

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL  
AND ETHNIC STEREOTYPING

by  
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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of  
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### Abstract

This study extended Rotter's (1966) locus of control construct and scale to the area of ethnic stereotyping. Three separate samples, 88 summer introductory students, 67 regular session introductory students, and 59 upper level students were administered Rotter's (1966) I-E scale, Edwards (1957) Social Desirability Scale, a modified version of the Katz and Braly (1933) stereotype assessment technique and a familiarity measure. Results did not yield any I-E differences in stereotyping intensity. Familiarity information in reference to the nationalities had a significant effect indicating that low and highly familiar groups receive the most intense stereotypes. Furthermore, results indicated that university students endorse many traditional ethnic stereotypes with a high level of intensity.

These results have been discussed with reference to the lack of I-E differences, the kernel of truth controversy in stereotyping, and the information processing paradigm. The data indicate that stereotyping appears to be a very powerful phenomenon in our culture possibly overpowering many personality differences.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the past, Rotter's (1966) locus of control construct has been related to such personality and behavioral dimensions as conformity (e.g., Odell, 1959), insightfulness and information seeking behavior (e.g., Davis & Phares, 1967), resistance to influence attempts (e.g., Biondo & MacDonald, 1971) and dogmatism (e.g., Clouser & Hjelle, 1970). It has not, though, been investigated with respect to the variable of ethnic stereotyping. This application is proposed to be a logical extension of I-E research and constitutes the major emphasis of the present study.

The locus of control construct is traced in its development from social learning theory and subsequently discussed in terms of its relationship to variables relevant to stereotyping behavior. Stereotyping itself is also discussed with the major emphasis on measurement and operationalization. Furthermore, the variable of familiarity is related to stereotyping intensity.

#### Social Learning Theory and Locus of Control

Social learning theory has developed as a molar theory with the purpose of integrating stimulus-response and cognitive theories in psychology. It attempts to look at both the acquisition of personality characteristics and cognitive processes as well as emphasizing content. Julian B. Rotter (1954) developed a version of social learning theory that focuses on the interaction of the person with his meaningful environment as the important unit of investigation.

Rotter's social learning theory is strongly learning oriented and does not require constructs from outside the field of psychology for explanation. Furthermore, it is based upon the empirical law of effect (Thorndike, 1935) and the expectancy of reinforcement. These two foundations of the theory indicate how the theory attempts to integrate learning and cognitive approaches to behavioral analysis. Drive reduction, defined as the reduction of a drive upon reinforcement, is avoided in social learning theory which maintains that behavior is too complex for such a simplistic approach. "A stimulus complex has reinforcing properties to the extent that it influences movement toward or away from a goal" (Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972, p. 9). In this matter, the theory allows for such cognitive components as love or the need for recognition to cite but a few examples. In predicting the direction of behavior, the needs (person directed) and/or the goals (environment directed) are important as a function of the person interacting with his environment.

The second foundation of social learning theory lies in expectancy or the anticipation that reinforcement will occur. Behavior is not only a function of the importance of the goal, but also of the probability of attaining the goal. It may be very important for John to finish college and receive a degree but due to a lack of ability he continually fails. According to social learning theory, John's behavior should soon reflect this as a function of his low expectancy of attaining his goal with a possible



result being the abandonment of his education pursuits or irreal behavior, ignoring the reality of the situation.

The prediction of behavior in a particular situation employs the concepts of behavior potential, expectancy, and reinforcement value. This can be presented in the mathematical formula:

$$BP = f (E \& R.V.) \quad (\text{Rotter, Chance \& Phares, 1972})$$

This may be read: The potential for the emission of one form of behavior (BP) in contrast to other available alternatives is a function of expectancy (E) and reinforcement value (R.V.). Expectancy is the subjective concept of the probability of occurrences of reinforcement as a function of a particular behavior. The reinforcement value refers to the individual's reinforcement preference, assuming that there exists an equal opportunity to attain alternative reinforcements. This formula though deals only with the prediction of behavior in particular situations, and depends upon very specific reinforcements.

In order to extend behavioral prediction from a particular situation to a more general form of prediction covering varied and diverse situations it is necessary to use the new concepts of need potential, need value and freedom of movement (Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972). This applies to settings where behavior is dependent upon more than a single specific reinforcement in order for it to occur. Thus interest now can be focused on more general dimensions. Locus of control is one such dimension that will be shown to involve this prediction over varied situations.

Basically, need potential, need value and freedom of movement are broader classifications of behavior potential, reinforcement value and expectancy used in the previously explained approach to prediction in particular situations. This approach is more generalized and less specific than the situational approach. The term need potential refers to "the mean potentiality of a group of behavior potentials" (Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972, p. 11). Need value is defined as the mean preference value of a set of functionally related reinforcements. This can be viewed as essentially the same as reinforcement value but on a more encompassing level than reinforcement value. Finally, freedom of movement, similar to situational expectancy, refers to the anticipation of satisfaction as a function of employing a set of behaviors directed at a set of potential reinforcements. Generalized expectancies for particular behaviors which in turn lead to particular reinforcements define a need. These generalized expectancies extend across different need areas (Rotters, 1967).

Two forms of "generalized" expectancies discussed by Rotter (1954) are interpersonal trust and locus of control. Man, being a social animal, tends to categorize on many dimensions of which these are two. To trust in an individual or not can be a characteristic that generalizes across situations and thus be important for subsequent behavior. The valence of this characteristic depends upon the person's learning history. Similarly, one's belief in whether the events in one's life are a consequence of his behaviors or unrelated to his behaviors can also generalize

across situations (Rotter, 1966, 1975). This latter dimension, locus of control, shall be looked at in more depth.

### Locus of Control

The degree to which a person feels that his reinforcements are under his own control will influence the way in which an individual interprets events and reinforcements that occur with respect to himself. Rotter (1966) introduced the terms internal and external control to differentiate individuals on the degree to which they feel in control of their reinforcements. Internal control refers to the perception that an "event is contingent upon (one's) own behavior" (Rotter, 1966, p. 1). If the reinforcement following an action is perceived as "not being entirely contingent upon (one's) actions, then...it is typically perceived as the result of luck, chance, fate; as under the control of powerful others" (Rotter, 1966, p. 1). This perception refers to an external locus of control. Rotter (1966) hypothesized that an individual's generalized expectancy pertaining to causal relationships would have an effect on numerous behaviors in diverse situations as well as being related to many personality dimensions. Evidence strongly supports this (e.g., Joe, 1971; Prociuk & Lussier, 1975).

### The I-E Scale in Relation to Ethnic Group and Personality Differences

Ethnic group differences. Negroes and lower socioeconomic class members have been shown to generally feel in less control of their reinforcements (Battle & Rotter, 1963;

Lefcourt & Ladwig, 1965, 1966). Scott and Phelan (1969) found more internality among unemployed whites than Mexicans or Blacks. Furthermore, Tyler and Hobsinger (1975) report data indicating that rural American Indian children are more external than American white children. These data are intuitively logical. Oppressed or less fortunate individuals who do not have the opportunity to maintain good health or receive an education, should indeed be externally oriented. Very few reinforcements are in their personal control under these circumstances. Hsieh, Shybert and Lotsof (1969) found higher externality among American Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese in contrast to American whites. The authors explain this cultural difference in terms of the "situation-centered" Chinese personality in a culture where status quo and kinship are very important.

Personality differences. Hersch and Schiebe (1967) found several relationships among locus of control and the California Personality Inventory (CPI) as well as the Adjective Check List (ACL). On the ACL internals saw themselves as asserting, achieving, powerful, independent, industrious, and effective. Externals categorized themselves as powerless, inactive, and non-achieving. On the CPI, internals scored higher on the dominance, tolerance, sociability, good impression and well being scales than did externals. Gough (1974) recently replicated these findings pertaining to the CPI with a sample of 361 individuals. Scott and Severance (1975) found similar results using the CPI and MMPI in a non-academic environment. Their sample consisted of males, heterogeneous in age and education level. Externals have been

found to report more aggressiveness (Abramowitz, 1969), hostility (Williams & Vantress, 1969; Tolor & Leblanc, 1971), and to be more prone to attempt suicide (Williams & Nickels, 1969) than internals.

Extensive work on self esteem has yielded evidence indicating that internals have a more positive self concept and have generally a higher level of self esteem (Fish & Karabenick, 1971; Ryckman and Sherman, 1973; Hannah, 1973, Organ, 1973). Externals tend to be larger risk takers (Julian, Lichtman & Ryckman, 1968), lack self confidence (Tolor & Reznikoff, 1967), and believe more in the supernatural (Scheidt, 1973) than internals. Furthermore, several studies suggest that internals see themselves and others as more responsible for the outcomes of their behaviors (Sosis, 1974; Phares & Lamiell, 1975) and use humor of many forms (superiority humor, tension-relief humor, and social humor) to reflect lack of involvement in a task when they receive negative feedback (Lefcourt, Sordoni & Sordoni, 1974; Lefcourt, Antrobious & Hogg, 1974).

Considerable research has evolved investigating the relationship between locus of control and anxiety. Externals have been found to generally exhibit more anxiety (Butterfield, 1964; Feather, 1967; Watson, 1967; Ray and Katahn, 1968; and Strassberg, 1973). Tolor and Reznikoff (1967) and Berman and Hays (1973) found that externals reported more overt death anxiety than did internals. Emmelkamp and Cohen-Kettenis (1975) report data indicating a positive relationship among externality, depression and phobic anxiety.

Furthermore, Himrichsen and Ross (1975) found that externals are more anxious than internals when in a low stress situation. Watson (1967) states, paraphrasing Mandler and Watson (1966), "individuals who score in the external direction on the locus of control (LC) scale will tend to be more anxious than those who score in the internal direction, because the latter group will more often appraise the world as one in which they can complete organized response sequences" (p. 91). Based upon these studies, internals appear to be less anxious, more capable of showing a constructive response set when necessary and less concerned with fear of failure than externals.

#### Locus of Control in Relation to Insight, Need for Control and Resistance to Influence

The evidence in the literature indicates that internals are generally less anxious about situations in which they become involved. One would expect therefore that internals would be more cautious and calculating in their ventures than externals (Lefcourt, 1972). Julian and Katz (1968) and Rotter and Mulry (1965) report evidence that internals require more time to make a decision than externals if the task is skill oriented or involves a difficult decision. The evidence here appears to indicate that internals are more insightful and attentive. Internals appear to know what is important to them and become particularly attentive when the task at hand involves using their skill and is not chance determined.

Davis and Phares (1967) found that internals showed greater information seeking behavior than externals. The subjects in this study were led to believe that they were to convince another individual on some issue pertaining to the Viet Nam War. The dependent measure of interest was the number of questions asked by the subject with regards to the person he was to influence and the number of questions asked about the experiment. One group of subjects was informed that skill was important in being successful. Another group received chance instructions about the same task and a third group received no instructions at all. In the skill group and the no information group, internals were more insightful and sought more information. No difference was found for the chance group. Phares (1968) found that externals in contrast to internals were not as effective in using previously learned information. Each subject had learned a series of information "bits" pertaining to facts about four males a week perviously. Subjects were then required to guess which of eight girls and ten occupations matched with each man and to indicate the reasons for their choice. The dependent measures here were number of reasons used and number of correct responses given. The results indicated that more correct responses and more reasons overall were found to be attributable to internals than externals. Similar results were found by Williams and Stark (1972) who used the number of questions about the experiment and the procedure as an operational definition of information seeking behavior. Pines (1973)

reported data indicating that internals respond better than externals to task opportunities involving originality. He also reported that internals used extra time given for the task more efficiently than did externals as evidenced by their organization.

Lefcourt, Lewis and Silverman (1968) found significant differences between internals and externals on attention related responses. Internals who perceived the task as skill oriented claimed to use more task relevant responses than when the task was perceived to be chance oriented. Small differences were found with externals. The dependent measure was decision time and internals were found to deliberate more in the skill situation than externals.

Several studies indicate that a variable that could be termed "perceptual sensitivity" is affected by the locus of control construct. Lefcourt and Wine (1969) looked at how internals versus externals use cues elicited from an individual with whom they are interacting for future behavior. The focus here was on insight and attentiveness. The task involved interacting with an individual who was extremely flighty in his eye contact and also interacting with a person whose eye contact was "normal". The authors hypothesized that internals would attend more to the quizzical target person due to the curiosity his behavior should have aroused. The results supported this hypothesis. Internals not only gazed at the "elusive" partner more than externals but they also looked at all interacting partners with a greater frequency. Ude and Vogler (1969) found



that internals were superior to externals in discovering the contingencies of reinforcement used in a light pattern task.

Ducette and Wolke (1973) found that on problem-solving tasks, internals appeared to pick up highly covert cues from the experimenters which indicated the rules involved in completing the tasks. This occurred when the experimenters emitted overt non-verbal cues as well as when they were instructed to give no cues at all. Ducette and Wolke (1974) found further supportive evidence for this "perceptual sensitivity" hypothesis in a study involving error detection. The task involved reporting errors in a written paragraph. Internals exhibited a more efficient scanning strategy than did externals (intensional task). They also used other information drawn from the paragraph more effectively (incidental learning task) than externals, although they were not informed that this information would be assessed.

