in sampling.

Categories consisting of traits ascribed to the Indian were constructed. This included approximately twenty-four traits concerning the status of the Indian in reference to economics, politics, religion, health, and culture. The categories were not considered inclusive, and were constructed with the idea that traits could be added, removed, or modified as it became necessary. Several of the traits were destitute, prosperous; uneducated, educated; diseased, healthy;and backward, civilized. Two opposite traits, such as destitute and prosperous, were listed so that the frequency with which either of the traits occurred could be compared.

Categories concerning the attitudes toward the Indian were constructed. The categories represented attitudes toward the present economic, political, religious, health, and cultural status of the Indian and were based upon six frames

of references by which people view race relations.[3]

The Apologist category referred to statements which defend or approve of the present status of the Indian or disapprove of any change in the status quo. The Reformer category included any statements which hold that the present status of the Indian is undesirable and that some change is in order. The Pluralist attitude holds it undesirable for the Indian to change or Americanize his culture, but desirable for the Indian to retain his traditional culture; whereas, the Assimilationist attitude holds, conversely, that it is desirable for the Indian to change or Americanize his culture. The Realist attitude tells of change which is taking place in the status of the Indian without stating whether this is desirable or undesirable. Finally, the Strategist attitude proclaims the most effective means of either retaining or changing the Indian status.

Using the above categories as a basis, the following operational definition of a stereotype was constructed: A stereotype of the Indian includes personal and group traits of the Indian found in the newspapers; attitudes reflected in the newspaper about the traits of the Indian and the Indian himself; and the favorable or unfavorable connotation of the traits in reference to the attitudes reflected.

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[3] Brewton Berry, Race Relations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951), pp. 8-15.

This definition was to function in the following manner. Suppose that one trait of the Indian found in the newspaper was that they are becoming Americanized, and that an attitude was also found in the newspaper that approved of the Indian's becoming Americanized; then using this attitude as a criterion, one could state that the trait of Americanization has a favorable connotation. However, if in this same newspaper an attitude was found that the Indians should retain their traditional culture and it was used as a criterion, then the trait of Americanization would have an unfavorable connotation.

Soon after the sampling began it became evident that the data found in the newspapers could not be easily placed in these elaborate categories. The categories referring to attitudes toward the Indian were reduced to the following three: A Status Quo category which included statements which approve of the present status of the Indian or disapprove of any change in the status quo; a Change category which included statements which disapprove of the present status of the Indian or approve of any change in status; and an Indifferent category which included articles about Indians which did not express any attitudes about the status of the Indian.

After further sampling it became evident that these a priori categories were not adequate to include all the

data found in the newspapers. In most instances the data did not fit into the categories because it was found to be so varied. At times it was difficult to determine into which category a specific item should be placed. The remainder of the data was collected by recording it on cards.

Because of the use of categories in the first portion of the sampling it was necessary to repeat this portion of sampling to insure that all relevant data was collected. In this study the construction of a priori categories and the use of these categories in collecting data resulted in a loss of time which might have been profitably used in other areas of the study.

It was necessary to revise the operational definition of a stereotype when the categories were found to be inadequate. The operational definition finally employed in this study was not decided upon until the data had been collected and had been partially reviewed.

The final operational definition was as follows: A stereotype is a term which is found frequently in a newspaper to describe the Indians as a group. The data was collected from the newspapers by recording it on cards, and the method of analyzing the collected data is described under the next subheading in this chapter.

Thus in this study a certain amount of revision was necessary in reference to hypotheses, method of determining the sample size, method of analyzing the newspapers, and the operational definition.

Method of determining a stereotype. The following method was employed in this study to determine whether or not a term was a stereotype. The frequency of the terms used to describe the Indians was totaled for a given year. Next, the frequency of articles about each of the Indian groups was totaled for that year. An Indian group is operationally defined in this study as those Indians known by a single name such as Navajo, Hopi, Zuni, Santa Clara or Taos.