Internals have also been found to desire a general environmental control (Phares, 1965; Seeman, 1963; Seeman & Evans, 1962) as measured by initiative and effort. Seeman (1963) found that internals recalled information relevant to their own personal control more so than externals. In a study by Phares (1965), internals and externals attempted to change the attitude of another individual and, as was hypothesized, internals were more successful at the task than externals. Julian and Katz (1966) found that internals desired personal control over control by a competent other in a task resulting in reward. Externals, in contrast were willing to rely on the competent other.

Further evidence for the internal's desire to control his own behavior and life events comes from research on attitudes towards emotional versus physical disorders. It was hypothesized by MacDonald and Hall (1969) that internals would react more strongly to an emotional disorder than a physical disorder as it would decrease their level of personal control. Four forms of disabilities were rated by 50 healthy students in six personal-social areas. Internals viewed emotional disorders as more disabling than externals. MacDonald and Hall (1971) replicated this latter finding and also reported that externals found non-emotional disorders to be more debilitating than did internals.

Studies by Clouser and Hjelle (1970) and Sherman, Pelletier and Ryckman (1973) indicate that external control is positively related to dogmatism. According to Rokeach (1960), as the individual becomes more closed he becomes more defensive against anxiety and reliant "on arbitrary reinforcements derived from an external authority" (Clouser and Hjelle, 1970, p. 1006). An extension of this research on dogmatism could be to the area of susceptibility to influence as this also involves external authority.

Milgram (1963) demonstrated the power of influence and that complicity to even outrageous demands is a common phenomenon. Logically, locus of control should be related closely to this topic of influence and conformity. Internals, who feel in control of their reinforcement and desire this control, coupled with their insightfulness, should be resistant to attempts at persuasion and influence.

Odell (1959) reported a significant relationship between locus of control and Barron's (1953) Independence of Judgement Scale. Subjects high in externality were shown to exhibit more conforming behavior and to be less autonomous in their judgements than were internals. Also, Crowne and Liverant (1963) demonstrated locus of control effects in conforming situations using the traditional Asch perceptual discrimination. On being requested to bet on the accuracy of their predictions, externals tended to conform more to group consensus than internals. They found that low externals bet the same amount on both trials in which they conformed and did not conform. High externals, on the other hand, tended to wager less on trials where they made an independent judgement; thus indicating less confidence in their decisions.

Two studies using verbal conditioning paradigms (Getter, 1966; Strickland, 1970) found significant I-E differences. Getter (1966) found that externals were more capable of being conditioned, while Strickland (1970) reported that internals who were aware of the conditioning paradigm in effect reacted counter to this and thus were resistant to conditioning attempts. Gore (1963) investigated Rotter's (1966) claim that internals would resist subtle suggestion. Gore used the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) as her instrument with the length of story produced by the subject as the dependent variable. Three influence conditions were employed - overt (verbal reinforcements), covert (facial expressions and gestures), and no influence. She found that internals produced shorter stories in the covert influence condition but no further I-E differences were found that were significant.

The author suggested that perhaps internals will react only to subtle influence attempts, consistent with Rotter's (1966) theoretical position.

These results were further investigated by Biondo and MacDonald (1971) who also expected internals and externals to be differentially affected by influence attempts but questioned whether subtly was a necessary parameter. Gore (1962) stated "perhaps the externals perceived reinforcement in both the overt and the covert conditions to be under the control of others. This would be consistent with their generalized expectancies that control of events is due to forces outside themselves" (Gore, 1962, p. 409). Biondo and MacDonald (1971) state that to be consistent with the theoretical aspects of locus of control, internals should react to both influence attempts of an overt or a covert nature. The data from the literature on need for control (e.g., MacDonald & Hall, 1971) would also support such a prediction. Biondo and MacDonald (1971) contended that mild overt influence would produce less reactance in internals than subtle forms of influence. Also, though, they predicted that there would be more reactance for internals when influence was a) subtle b) overt and c) of relevance in terms of outcome. The experiment involved rating procedural changes in course grading on scales measuring the viability of the proposed change, the felt importance of the issue, and the felt competence of the researcher. Three levels of influence (none, low, and high) were manipulated via the instructional set. Subjects had been pretested on their opinions of the procedural change suggested

prior to the influence conditions. Collapsing across conditions, internals manifested reactance and externals conformed. More specifically, in the low influence condition externals conformed while internals did not change. However, in the high influence condition internals not only did not conform but exhibited reactance while externals again exhibited conforming behavior. In summary, externals conformed under both levels of influence while internals displayed reactance only under high influence. Elaborating on this further, Cherulnik and Citrin (1974) found that internals exhibited more reactance to a personal elimination of freedom in contrast to an impersonal elimination of freedom.

Doctor (1971), again, researching subtle forms of influence reported that internals were more resistant to influence of this form than were externals. The task employed in this study involved a sentence completion design where particular pronouns were reinforced under varying contingencies. Overall, externals accounted for the majority of the variance by evidencing significantly greater gains in performance than internals. Subsequent reports of awareness were used as a method of dividing the subjects into independent groups. Externals who were aware of the conditioning paradigm accounted for the effect in contrast to aware internals, controls and unaware subjects over both groups. These latter groups showed no significant change in frequency of reinforced responses over trials. Doctor's (1971) study again shows a resistance to influence, in this case subtle influence.

Sherman (1973) found that externals would change opinion more than internals and that internals show a negativism toward persuasion. Internals have however been shown to change their opinions when involved in counterattitudinal essay writing. It is important here to note that this is consistent with the locus of control construct and indeed lends construct validity to it. Since it appears that internals assume responsibility for their actions (Phares, Wilson & Klyver, 1971; Sosis, 1974; Phares & Lamiell, 1975), it is quite consistent that they should exhibit an attitude change under the dissonant condition of having to write something in conflict with their personal points of view.

The status of an individual attempting to influence opinion was shown to have differential effects on internals and externals by Ritchie and Phares (1969). The authors indicate that attitude change can be influenced by a personality factor and decided to investigate this effect in relation to locus of control. The study involved attempts at changing opinion on a political issue. Ritchie and Phares (1969) found that externals were more susceptible to change under the high status (political figure) than the low status (college sophomore) condition. Internals did not significantly change their attitudes over the testing periods. McInnes and Ward (1974) investigated source credibility and persuasion in five cultures and found a credibility by I-E interaction in the United States only. Externals again showed more change under high prestige conditions.

Research on smoking behavior has yielded inconsistent results. Straits and Sechrest (1963) as well as James, Woodruff and Werner (1965) researched locus of control differences in smoking behavior following the U.S.P.H.S. Surgeon General's report linking cancer with smoking. They found more quitting behavior among internals, suggesting that these individuals are not completely resistant to persuasion. In contrast to this finding Lichenstein and Keutzer (1967), Lefcourt (1965) and Rutner (1967) failed to show any such differences. The inconsistent data may be a result of a confounding of the variables of need for control and resistance to influence attempts. Locus of control theory would predict that an internal should desire control over himself and the environment and concomitantly be resistant to influence. It should be noted that these studies took place fairly shortly after the report of the Surgeon General was released. The temporal proximity of the studies to the report could have had an effect such that resistance to persuasion was operative. A longitudinal approach would be of interest in this area.

In summary, the data gathered from these studies clearly indicates that externals exhibit more conforming behavior than do internals. Internals in contrast are more independent in their decision processes and resist attempts at persuasion.

### Ethnic Sterotyping

Lippman (1922) coined the term "stereotype" and since then a prolific amount of literature has ensued. Speaking very generally, Lippman states "in the great blooming, buzzing, confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture" (p. 55). Lippman characterized stereotypes as being rigid, illogically reasoned and factually incorrect. Most research in the past has used at least one of these definitions of stereotypes in the studies.

Regardless of the definition employed, the technique almost singularly used to assess stereotypes is that devised by Katz and Braly (1933). This initial study involved 100 Princeton students who were required to list the traits that they felt were most characteristic of 10 ethnic groups. These groups comprised Italians, Chinese, Negroes, Jews, Germans, English, Americans, Japanese, Irish and Turks. The raters were provided with eighty-four traits and they were allowed the opportunity to add more if they so desired. Upon completion of the rating task, the subjects were requested to "star" the five most characteristic traits applicable to each nationality. The stereotypes were determined by compiling the twelve traits that occurred with the highest frequency for each group. The definiteness of the stereotypes was assessed by calculating the least number of traits that would include 50% of the votes cast.



For perfect agreement to have occurred 2.5 traits would have received 50% of the votes cast for a specific nationality. By far the Katz and Braly measuring approach has been unrivaled in its incidence of use.

The dimensions most commonly used to describe stereotypes are content (traits used), uniformity (agreement), direction (favorable versus unfavorable), and intensity (degree of favorableness - unfavourableness) (Edwards, 1940).

The content of the actual traits used in stereotyping has remained quite stable since the work of Katz and Braly (1933). A classic example of this can be seen in the two replications of the original Katz and Braly (1933) study at the same university by Gilbert (1951) and Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969). The time span elapsed here is 36 years. Over the three temporally spaced studies the actual trait attributions have remained quite consistent. Supportive evidence for the consistency of traits was also found by Centers (1951) who reported a high degree of success (70%) among subjects in matching ethnic groups with the traits found by Katz and Braly (1933). There have been some small changes. The changes in stereotyping traits that have occurred are with such nationalities as the Japanese, apparently as a result of World War Two (Seago, 1947).

Uniformity has been measured via the Katz and Braly technique (1933) as well as by the frequency of individual traits assigned a group. Gilbert (1951) and Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969), respectively, found that uniformity decreased

in 1951 but increased in 1969. Uniformity has also been shown to increase with familiarity (e.g., Katz & Braly, 1933; Shoenfeld, 1942; Gilbert, 1951).

Intensity in previous research has been seen in terms of the degree of favorableness of a cluster of traits of a national group in general (e.g., Vinacke, 1956; Taft, 1959). It seems likely that the intensity is a consequence of individual attitude rather than an inherent characteristic of stereotypes themselves (Cauthern, Robinson, & Krause, 1971). These authors support this claim by indicating that both low and high-prejudice individuals have been shown to hold stereotypes but high prejudice individuals are more likely to hold intense stereotypes (Cauthern, Robinson, & Krause, 1971).

Directionality has been generally assessed in a similar way as intensity, that is, dependent upon the favourableness or unfavorableness of the traits.

#### Rationale and Statement of the Problem

Based upon previous studies with locus of control and insight and information seeking (e.g., Davis & Phares, 1967), need for control (Phares, 1965), dogmatism (e.g., Clouser & Hjelle, 1970), and conformity and resistance to persuasion (e.g., Biondo & MacDonald, 1971), an attempt was made to extend the applicability of locus of control to the phenomenon of ethnic stereotyping.

It is suggested that endorsing an ethnic stereotype constitutes a form of conformity or susceptibility to influence. This influence is on a cultural level generated largely through our mass media, in particular, television. Williams (1974) in discussing mass communication, contends that if most people are seen as masses or crowds then they can easily be influenced. The influence of television has been demonstrated in such areas as commercials (McNeal, 1969), aggression (Krels, 1973; Rubenstein, 1974), knowledge of political affairs such as Watergate (Robinson, 1974) and in frequency of visiting crisis intervention centers (Holding, 1974).

Furthermore, several studies have demonstrated the influence that television holds upon sex stereotypes, stereotypes of the aged and ethnic stereotypes. Streicher (1974) and Tedesco (1974) report evidence indicating that there is a great deal of sex role stereotyping in cartoons and in prime time viewing. In a review of sex role stereotyping in television, Busly (1975) maintains that sex roles have remained traditional except perhaps for the academic community. On stereotyping of the aged, Hess (1974) states "although the condition of the aged is indeed more deprived than of younger cohorts...many negative stereotypes are clearly not supported by the research data" (p. 77).

Vidmar and Rokeach (1974) investigated the effects of "All in the Family" on ethnic stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes and stated, "All too many viewers saw nothing wrong with Archie's use of racial and ethnic slurs" (p. 42). Many individuals actually saw Archie as the victor in his confrontations with

"liberal", Meathead. These findings cast doubt on Norman Lear's contention that by mixing humor with bigotry yields a cathartic reduction of bigotry. Furthermore, Sanders (1972) charges that children are now using old ethnic and racial slurs picked up from that "lovable bigot", Archie Bunker.

Through our situation comedies, commercials, and dramas we see this form of stereotyping where ethnic groups are cast into specific life roles. The dock worker who suffers headaches is portrayed as Italian by his name and is then seen to be loud and boisterous. Blacks are often cast in roles consistent with their stereotype of ostentatious, musical and pleasure-loving. These constitute only a few examples of this form of programming.

In summary, based upon the evidence on the influence of the mass media and the stereotyping witnessed through the mass media, it is possible that in agreeing with a culturally dictated stereotype that we are in effect conforming to cultural norms.

The present research was primarily aimed at assessing the relationship between the personality variable of locus of control as measured by Rotter's (1966) I-E scale and stereotyping as measured by an extensively modified version of the traditional Katz and Braly (1933) stereotypic measurement scale. Internals were expected to use stereotypes less than externals due to their insightfulness, need to control, resistance to influence, and non-dogmatic personalities. Externals, on the other hand, were expected to conform more to the cultural behavior of stereotyping.

The only study to date that apparently used locus of control in relation to stereotyping was carried out by Parsons, Schnieder and Hansen (1970). This research, however, measured only the attitudes of students in Denmark and the United States as to each other's internality and externality.

Three issues in the field of stereotyping are relevant to the present research. These are (1) the relationship between stereotyping and social desirability, (2) the methodology employed by most stereotyping research, and (3) varying theoretical conceptualizations of the stereotype.

Social desirability set has recently been found to be related to stereotyping. Weiss (1975a) presented adjective pairs to subjects who were instructed to pick the words typically applicable to Jews. Words were favorable and unfavorable as well as relevant and nonrelevant to the Jewish stereotype. A positive correlation ( $r = .89$ ) was found between favorability value of non-relevant words and the frequency selected. Weiss (1975b) recently replicated the finding with graduate students from New York City but with reference to a less familiar group (Japanese). The author states that this "provides an indication of the generality of the effect of social desirability set in stereotype measurement across different ethnic groups" (p. 858).

The Katz and Braly technique has been used almost exclusively in past research but has of recent been criticized on the grounds of forcing individuals to make generalizations. Ehrlich and Rinehart (1965) found that when an open-ended format

was used, less traits were assigned to each respective group than under the traditional Katz and Braly procedure. Furthermore, in the past, the degree of stereotyping or a stereotype score has rarely been employed. Intensity has generally referred to the favorableness of the trait descriptions. The present research attempted to overcome these apparent shortcomings.

The conceptual framework as to what is involved in stereotyping has taken several different routes. Stereotypes have been viewed as incorrect generalizations (e.g., Rokeach, 1968) yet this implies that validity criterion is available, while in most cases, factual information is unavailable. Stereotypes have also been viewed as a misuse of categories and concepts (Secord, 1959; Vinacke, 1957). Secord (1959) stated "a stereotype is commonly thought of as involving a categorical response; i.e., membership in a category is sufficient to evoke the judgement that the stimulus person possesses all the attributes belonging to that category" (p. 309). Stereotypes have also been seen as the product of faulty thought processes. Either the process in itself is seen as faulty or the individual's basis of acquisition is not acceptable, such as a rumor or hearsay (Brigham, 1971). Stereotypes are also seen as the result of rigidity by many theorists (e.g., Rokeach, 1960). Fishman (1956) pointed out that rigidity applies when a stereotype is not altered in the event of new information or changes in needs and interests and focus of interaction.

One common theme runs throughout the many different conceptualizations of what is entailed in stereotyping that have been used in the past. This is that stereotypes are seen as in one form or another unjustified (Brigham, 1971). One could also maintain that a lack of insight pervades all of the approaches to stereotyping as well. Rigidity, dogmatism, faulty thought processes, overgeneralizations and misuse of concepts would not likely occur with insight and information seeking behavior. Brigham (1971) states, "it could be predicted that stereotypes based on conformity to social norms would be susceptible to change through 'reality oriented' techniques. For stereotypes that serve an ego defensive function...insight could be expected to be effective as an agent of change" (p. 30). It seems that such factors as information search, insight and degree of conformity are central in the study of stereotyping behavior.

In addition, there exists a logical connection between social learning theory from which locus of control was derived and stereotyping behavior. Vinacke (1957) proposed that stereotypes involved the use of concept systems. Vinacke points out that concepts involve intentional as well as extensional properties. Intentional properties refer to the unique experience of a person which make the concept personalized. Extensional properties are those upon which most people would agree such as color or race. Under this paradigm, stereotyping involves using intentional properties such as personality traits in extensional terms. Personality traits are thus generalized across nationalities, Vinacke (1957) states, "stereotypes can be accepted as

an inevitable consequence of social learning as the means whereby kinds of objects (persons) are classified on the basis of perceived properties, thus facilitating meaningful response to those objects" (p. 241).

Extending this reasoning further, if we also look at stereotyping in terms of overgeneralizations (e.g., Gilbert, 1951; Rokeach, 1968), a link can be drawn between the overgeneralizations involved in stereotyping and generalized expectancies drawn from social learning theory. In this way it is possible to operationalize stereotyping in a framework consistent with social learning theory. It is suggested that a stereotype can be viewed as a form of a generalized expectancy. It will be recalled that a generalized expectancy is a broad concept operative over a wide variety of situations. Two such expectancies that have been empirically tested are interpersonal trust and locus of control. Both interpersonal trust and locus of control involve expectancies, the former referring to expectancies about another's behavior and the latter referring to expectancies pertaining to one's reinforcement. Stereotyping may also involve a generalized expectancy, in particular, a generalized expectancy of a nationality's personality traits applicable over a wide variety of situations.

In attempting to relate the internal-external locus of control dimension to ethnic stereotyping, the I-E dimension was assessed using Rotter's I-E scale and stereotyping was measured via a modified version of the Katz and Braly (1933) technique which produces stereotype scores for each individual. Using this



procedure the degree of intensity of stereotyping can be assessed and secondly, the scale does not force the individual to stereotype as there is the option of rating traits in terms of degree of applicability and not simply as "applicable" or "non-applicable".

Gardner, Kirby, Gorospe and Villamin (1972) have used a quantitative form of a stereotype score but their paradigm differs from the approach used in the present research. The Stereotype Differential (Gardner, et al., 1972) requires subjects to rate ethnic group labels on a series of bi-polar trait-descriptive adjective scales. The t-statistic is used to test for differences from a neutral position. Stereotypes are defined in terms of consensus and indexed by extreme polarity of ratings (Gardner et al., 1972). The present research did not use bi-polar scales but instead used a simple 0-7 rating of fewer adjectives, which allowed a wider response range, a shorter format, and forced the subjects to write their response down instead of using a circling or checking technique. More importantly, the present scale allows for the choice to rate each trait in degree of applicability.

A bi-polar scale forces one to stereotype and furthermore forces a choice between traits. It is felt that this is a relevant point as two bi-polar opposites may be seen as applicable to the same degree when dealing with an entire nationality.

Since social desirability is apparently related to both locus of control (e.g., Cone, 1971; Vuchinich & Bass, 1974) and stereotyping (Weiss, 1975a, 1975b) an attempt was made to control for this variable in the design of the experiment.

Based upon the previous discussions of locus of control and stereotyping, several predictions were made. To summarize, internals tend to show less conformity and be more independent in their judgments (Odell, 1959). They also tend to desire a control over their environment (e.g., Seeman, 1963), seek relevant information (e.g., Phares, 1968), and be resistant to influence attempts (Biondo and MacDonald, 1971). It was predicted then, that internals would be less likely to stereotype as this would involve conforming to cultural persuasion.

Furthermore, it will also be recalled that externals have been found to be more dogmatic than internals using Rotter's I-E scale (Clouser & Hjelle, 1970), as well as Levonson's Internal, Powerful others and Chance (IPC) scale (Sherman, Pelletier & Ryckman, 1973). Sheikh (1963, 1973) found evidence indicating that there is a relationship between dogmatism and stereotyping. Individuals scoring high on Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale (1960) tended to stereotype more so (as measured by a version of the Katz and Braly paradigm), than did low-dogmatic individuals. Clouser and Hjelle (1970) in measuring dogmatism for their study, also used Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale (1960). Additionally, Clancy (1972) found that high dogmatic individuals stereotyped occupations to a greater degree than did individuals scoring low on this dimension. Based upon these

studies it was expected that stereotyping would be related to locus of control. It was predicted that externals would stereotype to a greater degree than internals. Furthermore, since stereotypes are apparently engendered in our culture (e.g., mass media) to a large degree and since our media apparently has a large impact upon our informational input and attitudes (e.g., Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974; Robinson, 1974) it was suggested that the effect of this form of influence would be similar to that of a high status individual. Based upon the research of Ritchie and Phares (1969) on status and influence attempts, this may accentuate the phenomenon of stereotyping for externals.

Differential stereotyping should also be augmented in situations differing in amount of information held about each respective nationality. Where information is minimal about a national group, it was hypothesized that internals should show less stereotyping behavior than externals due to a lack of relevant information necessary for the decision (e.g., Phares, 1968).

### Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Externals will use more intense stereotypes as measured by the degree of trait attributions for the traits comprising the group stereotype.

Hypothesis 1a. Externals will stereotype, in general, to a greater degree than internals as measured by the degree of trait attributions for the total list of traits.

Hypothesis 2. The difference between externals and internals in stereotyping behavior will be accentuated when the degree of familiarity reported with the nationalities is low.

## CHAPTER II

### METHOD

#### Subjects

The subjects were 214 students enrolled in psychology classes at the University of Manitoba. They consisted of three separate groups. There were 25 males and 63 females from an upper level summer session psychology course, 33 males and 34 females from an introductory psychology class and 21 males and 38 females from a fall session upper level psychology course. All participation was voluntary.

#### Materials/Questionnaires

The measures used were Rotter's (1966) I-E scale, a modified version of Katz and Braly's (1933) stereotype assessment battery and Edwards' (1957) Social Desirability scale.

Internal-External Scale. The I-E scale was developed by Rotter (1966) as a measure of locus of control. The scale consists of 23 scored items and six buffer items. It is scored in the external direction.

The items for the I-E scale were "sampled widely from different life situations where locus of control attitudes might be relevant to behavior...It was developed as a broad gauge instrument--not an instrument to allow for very high prediction in some specific situation...but rather to allow for a low degree of prediction of behavior across a wide range of potential situations" (Rotter, 1975, p. 62).

Reliability measures have been quite consistent for the I-E scale. Using a period varying from one to two months, Rotter (1966) reported coefficients of reliability of .49 to .83. Hersche and Scheibe (1967) found very similar results. Harrow and Ferrante (1967) reported the coefficient of reliability to be .75 using a six week period. Internal consistency measures reported by Rotter (1966) ranged from .65 to .79.

The relationship between locus of control and social desirability is less clear cut. Evidence for a nonsignificant relationship using the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale was found by Strickland (1965), Tolor (1967) and Tolor and Jolowiec (1968). Present research though seems to indicate that social desirability indeed does relate to the I-E scale (Feather, 1967; Altrocchi, Palmer, Hellman & Davis, 1968; Cone, 1971; Vuchinich & Bass, 1974). Cone (1971) using Edwards' Social Desirability Scale found correlations of  $-.70$ ,  $-.47$ ,  $-.46$ ,  $-.32$ , and  $-.29$  with the I-E scale for five samples--outpatients of an army mental health clinic; two groups of army prisoners; alcoholic inpatients and a group of new career participants. This indicates that individuals who score high on internality also score high on social desirability.

Modified Katz and Braly (1933) Technique. The original measure used by Katz and Braly consisted of 84 traits that were used to describe 10 nationalities. The raters used as many traits as they felt were applicable and "starred" the five most pertinent traits. This scale allowed no measures of degree or

intensity of the stereotype other than in terms of the direction. The present study used 30 traits over all nationalities. These 30 traits remained constant and thus allowed for intergroup comparisons. The choice of traits was based upon the most frequently attributed traits found using the Katz and Braly technique over recent years (Karlins, Coffman & Walters, 1969). The scale also allowed a choice of degree of applicability for each trait on a Likert-type scale of 0-7. One indicated very low applicability and 7 indicated extensive applicability. A zero indicated that the trait was not applicable at all. Nine of the same 10 nationalities as used by Katz and Braly (1933) and many subsequent researchers were employed in order to test the validity of the new instrument. An item measuring the amount of information in terms of personal contact, research, or media information that the rater had about each nationality followed after all nationalities were presented, to avoid confounding the trait attributions. Again, Likert-type scales of 0 to 7 were used with a 0 indicating no information and a 7 indicating very extensive information.

Social Desirability Scale. The SD scale was developed by Edwards (1957) to measure the tendency of subjects to give socially desirable responses. The 39 item scale was derived from 150 items of the F, L, K scales (validity scales) and the Anxiety scale of the MMPI. The mean for males was found to be

28.6 with a standard deviation of 6.5 while for females the mean was 27.1 with a standard deviation of 6.5 also.

Edwards' Social Desirability Scale (1957) was used due to its pervasiveness in comparison to the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS). Edwards, Diers, and Walker (1962) found that when factor analyzing 61 scales (58 from the MMPI) the SD scale loaded .97 on the largest factor (social desirability). The M-C SDS loaded .28 on the same factor.

### Procedure

The series of questionnaires were administered to three separate samples of undergraduate psychology students at the University of Manitoba with appropriate consent obtained. Subjects participated voluntarily and were informed that the data would be strictly confidential and used only for the purposes of the present research. The battery of questionnaires was handed out and returned in one folder so that no identification was necessary. An identification number was assigned on receipt of the materials.

The stereotype questionnaire was completed first with the traits as well as the nationalities used on this test in a randomized order. Rotter's I-E Scale and Edwards' Social Desirability Scale followed.

Edwards' (1957) Social Desirability Scale (SD scale) was used to covary out any possible effects of social desirability in the subsequent analysis. This also allowed for a check of the degree to which social desirability was related to locus of control.



The entire testing period lasted approximately one hour. Upon completion of the task all participants were debriefed as to the purpose of the study and thanked for their participation.