The terms which described a specific Indian group were totaled and the number of articles about this specific Indian group were totaled. The number of articles about this specific Indian group served as a criterion to determine whether this term occurred frequently enough to be a stereotype. A term must have occurred three times during a given year and one-third as frequently as the number of articles about this specific Indian group to be considered a stereotype.

To illustrate this method, suppose that the term "redman" was found to describe the Navajo Indians three times during a given year, and eight articles about the Navajos were found during that year. Using the total of eight

articles as a criterion, it would be found that the term "redman" occurred one-third as often as the number of articles about Navajos and also occurred three times during the year; therefore the term "redman" would be considered a stereotype.

The reason for using the frequency of three as a criterion for determining a stereotype was that it was necessary to use a small number because only a few terms were found which described a specific group of Indians over three times during a given year.

The criterion of one-third was chosen because the operational definition of a stereotype states that a term must appear frequently. Had the criterion been lowered to one-seventh only two other terms would have been considered stereotypes, but this criterion might easily be questioned as to whether a term occurring one-seventh of the time could be considered frequent. Thus the more rigid criterion of one-third was employed.

Pages on which Indian articles were found. In analyzing the data an attempt was made to determine the number of Indian articles which were to be found on page one and the editorial page. If a large percentage of the articles were to be found on these two pages perhaps further research with the newspapers would need only analyze these pages to obtain a reliable portion of the data.

In the Taos newspaper, over one-half of the articles, thirty-two of the total fifty-nine, were found on page one and on the editorial page. Only one of the thirty-two articles was found on the editorial page.

In the Gallup newspaper approximately two-thirds of the articles, one hundred fifty-two of the total two hundred twenty-two, were found on these two pages. Sixteen of the one hundred fifty-two articles were found on the editorial page.

In the Albuquerque newspaper less than one-third of the articles, fifty-four of a total of one hundred sixty-seven, were found on page one and the editorial page. Ten of the fifty-four articles were found on the editorial page.

These results are only quantitative and do not give any indication of the quality of the articles found on page one and the editorial page; however, it would seem that articles appearing on these two pages would be considered rather important by the individual who edits the newspaper.

Whether the percentage of articles found on these two pages in each of the newspapers would be a reliable portion of the articles in each newspaper is left unanswered in this study.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THIS STUDY

I. RESULTS OF THIS STUDY

Analysis of the newspapers. The data sampled from the three newspapers was analyzed using the operational definition of a stereotype and the method of determining a stereotype.

The Taos newspaper revealed no stereotypes in five of the six years sampled. In 1929, a series of articles entitled "The Artist Colony Corner" appeared in the Taos newspaper and was devoted to describing paintings by local artists. One description, which pictured the Indians on horseback, appeared frequently enough to be considered a stereotype; however, the description was considered a factual account of the paintings and not a stereotype of the Indian in the newspaper. It appears from the data sampled that no stereotypes of the Indian are present in the Taos newspaper.

The Gallup newspaper revealed only one stereotype of the Indian. In 1941, this stereotype pictured the Indians as"redmen". "Indians" as used by the newspaper did not refer to any specific group of Indians, but only to the Indian people in general. It may be questioned as to whether the term "redmen" described the Indian or is only

another name for the Indian, but the former connotation of the term was employed in this study.

Two terms appeared frequently in the Gallup newspaper, but were not considered stereotypes. "Brave" and "squaw" were not considered stereotypes because they do not describe the Indians as a group, but only the males and females, respectively. Also the terms were employed in several articles to refer to individual Indians which again would not describe the Indians as a group.

The following terms appeared in 1947 to describe the Navajo Indians, but were not frequent enough to be stereotypes: "starving", "starvation", "needy", and "destitute". Two phrases were found in the articles referring to the Navajos, yet they were not thought to be descriptions of the Indians. The phrases were: "plight of the Navajos", and "Navajo problems".