### Experimental Design

Subjects were divided into males and females and into internals and externals. This latter division was based on a median split before any male/female dichotomy was applied. Subsequently, I-E scores for each sample were correlated with social desirability scores.

It was also necessary to assess exactly what the stereotypes were for each nationality in each sample to determine consensus with the stereotype. The traits comprising each nationality's stereotype were indicated by the five highest mean intensity scores. Five traits were used to be consistent with Katz and Braly (1933). Following this, nationalities were divided into three levels of familiarity (low, medium, high) based upon the mean familiarity scores for each nationality. In this way, each level of familiarity consisted of three nationalities. Subsequently, each subject was placed in one of four groups with respect to sex (2 levels) and I-E score (2 levels). The main analysis consisted of a  $2 \times 2 \times 3 \times 3 \times 5$  analysis of covariance with repeated measures on familiarity (3), nationality (3), and stereotype traits (5). Social desirability (Edwards, 1957) was the covariate. This analysis was performed separately for each sample. The dependent variable was the degree or intensity of trait attributions.

The subsequent analysis consisted of a  $2 \times 2 \times 3 \times 3 \times 30$  analysis of covariance. The between factors were sex (2 levels) and I-E score (2 levels). The repeated measures were on familiarity (3), nationality (3), and all traits (30). The covariate again was social desirability. Consistent with the previous analysis, this analysis was employed separately for each sample.

## CHAPTER III

## RESULTS

In all analyses, the three samples of data were treated separately. Hence, their results will be reported separately throughout.

For each sample subjects were labelled as internals and externals based upon median splits. In each group this median was 10. Also, there was a consistency in mean I-E scores and corresponding standard deviations across the samples. Furthermore, these scores are consistent with the normative data for the I-E scale (Rotter, 1975). In sample one there were 48 internals and 40 externals. In sample two there were 31 internals and 36 externals. Finally, sample three consisted of 30 internals and 29 externals. The variability in these cell frequencies is due to the procedure of randomly assigning the individuals scoring directly at the median on the I-E scale to the internal or the external groups based upon a random numbers table.

The social desirability mean scores and standard deviations were also consistent with the norms for this scale and again were similar for all groups. Subsequent to these breakdowns the samples were divided on the basis of sex. Table 1 illustrates the means and standard deviations of the I-E scores for the samples. Table 2 presents the means and standard deviations with respect to the social desirability scores. Of the 25 males in sample one, 16 were internals and 9 were externals while of the 63 females, 32 were classified as internals and 31 as externals.

TABLE 1  
Means and Standard Deviations for I-E Scores by  
Sample and Sex

Sample	Males			Females		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
1	25	10.280	4.306	63	10.508	4.697
2	33	10.939	3.491	34	10.286	4.561
3	21	12.143	4.704	38	9.684	3.891

TABLE 2  
Means and Standard Deviations for SD Scale Scores  
By Sample and Sex

Sample	Males			Females		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
1	25	27.88	5.478	63	27.032	5.462
2	33	27.33	6.489	34	26.914	6.684
3	21	26.952	4.674	38	28.189	6.853

In the second sample, of the 33 males, 16 were labelled internal and 17 as external. There were 15 internals and 19 externals comprising the females of this sample. Of the 21 males in sample three there were 9 internals and 12 externals. Of the 38 females in this sample the dichotomy resulted in 21 internals and 17 externals. The total sample size was 214.

#### Correlational Analyses of I-E and Social Desirability Scores

In order to assess how social desirability and I-E were related in these samples separate correlations were run both by sample and by sample and sex. Sample one yielded a correlation of  $-.253$  ( $p < .05$ ) between I-E and social desirability. For males the correlation was low but significant ( $r = -.355$ ,  $p < .05$ ) while for females the correlation was non-significant ( $r = -.219$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

The overall correlation in sample two was similar ( $r = -.351$ ,  $p < .05$ ). For males and females the correlation coefficients were  $-.301$  ( $p > .05$ ) and  $-.397$  ( $p < .05$ ), respectively.

The results of this analysis for sample three yielded again a low but significant correlation between I-E and social desirability ( $r = -.369$ ,  $p < .05$ ). For males the correlation coefficient was  $-.384$  ( $p > .05$ ) while for females the coefficient was  $-.364$  ( $p < .05$ ).

### Stereotypes of the Nine Katz and Braly (1933) Nationalities

In order to firmly establish norms on which to base consensus or conformity it was necessary to establish exactly what the stereotypes at the University of Manitoba were of each of the nine nationalities. This was done independently for each sample. Using norms from another study may have resulted in artifactual data due to possible changes in the group stereotype of the particular nationalities in question. Furthermore, assessing what the present stereotypes were for each sample allowed for a check of the scale as to whether it actually measured what it was purported to and whether it would measure this consistently. Results suggest that the scale has concurrent validity as the stereotypes are consistent with past results and the evidence also suggests that scale is reliable as results were congruent between groups.

Table 3 presents the data on the nationality stereotypes across groups. As was reported, subjects rated 30 personality traits over 9 nationalities. The stereotype of each nationality was assessed by taking the five highest mean intensity scores for each nationality. These five traits elicited from this analysis constituted the group stereotype based upon consensus. This was then done for each of the three samples. Table 3 presents the five traits for each sample comprising the stereotypes of each nationality as well as the numerical intensity values. The stereotypes found by Karlins, Coffman and Walters' (1969), using the Katz and Braly (1933) paradigm, are also reported to shown the similarities. Only the five most frequently checked items

TABLE 3

Comparison of Stereotype Traits Using  
Intensity Scores (Samples 1-3) and  
Percentage Endorsement Scores  
(Karlins, Coffman & Walters, 1969)

	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Karlins, Coffman & Walters (1969)
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Percent
JAPANESE				
Loyal to family ties	5.91	5.90	6.09	23
Industrious	5.81	5.70	5.88	57
Scientifically minded	5.65	5.81	5.68	
Tradition loving	5.51	5.46		
Efficient	5.50	5.51	5.70	27
Courteous			5.70	22
Ambitious				33
JEWS				
Loyal to family ties	6.09	5.49	5.70	
Ambitious	5.80	5.54	6.09	48
Tradition loving	5.76			
Materialistic	5.63	5.54	5.97	46
Intelligent	5.52			
Pleasure loving		5.49		
Shrewd		5.31	5.56	30
Very religious			5.59	
Industrious				33
NEGROES				
Musical	5.42	5.16	5.53	47
Pleasure-loving	5.01	5.16	5.25	26
Passionate	4.49			
Intelligent	4.33		4.54	
Happy-go-lucky	4.18	4.42	4.78	27
Aggressive		4.33		
Ostentatious		4.20		25
Artistic			4.90	
Lazy				26

Continued...

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Karlins, Coffman & Walters (1969)
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Percent
AMERICANS				
Materialistic	5.89	5.93	5.97	67
Pleasure-loving	5.41	5.70	5.42	28
Nationalistic	5.40	5.33	5.27	
Ambitious	5.28	5.37	5.41	42
Scientifically-minded	5.14			
Ostentatious		5.40	5.28	
Industrious				23
Intelligent				20
ENGLISH				
Courteous	5.18	4.91	5.31	
Sophisticated	5.07	4.76	5.32	47
Conservative	5.00	5.03	5.20	53
Nationalistic	4.91	4.82		
Intelligent	4.83	4.69	5.24	23
Tradition-loving			5.14	
Reserved				40
Practical				25
ITALIANS				
Loyal to family ties	5.80	5.36	6.10	
Passionate	5.26	5.27	5.41	44
Pleasure-loving	5.11	5.48	5.41	33
Tradition-loving	5.05	4.99	5.42	
Quick-tempered	5.00	5.58	5.66	28
Artistic				30
Impulsive				28
IRISH				
Quick-tempered	5.02	5.52	5.56	43
Nationalistic	5.01		5.34	41
Very religious	4.88	4.60	5.25	27
Loyal to family ties	4.65	5.51	4.92	23
Tradition-loving	4.57	4.73	5.09	25
Aggressive		4.63		

Continued...



TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)

	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Karlins, Coffman & Walters (1969)
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Percent
CHINESE				
Loyal to family ties	5.88	5.60	6.05	50
Nationalistic	5.44	5.27	5.85	
Tradition-loving	5.42	5.28		32
Industrious	5.35		5.37	23
Efficient	5.21		5.37	
Scientifically-minded		5.25	5.42	
Intelligent		4.97		
Quiet				23
Meditative				21
GERMANS				
Industrious	5.48	5.24	5.19	59
Scientifically-minded	5.41	4.02	5.15	47
Efficient	5.31	5.13	5.19	46
Ambitious	5.14	5.12		
Intelligent	5.13		5.02	
Nationalistic		4.96	4.95	43
Aggressive				30

Note: Sample 1, Sample 2, and Sample 3 means are based on a scale from 0-7. The Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969) figures represent percentages of individuals endorsing the traits.

are reported here along with the percentages of individuals endorsing them. Though the present study used intensity ratings, very few new adjectives needed to be added to result in complete overlap with the stereotypes assessed using percentage of endorsement.

In each sample there is some variability with respect to the traits used for each nationality's stereotype. This does not present a problem but in fact avoids possible confounding. Since the important unit of investigation is intensity of stereotyping it is necessary to measure intensity for each sample's unique stereotypes which may differ to a small extent.

Figure 1 graphically indicates the consistent intensity trend of the data. The focus of the present study, however, is not directed to differences between individual nationalities in terms of intensity ratings on traits. Nationalities are however classified into three levels on the familiarity dimension. Table 4 presents the nationalities ordered from low to high familiarity, for each sample. Again, this was done on a post hoc basis via the subjects' ratings so that classifications into levels of familiarity were made independently for each sample. Again, this was necessary in order to accurately order the nationalities by familiarity for each sample. The divisions are very consistent with those of Schoenfeld (1942), particularly when categorized in three groups from unfamiliar to familiar. Any small variation in order would not affect results as the individual nationalities were not of interest.

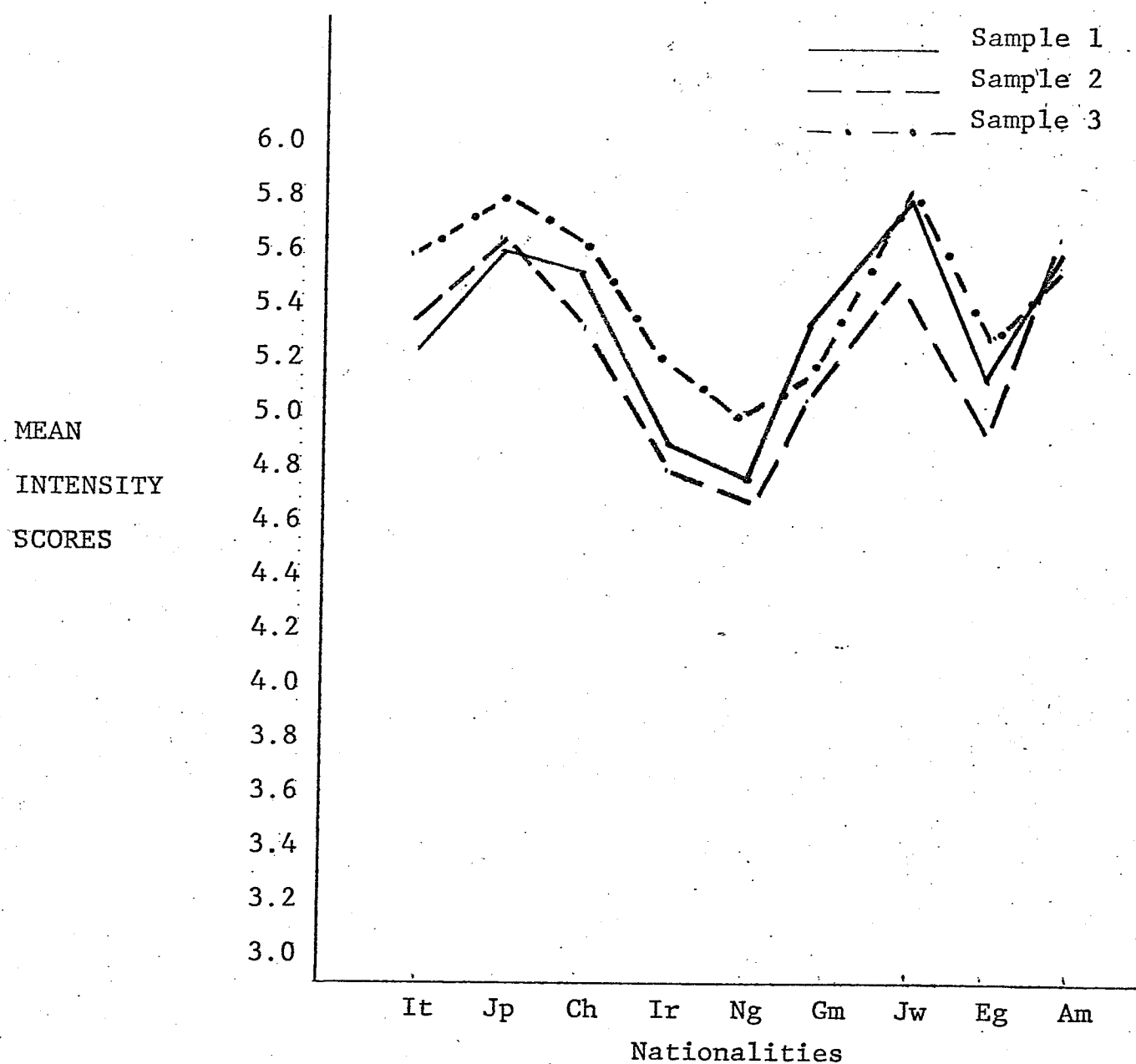


Figure 1. Mean Intensity Scores for Nationality Stereotypes.