The only stereotype which appeared in the Gallup newspaper pictured the Indian as "redmen". This stereotype appeared in only one of the six years sampled.

The Albuquerque newspaper frequently revealed the terms "brave" and "squaw" during the year 1923, but again these terms were not considered stereotypes. The term "destitute" was used to describe the Navajo Indians in

several articles during the year 1947, but it was not frequent enough to be a stereotype.

In summary, the stereotype found in the Gallup newspaper occurred in only one year and did not seem to warrant the generalization that a stereotype of the Indian is present in that newspaper. In both the Taos and Albuquerque newspapers no stereotypes were evident. From the analysis of the data, using the operational definition of a stereotype and the method of determining a stereotype, it appears that no stereotypes of the Indian are present in the three newspapers of Albuquerque, Gallup, and Taos.

Subjects of Indian articles in the newspapers. An attempt was made to determine if any differences appeared in the presentation of the Indian in the three newspapers. The subjects of the articles about Indians were compiled to see what aspects of Indian life were emphasized in the newspapers. This would serve as a rough measure of any differences that might be found between the three newspapers.

Table IV shows the subjects emphasized in the articles found in the three newspapers. There was no strict criterion used in compiling the subjects of the articles so the following statements may give some indication as to the meaning of the subjects listed in the table.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN THE THREE NEWSPAPERS
WHICH EMPHASIZED VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Subjects	Albuquerque	Gallup	Taos
Economics	27	44	1
Politics	23	23	1
Education	14	13	1
Health	2	2	1
Crime	13	9	
Liquor	6	15	1
Religious Dances	13	27	22
Indian Art and Artists	2		14
No Pattern	67	89	18
Totals	167	222	59

Economics may refer to tribal business dealings, economic relief and aid to the Indians, or economic conditions on the reservations. Politics may refer to political activities of the tribal councils, national and state Indian legislation, or Indian Bureau affairs. Education may refer to the educational status of the Indians or the need for schools among the Indians. Health may refer to the status of the Indians in reference to disease, death rates, or hospital facilities.

Crime refers to descriptions of crimes committed by Indians. Liquor may refer to discussions of whether Indians should have the right to buy liquor, descriptions of the bootlegging of liquor to the Indians, or reports of Indians' buying liquor. Religious Dances refers to descriptions or notices of various Indian ceremonials, fiestas, or religious celebrations. Indian Art and Artists may refer to descriptions of Indian artists and craftsmen, works of art which Indians produced, or paintings of Indians. Many of the articles were so varied in subjects that they could not be readily placed into categories, so they were listed as having No Pattern.

Table IV indicates that the Taos newspaper placed greatest emphasis upon Religious Dances and Indian Art and Artists. The Albuquerque and Gallup newspapers emphasized

Economics, Politics, Education, and Religious Dances. It appears that the subjects emphasized in the Albuquerque and Gallup newspapers were somewhat similar, whereas they appear to be quite dissimilar from the subjects emphasized in the Taos newspaper. The Taos newspaper apparently emphasized different aspects of Indian life that did the other two newspapers; however, this does not necessarily imply that the Taos Indians differ markedly from the other Pueblo and Navajo Indians.

Indian groups described in the newspapers. It was thought that perhaps this difference in subjects was due to the fact that the newspapers were located near different Indians and thus the descriptions of the Indians were different. This was found to have some basis when the newspapers were analyzed.

Approximately one-half of the articles found in the Taos newspaper described the Taos Indians and nearly one-sixth of the articles described various Pueblo Indians. The Navajo Indians were mentioned in only four articles.

The Gallup newspaper described the Navajo Indians in over one-half of the articles found in that newspaper. The various Pueblo Indians were mentioned in only approximately one-tenth of the articles.

The Albuquerque newspaper devoted a nearly equal number of articles to the Navajo Indians and to the various Pueblo Indians. The articles describing the Navajo and

Pueblo Indians combined totaled nearly two-thirds of the articles found in that newspaper.

In summary, the Taos newspaper seemed to describe primarily the Taos Indians; the Gallup newspaper emphasized articles referring to the Navajo Indians; and the Albuquerque newspaper appeared to devote nearly the same number of articles to both the Pueblo and Navajo Indians.

This emphasis upon the different Indians appeared to be related to the location of the newspapers. Gallup is located near the Navajo Indian reservation, whereas Taos is located within a few miles of the Taos Pueblo. Albuquerque is located nearly at a midpoint between the towns of Gallup and Taos, and is the metropolitan center of the state.

Interviews with editors of the newspapers. The results of this study, that apparently no stereotypes of the Indian are present in the three newspapers, seem to differ somewhat from the findings of other research, for stereotypes have been found in newspapers as well as other forms of communication media.

It seemed possible that the editors of the three newspapers might have some explanation for the findings of this study. Editors of the Albuquerque Journal and the Albuquerque Tribune were interviewed, and letters were written to the editors of the Gallup Independent and

El Crepusculo. The interviews were similar in scope to the letters written, which are partially reproduced as follows:

> The study has been an attempt to see if patterned phrases[1] such as backward, religious, ignorant, colorful, poverty-stricken, or lazy are used in the newspapers to describe the Indians.
>
> The results show that no patterned phrases of this type appear in the three newspapers studied. It seems rather important in the study to gain some ideas as to why the results showed no patterned phrases. Would it be possible for you to share with me any reasons that you think may account for the fact that these patterned phrases do not appear in the newspapers? Do certain editorial policies regulate the manner in which racial and cultural groups are described in the news articles? Are editors definitely aware of such patterned phrases and remove them from the news articles?

An impression was gained from the interviews and letters that the editors feel a sense of responsibility to the readers to present the news factually. One editor stated that he had never had occasion to use such patterned phrases, while another felt that such phrases were not an essential part of the story. It appeared as if some editors were rather surprised that one should expect to find such phrases in the newspapers.

One journalist pointed out that perhaps an evidence of bias in the newspapers of the New Mexico area is that they identify the race of the individual Indian in the headlines and news articles while Negroes and Spanish-Americans are

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[1] The term "stereotype" was not used in the letter because journalists use this term in describing a process of printing, and there may have been some confusion regarding its definition.

not identified in a similar manner. Editors have pointed out that the race of an individual is identified only when it is essential to the story, or when it is a favorable report of the individual and the race. Examples of these two situations were given as when a crime is committed and the cause appears to be due to racial prejudice, or when an Indian obtains a high academic degree.

It would seem rather difficult to determine precisely when mentioning a race name is essential to a story. However it seems that the editors make a serious effort to present the Indian, as well as other ethnic groups, in a factual and unbiased manner. Perhaps this effort on the part of editors to present ethnic groups factually may be a reason why no stereotypes of the Indian were found in the newspapers.

Influence of methods upon the results of this study. Before concluding this study it would seem important to point out the influence that the methods employed may have upon the results of this study. Rather than concluding that it appears that no stereotypes of the Indian are present in the three newspapers analyzed, it may be possible that the techniques employed in this study were not adequate to isolate stereotypes of the Indian.

The sample size and procedure may not have included enough newspapers to adequately represent the thirty year

period. The operational definition and the method of analyzing the data may have been too rigid for this type of material.

If methods had been employed by which it would have been possible to "read between the lines" and analyze the implicit material in the newspapers, perhaps some stereotypes would have been found; however it is thought that this method is rather subjective, for when one "reads between the lines" it is possible that he will also read into the material his own bias or the results which he wishes to find.

It is the impression of the investigator that the methods employed in this study were adequate for the purpose of isolating stereotypes and that the methods employed in this study were reliable, such that another person could repeat this study and find similar results.