The nationalities are as follows:

It = Italians, Jp = Japanese, Ch = Chinese, Ir = Irish  
 Ng = Negroes, Gm = Germans, Jw = Jews, Eg = English,  
 and Am = Americans

TABLE 4

## Nationalities Ordered by Familiarity

Sample 1		Sample 2		Sample 3	
Nationality	Mean	Nationality	Mean	Nationality	Mean
Japanese	3.136	Italians	3.456	Japanese	3.153
Italians	3.375	Japanese	3.529	Chinese	3.237
Negroes	3.455	Chinese	3.618	Italians	3.288
Irish	3.500	Irish	3.632	Irish	3.491
Chinese	3.523	Negroes	3.721	Negroes	3.814
Germans	4.034	Germans	4.162	Germans	3.983
Jews	4.273	Jews	4.426	Jews	4.661
English	5.25	English	5.309	English	5.000
Americans	5.261	Americans	5.882	Americans	5.797

Note: Familiarity ratings were on a scale from 0-7.

### Analyses of Covariance

Two analyses of covariance were performed for each of the samples. The first analysis was a  $2 \times 2 \times 3 \times 3 \times 5$  analysis of covariance. The dependent measure here consisted of intensity scores on only the traits applicable to the nationalities' stereotypes based upon consensus. This constituted the main focus of the study.

The second analysis for each sample was a  $2 \times 2 \times 3 \times 3 \times 30$  analysis of covariance. In this case the dependent measure used was the entire list of personality traits on the stereotype scale.

Sample One. The analyses of covariance yielded no significant I-E main effects for stereotype traits,  $F(1,83) = .068$ ,  $p > .05$ , or for all traits,  $F(1,83) = .076$ ,  $p > .05$ , as presented in Table 5 and Appendix A, respectively. The familiarity factor however did yield a significant main effect for both analyses,  $F(2,168) = 4.791$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $F(2,168) = 12.609$ ,  $p < .01$ . This is illustrated for stereotype traits in Figure 2 while Appendix B illustrates the effect for all traits. Since there existed only two possible orthogonal comparisons for this effect, simple main effects were not necessary. There was no significant I-E by familiarity interaction in either analysis,  $F(2,168) = .375$ ,  $p > .05$ ;  $F(2,168) = .455$ ,  $p > .05$ .

Summary of Analyses of Covariance  
for Stereotype Traits Over Samples

Source	Sample 1		Sample 2		Sample 3	
	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
Sex (A)	30.47	1.07	28.56	1.46	3.75	.15
I-E (B)	1.93	.07	22.16	1.13	3.23	.13
A x B	3.03	.11	.99	.05	5.00	.21
1st Cov.	4.93	.17	3.85	.19	10.47	.43
Error	28.39		19.62		24.26	
Familiarity (C)	16.53	4.79**	89.59	32.35**	58.96	22.22**
C x A	1.95	.57	2.06	.75	1.70	.64
C x B	1.29	.37	.05	.02	.46	.18
C x A x B	2.71	.79	.69	.25	4.53	1.71
Error	3.45		2.77		2.65	
Nationality (D)	19.37	10.51**	15.67	5.04**	21.19	11.86**
D x A	16.33	8.86**	.97	.31	.58	.32
D x B	0.7	.38	1.65	.53	.36	.20
D x A x B	1.25	.68	.68	.22	2.03	1.13
Error	1.84		3.10		1.79	
C x D	69.74	26.28**	33.43	9.56**	1.80	.83
C x D x A	4.94	1.86	3.08	.88	3.64	1.67
C x D x B	6.72	2.53*	1.30	.37	.76	.35
C x D x A x B	3.33	1.24	8.60	2.46	1.08	.50
Error	2.65		3.50		2.18	
Traits (E)	6.32	4.48**	3.07	1.93	1.30	.70
E x A	0.71	0.50	.58	.37	.75	.41
E x B	0.37	.26	1.80	1.13	1.56	.84
E x A x B	0.95	.67	.51	.32	.95	.51
Error	1.41		1.60		1.85	
C x E	4.10	3.84**	5.02	3.35**	9.40	8.38**
C x E x A	2.43	2.28**	2.27	1.51	1.62	1.45
C x E x B	1.24	1.16	1.21	.81	.98	.87
C x E x A x B	1.49	1.39	1.43	.95	1.37	1.22
Error	1.07		1.50		1.12	
D x E	2.78	2.37*	2.82	1.85	3.57	3.29**
D x E x A	0.71	0.60	3.25	2.14*	1.36	1.25
D x E x B	0.87	0.74	1.98	1.30	1.89	1.74
D x E x A x B	0.70	0.59	.68	.45	.31	.29
Error	1.17		1.52		1.09	
C x D x E	5.95	5.33**	5.59	3.41**	1.40	1.26
C x D x E x A	1.37	1.23	2.28	1.39	1.17	1.05
C x D x E x B	1.75	1.57	1.11	.67	.52	.47
C x D x E x A x B	0.78	0.70	2.87	1.75*	.97	.87
Error	1.12		1.64		1.11	

\* p &lt; .05

\*\* p &lt; .01

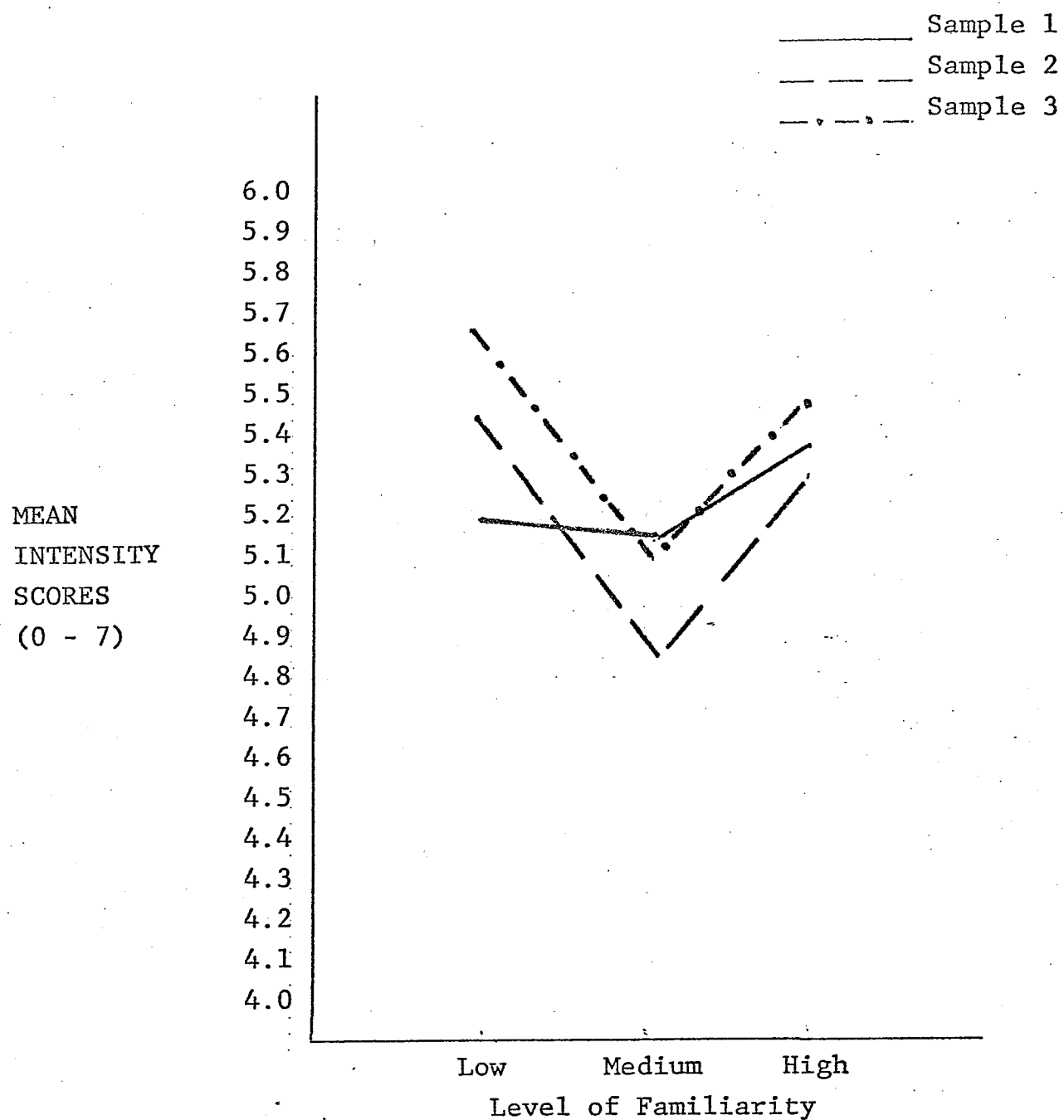


Figure 2. Intensity of Stereotype Traits as a Function of Familiarity

Sample Two. Table 5 and Appendix A present the results of these analyses for stereotype traits and all traits, respectively. As is evident there was no significant I-E main effect for the stereotype traits,  $F(1,62) = 1.130, p > .05$ , or for the total trait list,  $F(1,62) = .767, p > .05$ . Familiarity did however yield a significant main effect for both analyses.  $F(2,126) = 32.349, p < .01$ ;  $F(2,126) = 20.132, p < .01$ . This effect is presented graphically in Figure 2 for the stereotype traits and in Appendix B for total traits. No significant I-E by familiarity interaction resulted in either analyses,  $F(2,126) = .019, p > .05$ ;  $F(2,126) = 1.022, p > .05$ .

Sample Three. Consistent with the prior groups, no I-E effect was present for stereotype traits,  $F(1,54) = .133, p > .05$ , or for all traits,  $F(1,54) = .188, p > .05$ . These analyses are presented in Table 5 and Appendix A, respectively. The familiarity factor did again result in a significant main effect for both analyses,  $F(2,110) = 22.26, p < .01$ ;  $F(2,110) = 25.141, p < .01$  (see Figure 2 and Appendix B). No I-E by familiarity interaction was evident for either stereotype traits,  $F(2,110) = .175, p > .05$ , or for all traits,  $F(2,110) = 1.098, p > .05$ .

In both analyses for each of the three samples a main effect was found for nationality (see Table 5 and Appendix A). This is a predictable result as there was a main effect due to familiarity which by definition consisted of three nationalities per level.



In the analysis using stereotype traits there was also a sex by nationality interaction for sample one only. Also, in both analyses of covariance for each sample other than in one instance there was a familiarity by nationality interaction effect. The interaction was due to variability of intensity scores for the nationalities within each level of familiarity. However, it was the trend due to the main effect for familiarity that was of prime interest.

As can be seen in Table 5 and Appendix A, there was a main effect for traits in sample one using stereotype traits and a main effect in all samples when the entire trait list was the dependent measure. There was also a sex by trait interaction in sample one in this latter analysis. In all but one case over both analyses there was a significant familiarity by trait and nationality by trait interaction effect.

Only the results reported under the sample headings shall be discussed any further in the paper as they represent the focus of the study.

### Secondary Analyses

As is evident none of the above analyses yielded a significant I-E effect. Subsequent to these analyses the I-E scale was re-scored again according to the two factor structure found by Mirels (1970), Abrahamson, Schludermann and Schludermann (1973),

and Viney (1974). This was done on a post hoc basis to check for any possible differing results when the scale was subdivided into two scale scores. The items used for each dimension were systematically picked from the above mentioned studies. These factor analytic studies were reviewed with the items that loaded most consistently on the factors of fatalism and social-political control being used in the present study. Items, 3, 12, 17, 22, and 29 were used to designate the social-political control dimension while the remaining 18 items comprised the fatalism dimension. For each sample the total I-E score and the two factor scores were correlated with stereotype trait intensity scores. These analyses, however, failed to show any systematic patterns of correlation. Specifically, the correlations were extremely low with approximately half in the positive and half in the negative direction. No further investigation thus appeared warranted.

In summary, no I-E differences were evident in the data as well as no I-E by familiarity interaction effects. The familiarity dimension however yielded a consistent effect. It appears that more intense stereotypes are maintained when familiarity information is reported to be either low or high in contrast to the middle range.

## CHAPTER IV

## DISCUSSION

Several points were indicated by the data in the present study. Firstly, there appear to be no differences in the degree to which internals and externals assign stereotypes to ethnic groups. This finding was consistent across all of the samples used and was found both in the intensity of assignment of actual group stereotype traits, and also for the intensity of trait assignments in general. Secondly, the scale used to quantitatively assess both the cultural stereotypes and their intensities yielded consistency of results between groups as well as lists of stereotypes congruent with past research (e.g., Karlins, Coffman & Walters, 1969). Thirdly, stereotyping occurred with a greater intensity when the subjects indicated either a low level of familiarity or a high level of familiarity with regards to the nationalities. The middle level of familiarity resulted in lower intensity scores. Fourthly, the evidence indicates that university students are very willing to admit traditional ethnic stereotypes and to assign these stereotypes with a moderately high to a high intensity. The discussion will focus on the following issues: (1) some reasons as to why there were no I-E differences in the data, (2) the effect of familiarity on stereotyping, (3) the consistency and strength of stereotyping behavior, and (4) some theoretical implications.