When a study concludes that stereotypes are present or not present in a newspaper or other communication media, it would seem necessary to review both the operational definition of a stereotype and the method of analyzing the data, for these factors will influence to a certain extent the findings of the study. There is some variation in both the definition of a stereotype and the method of analysis employed in previous research studies, so it would appear that one must state that the findings of a study suggest

that stereotypes are present or not present in reference to the methods employed in that specific study.

Summary of results. In reference to the methods employed in this study, it appears that no stereotypes of the Indian are present in the three newspapers analyzed. In an attempt to see if any differences existed between the three newspapers, it was found that the Taos newspaper emphasized different aspects of Indian life than were emphasized in the Albuquerque and Gallup newspapers. This different emphasis in the Taos newspaper seemed related to the finding that this newspaper described primarily the Taos Indians, whereas the Gallup newspaper described primarily the Navajo Indians and the Albuquerque newspaper described both the Navajo and Pueblo Indians.

Interviews with the editors of the three newspapers revealed that these editors feel a responsibility to the readers to present the Indians factually in the news. This effort by editors to present the Indians factually may account for the finding that apparently no stereotypes of the Indian are present in the newspapers analyzed. It was noted that the methods employed in this study may have influenced to some extent the findings of this study.

II. CONCLUSIONS OF THIS STUDY

Conclusions in reference to the hypotheses. The hypothesis stated earlier in this study that stereotypes of the Indian are present in the newspapers of Albuquerque, Gallup, and Taos, New Mexico, is not substantiated by the results of this study. It appears that no stereotypes of the Indian are present in the three newspapers.

The hypothesis that the stereotypes of the Indian have remained stable during the past thirty years does not appear to be substantiated because no stereotypes of the Indian were found in the newspapers.

The third hypothesis that the stereotypes of the Indian differ in each of the newspapers does not appear to be substantiated for the same reason.

Final conclusions. It is concluded, in reference to the operational definition and methods employed in this study, that stereotypes of the Indian do not appear to be present in the newspapers of Albuquerque, Gallup, and Taos, New Mexico. Standard terms used to describe the Indian people have not appeared frequently in these three newspapers during the past thirty years.

A possible explanation as to why no stereotypes of the Indian were found present in the newspapers may be the serious attempt by the editors of the three newspapers to present the Indians factually.

It was the impression of the investigator that if the people living in the three communities were asked to describe the Indians or were asked to choose traits which typify the Indians, definite stereotypes of the Indian would be found; however, the results of this study revealed no stereotypes of the Indians in the newspapers of the three communities. It appears that this study has raised some question as to the validity of the assumption that the newspapers of a community reflect the attitudes and feelings of the people living in that community.

It is suggested from the results of this study that perhaps the newspapers of New Mexico are striving towards more factual presentation of the news. Should other scientific research also gain this impression from studying the newspaper, it would seem that writers in the social sciences should recognize this more factual status of the newspapers to a greater extent than it is recognized today.

III. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Stereotypes in the newspaper and the community. Several suggestions for further research have developed from

this study. First, it would seem important to see if the assumption that a newspaper reflects the stereotypes held by the people living in a given community may actually be substantiated. Perhaps an investigator could compare the stereotypes of the Indian present in the newspaper with the stereotypes of the Indian held by people living in that community. If no stereotypes are present in the newspaper, it would seem of importance to see if the people of that community also hold no stereotypes.

A suggested hypothesis is that while the newspapers of Albuquerque, Gallup, and Taos, New Mexico, do not appear to present stereotypes of the Indian, people living in these three communities do hold stereotypes of the Indian.

A study could include a random sample of people from each socioeconomic level in the community, or perhaps a random sample of people who subscribe to the newspapers studied.

It was suggested in this study that there may possibly be a stereotype of the Indian in the classified advertisements and cartoons found in the Albuquerque Journal. "Pronto", an Indian cartoon character, is used by several business firms in advertising. This character is also found in the cartoon, "This is New Mexico". This suggests that studies of stereotypes using newspapers might profitable analyze the classified advertisements and cartoons.

Variation of the technique used by Katz and Braly. A second research project that might be undertaken would be to follow the technique used by Katz and Braly and other investigators in which subjects were asked to choose five or ten traits to describe ten ethnic groups.[1] It would seem possible to include the ten ethnic groups that have been studied in past research and add to them the Indian group, such that subjects could choose traits to describe the Indian group as well as the other groups.

This might involve asking a group of independent judges to list a number of traits of the Indian, then choosing the most frequently listed traits to add to the list of eighty-four traits already used in past research. It would also seem important to have the subjects list whether a given trait was favorable, neutral, or unfavorable so that the affective tone of the stereotypes could be determined.

University students might be employed as subjects in such a study so that stereotypes held by students in the southwest might be compared with stereotypes held by the students who have been studied in other areas of the United States.

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[1] Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28:280, October-December, 1933.

Variation of the technique used by Bayton. A variation of the second research project that might be employed is the use of Indian subjects to choose traits which characterize the ten ethnic groups, as well as traits which characterize the Indian. This project would follow a technique employed by Bayton in which he asked Negro college students to choose traits of the ten ethnic groups, the "typical" Negro, and the Negro college student.[2] A similar project using Indian students would be an inter-cultural study and may yield stereotypes differing from previous research findings. It may be of value to employ Indian, Spanish-American, and Anglo subjects to see if the three groups hold different stereotypes.

Variation of the technique used by Cobb. A third study could be designed following the technique used by Cobb in which he compared the degree of stereotyping regarding the Japanese that was done by students who reported direct personal contact with Japanese people and by students who were relatively unfamiliar with the Japanese people as individuals.[3]

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[2] James A. Bayton, "The Racial Stereotype of Negro College Students", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 36:97, January, 1941.

[3] Walter J. Cobb, "Personal Familiarity and Variations in Stereotypes Regarding Japanese", Sociology and Social Research, 33:441, July-August, 1949.

Subjects who have had personal contact with the Indians could be compared with subjects who have had relatively little contact with the Indians in reference to the stereotypes held of the Indians. The results of this study could be compared with Cobb's results.

Research in other communication media. Other research projects could be carried out using different communication media. Novels written about the southwest may contain stereotypes of the Indian. An analysis of the white's stereotyping of the Negroes was carried out by Sterling Brown in which he isolated the stereotypes of the Negroes in various periods of history as reflected in novels of those periods.[4]

Walter states that:

> The Amerindian has been at various times and places, from the point of view of white European peoples, an ignorant savage to be enslaved if possible, a benighted soul to be saved by Christian instruction, a deadly and treacherous enemy to be killed on sight, and the noble Redman to be emulated in his virtues.[5]

These varying points of view may be reflected in novels, historical books, and historical documents found in the various periods of history.

The Spanish-American press and other publications by Spanish-American authors could be studied in an attempt to

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[4] George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 630.

[5] Paul A.F. Walter, Jr., Race and Culture Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), p. 16.

see if this ethnic group holds stereotypes of the Indian, and if so, how these stereotypes picture the Indian. If such studies were made it would seem valuable to compare the stereotypes or lack of stereotypes in the various media.

Testing a hypothesis. The hypothesis quoted earlier in this study would seem important to test. The hypothesis states that:

> ...in this century there has been a rough correlation between the attitudes of white people and their proximity to the Indians. By this we suggest that the concept of the Indian as a noble, mistreated person is more frequently found among those white people whose picture of the Indians has been derived from secondary sources; whereas, the notion picturing the Indian as an inferior, lazy fellow is more widely prevalent among whites living in areas close to reservations.[6]

It would seem possible to test this hypothesis through either analyzing communication media produced in areas located at various distances from the Indians, or interviewing people who live various distances from the Indians.

In reference to future research projects, it seems fruitful to review past studies to determine if the techniques of these studies might be applied in a research project to the ethnic group that is to be studied.

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[6] Charles F. Marden, Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1952), p. 332.

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