### Locus of Control in Relation to Ethnic Stereotyping

The initial step taken to explain these results was to establish that the problems were not found in the measuring instruments used in the study. Though the new stereotype scale has not been previously employed in its exact form in past research, the scale does appear to be a useful instrument. It was used in three separate samples with very consistent results in terms of the actual traits seen as applicable for each nationality as well as in terms of intensity ratings over the three samples. Furthermore, due to the similarity of the traits found as applicable in this study in comparison to the traits in the Katz and Braly (1933) paradigm (Karlins, Coffman and Walters, 1969) evidence exists supporting the concurrent validity of the scale (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). The breakdown of the nationalities into three levels of familiarity yielded very similar results over groups. Again, this classification was consistent with previous research (Schoenfeld, 1942).

With respect to the I-E scale, the present study took into consideration possible correlations with social desirability. As was reported earlier, Feather (1967), Altrocchi, Palmer, Hellman, and Davis (1968), Cone (1971), and Vuchinich and Bass (1974) all reported significant correlations between locus of control and social desirability. Others (e.g., Tolor & Jalowiec, 1968) found no such relationship. The correlations in the present study were

small, accounting for no more than about 10% of the variance on the average.

There is yet an unresolved issue as to the dimensionality of the I-E scale. Current evidence tends to favor two distinct factors being present in the scale. Mirels (1970) found two factors in his analysis of the I-E scale based upon a sample of 316 college students using a varimax rotation. The first factor had item loadings that dealt with one's personal control while the second factor was concerned with the extent to which an individual had influence over political and world affairs. This factor structure has also been found by Abrahamson, Schludermann and Schludermann (1973), and Viney (1974). Although a factor analysis was not performed on the data in the present study due to the small sample size, the I-E scale scores were divided into two scale scores based upon previous factor analytic research (Mirels, 1970; Abrahamson, Schludermann & Schludermann, 1973; Viney, 1974). This division did not alter results.

Through the wide range of studies on locus of control there have occurred a few areas in which the I-E scale has been apparently ineffective in predicting behavior. Furthermore, these areas are relevant to the focal topic of ethnic stereotyping with regards to the methodological explanations as to why the scale was not functional. One such area is academic achievement.

Rotter (1966) stated that "people who are high on the need for achievement, in all probability, have some belief in their

own ability or skill to determine the outcome of their efforts" (p. 3). This is intuitively logical as an internal who feels in control of his reinforcements should study more, work harder, and consult professionals for assistance more often than externals. Externals, on the other hand, should feel that their grades and performance are independent of their actions. Studies using the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire (IAR) (Crandall, Katkovsky, & Crandall, 1965) have generally supported the hypothesis that internals will exhibit a higher level of academic achievement than externals (Crandall, Katkovsky, & Preston, 1962; Chance, 1965). This scale which is specifically designed to measure academic achievement, uses only powerful others as its manipulation of external control and can only be employed in elementary grades (Powell, 1971). The Rotter (1966) I-E scale, designed to measure generalized expectancies over many different life situations has yielded equivocal results. Eisenmann and Platt (1968) and Gold (1968) failed to show any significant relationship between I-E scores and college performance. Hjelle (1970) and Prociuk and Breen (1973) substantiated this finding reporting that internality was not linearly related to college grade point averages.

It appears that the I-E scale is not specific enough to accurately predict academic achievement as is the IARQ which is designed specifically for this purpose. There is no a priori reason to suspect, however, that the I-E scale should not be specific enough to predict stereotyping behavior. By definition ethnic stereotyping involves "a generalization concerning the

perceived prevalence of a given trait within an ethnic group (or) a particular pattern of traits that is commonly assigned to an ethnic group" (Brigham, 1971, p. 31).

A second area in which the I-E scale has not been functional in prediction is that of social-political activism. Thomas (1970) examined the relationship to scores on three indexes of proneness to engage in political activity among politically active parents and offspring. Less than half of the correlations were in the direction predicted by the locus of control dimension which would predict that internality would be positively correlated with political activity. Geller and Howard (1972) also failed to differentiate internals and externals on the basis of political involvement. Abramowitz (1973) dividing his items into non-political and political, based upon the study by Mirels (1970), found that only the political items related to the political involvement criteria (Political Activity scale, Kerpelman, 1972). Abramowitz (1973) states, "the present evidence would seem to place in some doubt the social learning premise that an individual's highly generalized expectation about his degree of control over circumstances in life is predictive of his inclination to engage in a specific class of environmental change activities", (p. 200). These data tend to support Mirels' (1970) contention that the I-E items do not tap a unidimensional construct. Coan (c.f., Dies, 1968) indicated that the I-E scale may not adequately tap the major aspects of personal control. He states that the scale tends to favor items that deal with social and political events and not traits or

personal habits.

The question of unidimensionality and multidimensionality of the I-E scale has stimulated much controversy. In Rotter's (1966) article, two factor analyses are reported, both yielding one main factor. One study was conducted by himself and the other conducted by Franklin (1963). In the latter study it was posited that one factor accounted for 53% of the total scale variance. This has not yet been replicated. Mirels (1970), Abrahamson, Schludermann and Schludermann (1973) and Viney (1974) have found two distinct factors. These factors are fatalism and social-political control. The scale though is generally used as a unidimensional scale unless there is some a priori reason to subdivide the items into factors. Rotter (1975) in a recent article defends his I-E dimension stating, "such factor analyses do not reveal the true structure of the construct, they only reveal the kinds of similarities perceived by a particular group of subjects for a particular selection of items" (Rotter, 1975. p. 66). Rotter feels that if a subscale can be devised yielding a more significant relationship than the entire test, then this would constitute an important finding.

Though there may be limitations on the I-E scale, it is not felt that this constituted the main difficulty in this study. Controls were introduced for the problem of the two possible dimensions of the scale. Furthermore, as previously stated, there is no apparent reason why the scale should not be effective as a predictor of stereotyping behavior as was the case with academic achievement. As was reported, lack of specificity of the scale



was the apparent obstacle in relating locus of control to academic achievement. This leads us directly from the I-E scale to the I-E construct. It is suggested moreover, that the lack of I-E differences may be due to the I-E construct itself.

Smoking behavior and alcohol and drug abuse are areas in which the locus of control construct has had apparent problems of application and can be shown to be relevant to ethnic stereotyping. As described in the introduction, results with locus of control have been inconsistent. It would appear logical that internals should quit smoking more so than externals due to their need for a sense of control over themselves and their environment. Straits and Sechrest (1963) and James, Woodruff and Werner (1965) found evidence suggesting that internals quit smoking to a greater degree than externals after being warned of its danger. Lichenstein and Keutzer (1967) and others have failed to replicate this finding. It was suggested that a confounding of the need for control and resistance to influence may have been in effect as these studies followed the Surgeon General's warning on the risk of smoking.

It is possible that the lack of I-E differences in this study could also lie in a confounding of variables. The variables in question are the internal's insight and information seeking behavior (e.g., Davis & Phares, 1967) versus the externals susceptibility to influence and tendency to conform (e.g., Biondo & MacDonald, 1971). If indeed there was some truth to a nationality's stereotype, internals and externals may be assigning stereotype traits based upon different information. It could be

that internals are stereotyping due to an actual knowledge of or insight into the nationality while externals are stereotyping through a conformity to cultural norms. This issue of the "kernal of truth", which is the key to this argument, has never been resolved. Evidence has been presented for both sides of the "kernal of truth" controversy.

The question is "can a stereotype continue to exist in a culture without any kernal of truth whatsoever inherent in it?" A classic study often cited to defend the lack of truth of a stereotype was that of LaPiere (1936). Armenian laborers working in California were labelled as individuals characterized by dishonesty and deceitfulness. Looking at actual tangible evidence, though, revealed that these same persons had good credit ratings, appeared less often in legal cases and rarely applied for financial aid. In another study, Schoenfeld (1942) had subjects match personality characteristics with first names, both male and female. There was a significant effect found indicating consensus of trait attributions to names. Virtually none of the subjects felt that their task was insidious or useless but complied fully. Wells, Goi and Seader (1958) found that due to an advertising campaign persons owning a particular model of car were seen as drastically different over the period of only one year when the campaign was in effect. Harding, Proshansky, Kutner and Chein (1969) have presented a review of studies supporting the falseness of stereotypes. In contrast, Vinacke (1956) feels that it is ridiculous to assume that there are no cross-cultural personality differences between groups. Margaret Mead (1956) maintains that stereotypes

are basically accurate but incomplete.

Further support for the accuracy of stereotypes is found in the research undertaken on stereotyping and group contact. In a study by Prothro and Melikian (1955) the stereotype of Americans held by university students in the Near East in May 1951 was compared to the stereotype a year and a half later. In this period there was a great influx of Americans into the Near East with many visitors to the university. The traits did change to some extent and yielded a more positive stereotype emphasizing more personal traits than previously found. Saenger and Flowerman (1954) found that when subjects at Cornell University rated Jews using an adjective checklist of 26 traits that some traits changed in frequency of endorsement due to the effect of familiarity. It has been suggested that if a group stereotype is similar to the group's self stereotype evidence of some truth in the personality portrait exists. Schuman (1966) found a certain degree of validity in his assessment of stereotypes. The author compared stereotypes of East Pakistanies to some validation data taken from a large interview study on values and attitudes and found that stereotypes appear to have some validity when applied to traditional rural populations. Campbell (1967) states that though social psychologists are correct in labelling stereotypes as basically in error, there may be some grain of truth evident if the studies were to compare stereotypes to validating data. He suggests that traits due to victimization, for instance, may be operable. A majority group could indeed force certain traits upon a minority group. Furthermore, role

specialization may engender certain class related traits. Also, using an anthropological basis, Campbell points out how stereotype traits have partly been a function of ethnic specialization such as physical labor (strong, pleasure-loving, etc.) or trade (clever, sophisticated). Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) conclude, "the present data suggest that there is a 'kernel of truth' in most stereotypes when they are elicited from people who have first-hand knowledge of the group being stereotyped" (p. 324).

In sum then, until reliable validity data can be found this issue will remain unresolved. Suffice it to say that if there is a kernel of truth in some of the stereotypes of the nationalities present, it is possible that internals were attributing traits to nationalities based upon information seeking and insight while externals were attributing traits based upon conformity and susceptibility to influence.

A second explanation as to the lack of predicted I-E differences can be derived from the recently investigated area of locus of control in relation to alcohol and drug abuse (Prociuk & Lussier, 1975). This is another area of research where I-E differences did not result as predicted. A similar rationale is proposed to explain this inconsistency for both stereotyping and alcohol and drug abuse.

Locus of control has been successfully related to several areas of psychological adjustment. It is logical that it should be related to alcohol and drug abuse as the element of personal control is very much involved. If alcoholism is seen as an escape from reality, it implies a lack of control. Costello and Manders

(1974) found that samples of alcoholics scored lower on Rotter's (1966) I-E scale than did a sample of non-alcoholics. This had previously been found in studies performed by Goss and Morosko (1970), Distenfanso, Pryer, and Garrison (1972) and Gozali (1972). In the Costello and Manders (1974) study both residents and counselors at a rehabilitation center were used as participants. In both groups, the mean I-E score was well below average. This finding of excessively low scores on the I-E scale for alcoholic samples were found in the above reported studies as well as by Strassberg and Robinson (1974) and Smythman, Plant and Southern (1974).

These studies have consistently shown the locus of control construct not to be applicable or not to function in accord with expectations of the construct. It has been suggested that the exaggerated low I-E scores for alcoholics were due to a "pseudo" feeling of control after imbibing alcohol. (Costello & Manders, 1974). This has not yet been substantiated and secondly, if these scores indeed were exaggerated due to alcohol consumption it is possible that the unexaggerated scores would still be in the internal direction.

The most plausible explanation of the results on alcohol and drug abuse that furthermore applies to the stereotyping results is that the locus of control dimension simply is not applicable as a predictor variable in these areas. It may be possible, however, that physiological dependence is a variable that is operative in causing the lack of predicted I-E differences with smoking and with alcoholism. In the present

research stereotyping behavior was viewed via the trait approach. It was expected that externals would stereotype to a greater degree than internals based upon the different personality and behavioral characteristics exhibited by these individuals. As is evident no such differences were found which indicates another possible explanation.

It appears that certain events such as drinking behavior, irrespective of etiology, or stereotyped attitudes may be overpowering any differences predicted through the locus of control dimension. Rotter (1975) indicates that the construct is not meant to be predictive to a high degree in every area of personality measurement. In the Costello and Manders (1974) study on alcohol abuse the authors indicate that it was the situation of drinking or of not drinking that had the prime effect on their criterion measure while locus of control failed to produce expected results. Under these circumstances locus of control appears to lose its predictive ability. It is further proposed that with stereotyping a similar phenomenon exists. It seems that since stereotyped attitudes are so well established (e.g., Karlins, Coffman & Walters, 1969) and promoted through the media (e.g., Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974) that a very generalized variable such as locus of control becomes ineffective as a predictor of behavior under these circumstances.

In a recent article, Wachtel (1973) suggested that much of a person's social environment is a result of his own behavior. He suggests that people may create consistently similar environments for themselves. He states, "How do we understand the man

who seems to bring out the bitchy side of whatever woman he encounters" (p. 9). If we do create our own situations or environments to a large degree this could likely foster stereotyping behavior. Through our mass media we appear to create situations in which to view stereotypes (e.g., Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974) which is likely to engender consistency of stereotypes. Since this phenomenon appears to occur on a societal level it should give it a great deal of power and influence and perhaps virtually overpower or at least minimize individual trait differences.

#### The Effect of Familiarity Information

Familiarity information itself, had a quite consistent effect upon the intensity of stereotyping though no I-E by familiarity effect resulted. What was found was a U-relationship with a consistent tendency to use more intense stereotypes at low and high levels of information pertaining to the nationalities. This effect was found to be particularly strong in the principle analysis assessing group stereotypes (5 traits/nationality) but also evidenced itself in the overall trait attributions.

One possible explanation of this phenomenon could again be derived from the kernel of truth hypothesis. This would suggest that when a nationality is familiar to the raters the content may change. The present study yielded only traditional stereotypes in all nationalities regardless of familiarity. It could be, however, that even though the content remained consistent the intensity may have increased for familiar nationalities due to a feeling of confidence in the ratings. At the unfamiliar end of

the continuum, we could be viewing stereotyping based upon insufficient information, overgeneralizations and lack of justification.

I would like to consider a second approach to this relationship in more depth. As Cauthern, Robinson and Krause (1971) point out, "The effect on stereotypes of varying the amount of information has received little study. Valuable work in this area could be done by adopting an information processing paradigm" (p. 105). If we adopt this information processing paradigm, we should find stereotypes to be most influential in judgement (i.e., high intensity) when the level of information is either high or low. This is what was found.

Information processing theory postulates an inverted U-curve relationship between level of information and environmental complexity. Though this curve is an inverted U it is entirely consisted with the U-curve found in this research. Recall that level of information processing is low at both low and high information levels and highest in the central region. By analogy to this information processing model, low processing can be viewed as similar to high stereotyping and a high level of processing as similar to a low level of stereotyping. The formulation resembles the Yerkes-Dodson law (1908). This "law" stated that moderate levels of motivation result in the best performance in contrast to high or low levels. Information processing replaces "motivation" with external variables (complexity) and "performance" with conceptual level (Schroder, Driver & Streufert, 1967).



Schroder, Driver and Struefert (1967) also extend their discussion to attitudes seen as information processing structures. "Concrete attitudes are insensitive to changes in situational contexts and to new and subtle informational changes" (p. 134).. The authors proposed that this level of processing (low) based upon a narrow range of information, explains the persistence of group prejudice. This can, of course, be extended to group stereotypes which, in the literature, are often equated to group prejudices. Brigham (1971) points out that prejudice cannot exist with stereotyping. The point is that discrepant or less salient information is excluded or distorted to fit in with the existing cognitive structure. It is suggested this is what is happening at the low and high information levels as it is here that the high intensity stereotypes appear to exist. The medium levels of familiarity apparently generates a more integrated attitude structure allowing for more personal variation.

### Stereotyping Behavior

A clear cut finding of this study was that internals and externals do indeed stereotype, maintaining many of the traditional stereotypes reported by Katz and Braly (1933) and Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969). Japanese were found to be loyal to family, industrious and scientifically-minded. Jews were seen as ambitious, loyal to family ties, and materialistic. Negroes were still viewed as musical, pleasure-loving, and happy-go-lucky. Americans received such trait attributions as materialistic, ambitious, and pleasure-loving. The English were seen as courteous, sophisticated, and conservative. Italians maintained the picture of a nationality

comprised of individuals loyal to family ties, passionate, and pleasure-loving. The fighting Irish were seen as quick-tempered, religious and tradition-loving. The Chinese were viewed as basically loyal to family ties, nationalistic and tradition-loving. Finally, the Germans were seen as industrious, efficient, and scientifically-minded. With respect to the intensities, it is evident that the stereotyped traits were seen to apply with moderately high to high intensities.

These results support the finding of Centers (1951) and Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969) who replicated the Katz and Braly approach and found consistency of trait attributions. Again, the trait attributions were consistent over the samples used. Vinacke (1949) noted that ethnic groups even stereotyped themselves. Jews, not considering themselves personally shrewd or clannish viewed Jews in general as holding these personality traits. Fink and Cantril (1937) found that at four eastern universities, students held similar stereotypes of themselves and of other students. Negroes were seen as exhibiting traits as consistent with the stereotype of a Negro while the "typical" student was seen as entirely different. These studies indicate that nationalities often accept their own stereotype. This again suggests the impact that our culture may have upon its people in accepting these generalized trait attributions.

Abate and Berrien (1967) have investigated group stereotypes, self stereotypes and "vereotypes" ("real" group characteristics as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Scale). The two groups, Americans and Japanese, judged each others' stereotypes

accurately but correlations were low with the results of the EPPS. The subjects evidenced no improvement of performance in judging their own stereotypes in contrast to the stereotype of the other nationality.

Lerner (in press) proposes an explanation as to why stereotypes exist and persists over time based upon his "Just World Hypothesis". Lerner believes that from childhood, we develop a "personal contract". Postponement of gratification in lieu of immediate reinforcement with the expectancy of a further reward is an example of this. This contract then extends to larger life areas where deserving becomes a central and unifying personality force. Lerner & Simmons (1966) proposed that people have a need to believe in a just world where deserving people are rewarded and the undeserving are either deprived or punished. The awareness of someone else in the same 'world' not getting what he deserves will be a threat to the personal contract's validity and creates a conflict for the observer. An important point in this formulation is that no single formula for defining what exactly is a just outcome for each individual will fit the variety of situations where justice considerations appear.

We see here the function of stereotypes. These are beliefs prevalent in society which may allow injustice to occur without the victim being seen as a victim of injustice (Lerner, in press). MacDonald (1971) reported evidence indicating that people holding a strong belief in the protestant ethic condemn those who live in poverty. Lerner (in press) states "clearly, the most insidious

beliefs which shape the way we decide what someone deserves are 'stereotypes' learned through socialization"(p. 4). Under this paradigm, different nationalities can deserve what may be unjust for us as they are different people with different goals and values -- they deserve their fates. Throughout our lives, we are presented with these nationalities cast in specific life roles. By adulthood a person has a well established set of justice related values that allow him to cope with the dissonance that may be occurring around him. When we are confronted with something unjust we are threatened, experiencing dissonance and it is important, then, for us to maintain justice. A simple and straightforward method of achieving this desired goal is to convince ourselves that no injustice exists (Lerner, in press). For instance, if the victim deserves his fate, consonance is maintained. Jones and Nisbett (1971) would also suggest that the observer may generalize from seeing the victim act in one specific manner in a specific situation to a personality trait held by the actor. Since it is likely that members of any nationality have at some time exhibited their respective stereotyped traits, it is easily apparent to see how this behavior persists. Jones & Nisbett (1971) maintain that this behavior of trait attributions has resulted and remained intact over time due to different information available to the actor and the observer and the distortions of information the observer makes in order to view behavior consistently. For example, let us say that through the process of reification John's aggressive behavior in a few situations becomes

labelled as the trait of aggressiveness attributed to John. The result of reification is that something the actor does becomes something that the actor has. Without knowing the historical events, the effects of, or the causes of this behavior the observer sees this as a consistent personality trait. Behaviors such as gentleness and warmth are now seen as fascades. This is consistent with stereotyping behavior. In this way individuals are seen to maintain a particular series of personality traits based upon their nationality. Through this process a sense of being able to understand and predict behavior is possessed. This is basically the traditional way in which stereotypes have been viewed, that is, as over-generalizations (e.g., Brigham, 1971).

#### Theoretical Implications

The present study has several theoretical implications. Methodologically, a new concise form of a stereotype measurement scale appears to have promise. Results were reliable and evidenced validity using past research results as a criterion measure. Furthermore, intensity is now a measure that can be investigated. Brigham (1971) states "few investigators have been interested in assessing the degree to which individuals agree with modal trait attributions, that is, deriving stereotype scores" (p. 32). This scale allows the investigator to assess the modal trait attributions and the intensity of these attributions. Furthermore, the fact that students still endorse the traditional stereotypes found in the past is particularly significant due to our allegedly

liberalized society. More than ever before we hear of the liberation of women, of countries from their political ties, of sexual standards, but we have not yet liberated ourselves from stereotypes.

Meenes (1943) and Sinha and Upadyay (1960) indicate that stereotypes are not determiners of national policy but reflect national policy. In light of the recent condemning of Zionism as racism by the United Nations, this proposal appears to have support.

The discovery that both the familiar and the unfamiliar groups received high intensity stereotypes has interesting implications as to the dynamics of why stereotypes exist. It would be interesting to see further research on this topic area, particularly using an information processing paradigm. It would also be valuable to investigate directly why individuals endorse traits -- is it due to a norm or is it because they actually know that these individuals do, indeed, have these underlying traits (kernel of truth)? Again, what are the dynamics behind stereotyping? Due to the consistent lack of I-E differences in stereotyping, strong support for the generalizability of stereotyped behavior is evident. This is very important in light of the fact that the most predominant theme running throughout stereotype research is that stereotypes are in some way unjustified based upon standards of objectivity. Perhaps Bogardus (1950) was correct 25 years ago and is still correct today, when he simply and concisely state, "stereotyping is universal among all members of the human race" (p. 289).

There appears to be no simple relationship between ethnic stereotyping and prejudicial behavior, which is in part likely due to varying situational and personality variables that bear on any behavioral situation. A truly fitting quote, though, to summarize the possible implications of this pervasive phenomenon of stereotyping is taken from a letter to the editor of Time, December 15, 1975. The letter reads:

As an American Jew, I have experienced little discrimination. However, in the wake of the recent U.N. "racist-Zionist" revolution, to my shock I have found that a good Italian friend was forced to choose between being friends with "that Jew" or keeping his Arab "friends". I would never have believed that a boycott used in political-economic circumstances would ever be applied to Jews as a group, but to many Arabs studying here, the "racism of Zionism" means that Jews are again the pariah of the world. I am hurt, and more than that, I am afraid."

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY

The main purpose of the present study was to investigate the relationship between Rotter's (1966) locus of control construct and ethnic stereotyping. A secondary purpose was to develop a new, simple to administer, and easy to complete, stereotype questionnaire that would allow a quantitative measure of intensity. Past research on locus of control has indicated that externals tend to be more conforming (e.g., Odell, 1959), dogmatic (Clouser & Hjelle, 1970), susceptible to influence (Biondo & MacDonald, 1971), and less insightful and information seeking (Davis & Phares, 1967), than internals. Stereotypes were operationalized as a generalized expectancy or attitude, similar to locus of control but in this case a generalized expectancy about another person's traits. Based upon the personality differences exhibited by internals and externals, it was predicted that externals would conform more to the cultural persuasion of stereotyping. It was further predicted that when a familiarity dimension was employed, the difference would be accentuated (DuCette & Wolke, 1973).

Subjects were undergraduate psychology students. There were three samples consisting of 88 males and females, 67 males and females, and 59 males and females respectively. The subjects were administered the modified version of the Katz and Braly (1933) stereotype assessment technique, a familiarity questionnaire,



Rotter's (1966) I-E scale and Edwards (1957) Social Desirability Scale. The Social Desirability Scale was employed as this factor appears to effect both locus of control (e.g., Vuchinich & Bass, 1974) and stereotyping (Weiss, 1975a, 1975b). Subjects were classified as internals or externals based upon a median split of the I-E scores and then divided by sex. This was performed for each sample, separately. For each group, the nationalities' stereotype traits were assessed by the five highest mean trait intensity scores for each nationality. Nationalities were ranked on the familiarity dimension based upon mean familiarity scores.

The basic analyses yielded no I-E differences but did yield a significant familiarity effect. Intensity of trait attributions was highest as either low or high informational levels. Subsequent analyses, where the entire list of traits was employed, produced results similar to the previous analyses, though differences were not as pronounced.

The results suggested several interpretations. It is possible that a confounding was operational with information seeking behavior and resistance to influence on the part of internals. This presupposes a kernel of truth in stereotypes. Alternately, and more likely, the I-E dimension simply does not apply in this area due to the magnitude of stereotyped attitudes. The effect of familiarity allowed for an information processing explanation of these results. Finally, and perhaps most important, the results suggest that stereotyping is very active to this day in our apparently liberalized society with university students displaying a readiness to endorse traditional ethnic stereotypes with a concomitantly high intensity.

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## APPENDIX A

Summary of Analyses of Covariance

For All Traits Over Samples

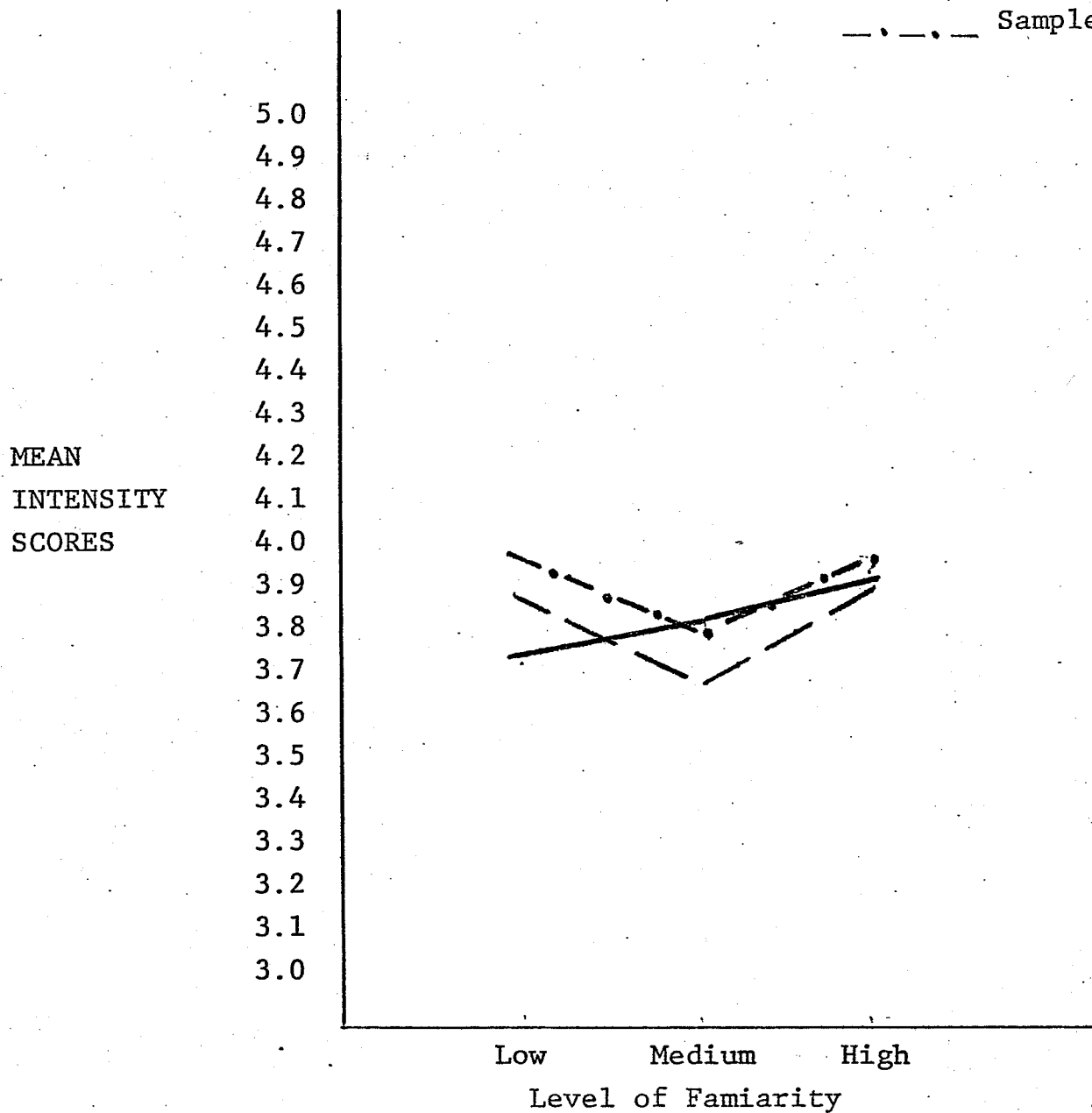
Summary of Analyses of Covariance  
For All Traits Over Samples

Source	Sample 1		Sample 2		Sample 3	
	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
Sex (A)	19.62	.16	278.43	4.56*	92.62	1.07
I-E (B)	9.31	.08	46.78	.77	16.25	.19
A x B	35.7	.29	11.19	.18	7.54	.09
1st Cov.	96.99	.80	.30	.004	3.34	.04
Error	121.86		61.01		86.25	
Familiarity (C)	45.85	12.61**	78.43	20.13**	90.59	25.14**
C x A	2.44	.67	6.07	1.56	16.18	4.49*
C x B	1.66	.45	3.98	1.02	3.95	1.10
C x A x B	.002	.001	4.11	1.05	.61	.17
Error	3.64		3.90		3.60	
Nationality (D)	19.16	6.92**	27.07	7.10**	10.47	3.08*
D x A	11.51	4.15	8.96	2.35	1.73	.51
D x B	3.43	1.24	4.14	1.05	6.55	1.93
D x A x B	.34	.12	2.08	.54	2.31	.68
Error	2.77		3.81		3.40	
C x D	77.70	17.36**	29.05	5.74**	12.30	3.43*
C x D x A	2.41	.54	4.36	.861	13.99	3.91**
C x D x B	8.94	2.00	4.84	.96	1.25	.35
C x D x A x B	3.71	.83	7.25	1.43	2.45	.68
Errors	4.48		5.06		3.58	
Traits (E)	537.05	85.85**	413.59	66.75**	458.23	64.70**
E x A	11.44	1.83**	5.89	.95	8.54	1.21
E x B	3.99	.64	5.26	.85	3.64	.51
E x A x B	3.41	.54	4.29	.69	6.28	.89
Error	6.26		6.20		7.08	
C x E	20.49	13.96**	40.39	21.17**	35.83	21.13**
C x E x A	1.61	1.10	2.55	1.34	2.43	1.43*
C x E x B	1.27	.86	1.57	.72	1.37	.81
C x E x A x B	1.41	.96	2.19	1.15	1.40	.82
Error	1.47		1.91		1.70	
D x E	31.68	23.23**	48.08	27.77**	35.53	23.51**
D x E x A	2.20	1.61**	2.22	1.28	2.04	1.47*
D x E x B	1.43	1.05	1.76	1.01	.84	.61
D x E x A x B	1.31	.96	1.64	.95	.81	.59
Error	1.36		1.73		1.38	
C x D x E	38.57	24.11**	36.88	20.63**	30.42	19.44**
C x D x E x A	2.83	1.77**	2.81	1.57**	2.74	1.75**
C x D x E x B	2.07	1.29*	1.70	.95	1.52	.97
C x D x E x A x B	1.80	1.12	1.72	.96	1.26	.80
Error	1.60		1.79		1.56	

## APPENDIX B

### Illustration of Familiarity Effect Over All Traits

Sample 1  
Sample 2  
Sample 3



Intensity of Total Trait Attributions as  
a Function of Familiarity

## APPENDIX C

### Stereotype Measurement Scale



## QUESTIONNAIRE 1

On the following page you will find a list of personality traits and nationalities. The nationalities are presented across the top of the page and the traits are presented along the left hand side of the page. Your task is to estimate in your opinion to what degree each trait applies to each nationality. This is done in the following way:

- 1) Start with the first nationality at the top of the page and work down through the personality traits.
- 2) Place one number in the square opposite each trait. Do this for each nationality working down each column one at a time. Do not work across.

Make your judgments using the following scale for each trait.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all Applicable							Very Applicable

- A '0' indicates that you feel the trait is not at all applicable.
- The numbers between 1 and 7 indicate increasing degrees of applicability where a '7' indicates that you feel the trait is very applicable.

Please work fairly quickly through the questionnaire and express your opinion honestly.

- No identification is required.
- When you have completed the questionnaire please fill out the few questions on the next page.

\* \* \* \* TURN OVER AND BEGIN \* \* \* \*

Use this scale choosing one number only for each square. Remember to work down only.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Not at all Applicable							Very Applicable	
	Japanese	Jews	Negroes	Americans	English	Italians	Irish	Chinese	Germans
Opportunistic									
Loyal to Family ties									
Extremely Nationalistic									
Practical									
Scientifically minded									
Quick tempered									
Shrewd									
Conservative									
Passionate									
Ignorant									
Meditative									
Artistic									
Reserved									
Aggressive									
Musical									
Pleasure-Loving									
Lazy									
Intelligent									
Courteous									
Sophisticated									
Industrious									
Physically dirty									
Impulsive									
Very Religious									
Tradition-loving									
Materialistic									
Treacherous									
Happy-go-lucky									
Quiet									
Ambitious									
Efficient									

WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED THIS PAGE, PLEASE TURN OVER

## APPENDIX D

### Familiarity Scale

Please indicate on the following scales to what degree you feel that you are familiar with each of the nationalities. This may be based upon personal contact or information from other sources, some of which may be television, radio, newspapers, or magazines. Circle the appropriate number on each of the scales that indicate the degree of familiarity.

- A '0' indicates that you are not at all familiar with the nationality.

- The numbers between 1 and 7 indicate increasing degrees of familiarity with a '7' indicating high familiarity.

## JAPANESE

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## IRISH

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## ENGLISH

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## CHINESE

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## NEGROES

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## JEWS

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## AMERICANS

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## GERMANS

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## ITALIANS

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all							Very
Familiar							Familiar

## APPENDIX E

Rotter (1966) I-E Scale

SOCIAL OPINION SURVEY

Please select the one statement in each pair of statements which you more strongly believe to be the case (as far as you personally are concerned). Be sure to select the one YOU BELIEVE TO BE CLOSER TO THE TRUTH rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief; obviously there are no right or wrong answers. (Remember, mark one and only one statement in each pair.)

USE IBM SHEET: 1 = a  
2 = b

\* \* \* \* \*

- 1.(a) Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.  
(b) The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
- 2.(a) Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.  
(b) People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
- 3.(a) One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.  
(b) There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
- 4.(a) In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.  
(b) Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
- 5.(a) The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.  
(b) Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
- 6.(a) Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.  
(b) Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
- 7.(a) No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.  
(b) People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
- 8.(a) Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.  
(b) It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.
- 9.(a) I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.  
(b) Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
- 10.(a) In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely, if ever, such a thing as an unfair test.  
(b) Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

- 11.(a) Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.  
(b) Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
- 12.(a) The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.  
(b) This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
- 13.(a) When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.  
(b) It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
- 14.(a) There are certain people who are just no good.  
(b) There is some good in everybody.
- 15.(a) In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.  
(b) Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
- 16.(a) Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.  
(b) Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- 17.(a) As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.  
(b) By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
- 18.(a) Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.  
(b) There really is no such thing as "luck".
- 19.(a) One should always be willing to admit mistakes.  
(b) It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
- 20.(a) It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.  
(b) How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
- 21.(a) In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.  
(b) Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
- 22.(a) With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.  
(b) It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
- 23.(a) Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.  
(b) There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

- 24.(a) A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.  
(b) A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
- 25.(a) Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.  
(b) It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
- 26.(a) People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.  
(b) There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
27. (a) There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.  
(b) Team sports are an excellent way to build character.
- 28.(a) What happens to me is my own doing.  
(b) Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
- 29.(a) Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.  
(b) In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.



## APPENDIX F

### Edwards (1957) Social Desirability Scale

## QUESTIONNAIRE II

This inventory consists of numbered statements. Read each statement and decide whether it is true as applied to you or false as applied to you.

You are to mark your answers on the answer sheet you have. If the statement is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE, as applied to you, blacken between the lines in the column headed T. If a statement is FALSE or NOT USUALLY TRUE, as applied to you, blacken between the lines in the column headed F.

Remember to give YOUR OWN opinion of yourself.

In marking your answers on the answer sheet, be sure that the number of the statement agrees with the number on the answer sheet. Make your marks heavy and black. Erase completely any answer you wish to change. Do not make any marks on this scale.

1. My hands and feet are usually warm enough.
2. I am very seldom troubled by constipation.
3. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.
4. Most any time I would rather sit and daydream than do anything else.
5. My family does not like the work I have chosen (or the work I intend to choose for my life work).
6. My sleep is fitfull and disturbed.
7. I am liked by most people who know me.
8. I am happy most of the time.
9. Criticism or scolding hurts me terribly.
10. It makes me impatient to have people ask my advice or otherwise interrupt me when I am working on something important.
11. I have had periods in which I carried on activities without knowing later what I had been doing.
12. I cry easily.
13. I do not tire quickly.
14. I am not afraid to handle money.
15. It makes me uncomfortable to put on a stunt at a party even when others are doing the same sort of things.
16. I frequently notice my hand shakes when I try to do something.
17. It does not bother me particularly to see animals suffer.
18. I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.
19. My parents and family find more fault with me than they should.
20. I have reason for feeling jealous of one or more members of my family.
21. No one cares much what happens to you.
22. I usually expect to succeed in things I do.
23. I sweat very easily even on cool days.

24. When in a group of people I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.
25. I can easily make other people afraid of me, and sometimes do for the fun of it.
26. I am never happier than when alone.
27. Life is a strain for me much of the time.
28. I am easily embarrassed.
29. I cannot keep my mind on one thing.
30. I feel anxiety about something or someone almost all of the time.
31. I have been afraid of things or people that I knew could not hurt me.
32. I am not unusually self-conscious.
33. People often disappoint me.
34. I feel hungry almost all of the time.
35. I worry quite a bit over possible misfortunes.
36. It makes me nervous to have to wait.
37. I blush no more often than others.
38. I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty.
39. I sometimes feel that I am about to go to pieces.