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The Effect of Contact on Stereotyping

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Abstract

The intensity of contact with foreigners and its influence on the degree of stereotyping in foreign judgments was tested with a procedure developed by Dr. Bert Westerlundh (2001). This is the first time that Dr. Westerlundh's procedure is used. It consists of a questionnaire with (1) 12 racially-ethnically explicit pictures, in this work classified as *White*, *Black* and *Yellow*; (2) six cartoon illustrations, three depicting mixed racial-ethnic interaction and three depicting homogenous (White) interaction. Ten positive and ten negative adjectives were designated to each picture and illustration. The participants rated the corresponding adjectives on a scale of 1 to 7. (3) A Modern Racism Scale based on the Uppsala version designed by Dr. Bo Ekehammar (1996), rated on a scale of 1 to 5. (4) Two sets of instructions, one indicating that the participants were testing Stereotyping, the other that they were testing Anxiety and the Halo Effect. We tested 120 high school students, 60 from a school in an area with 13% foreigners and 60 from a school in an area with 4% foreigners. We made two groups of girls and two of boys at each school. One group of boys and one of girls got the Anxiety & Halo instructions, the other two groups the Stereotyping instructions. We hypothesized that there was a difference between the populations of the schools which would show up independent of the instructions. We obtained mixed results, among them, girls showed less prejudice than boys. Also, the *halo effect* showed that it can conquer the boundaries of race and color, in this case, leading to positive judgments of black faces.

INDEX

On The Effect of Contact on Stereotyping	4
LITERATURE REVIEW	6
What are Social Stereotypes?	6
Where do stereotypes come from?	8
Automatic operation of stereotypes	9
Stereotype, Prejudice and Discrimination	10
Prejudice	10
Discrimination	10
The Contact Theory	12
The Contact as Personalization Theory	12
The Intergroup Contact and Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Theory	14
The Theory of A Cognitive Analysis of Contact: The Impact of Stereotype-Disconfirming Information.	15
About Our Experiment	16
METHOD	16
Subjects	16
Measures	16
<i>Materials used</i>	16
Procedure	18
<i>How the test was conducted</i>	18
<i>Ascribing of Adjectives to the Pictures and the Illustrations</i>	19
<i>The Modern Racism Scale</i>	19
RESULTS	19
DISCUSSION	26
REFERENCES	30
APPENDIX	32

On The Effect of Contact on Stereotyping

Most of the theories and ideas reviewed to do this work are from studies carried out in the USA and Canada by North American researchers. However, we do not expect any of the issues discussed here to be culturally bound. This is so in spite of the fact that the literature consulted discusses overwhelmingly situations related to African Americans. In this regard, our position is that the internal mechanisms that trigger stereotyping are the same, irrespective of the object, the peoples, places, policies, etc. that trigger them. All societies in the world have their own stereotype triggers, they all have their own “African Americans.”

The integration policies of the multicultural, multiracial countries of North America have been aimed at bringing together different racial and ethnic groups in housing developments, education, sports, etc. Those in charge of implementing the policies have taken the contact theory as a basis for their policies. This is due to the fact that the consequences of stereotyping are not something that the stereotyped can easily deal with or overcome by going somewhere else to satisfy their needs for, say, work, education or housing. In spite of recent findings that deem stereotyping as having a cognitive basis and being a consequence of the routine operation of cognitive processes instead of an intentionally motivated act to discriminate, stereotyping can affect in very detrimental ways the lives of those who are stereotyped.

Miles Hewstone, (1996), however, points out that research has shown not only that contact can reduce stereotyping. It has also shown that stereotyping can be increased through contact. Different approaches have been studied and experimented with, and they have rendered opposite results. Some of them will be mention in this work.

Tajfel & Forgas (1981), point out that stereotypes serve an individual function by systematizing and simplifying information available to the perceiver. They also serve a collective function by offering culturally accepted explanations of events, thus justifying group actions and allowing groups to differentiate “positively” from other groups.

Per C. Stangor and M. Schaller, (1996), on the same issue, cultural models consider society itself to be the basis of stored knowledge, and stereotypes as public information about social groups that is shared among the individuals within a culture. In this approach, stereotypes exist in the fabric of society as well as in the head of the individuals, as perceivers of society. Thus, stereotyping has two functions: the individual and the collective.

Stangor and Schaller also address a perspective which they call *feature-base prototype*. According to it, stereotypes are associations between categories and traits. This allows for the stereotypes to be measured in accordance to the degree to which the traits are activated. The researchers give an example with the word “*Italian*” as category, which activate adjectives like “romantic” (among others). This example brings to mind the questionnaires designed by Dr. Westlundh (a copy is attached), which we used in our own work.

M. B. Brewer’s (1996) distinction between category-based and personalized modes of information processing in individual perception, which she calls *dual-process model*, is similar to Stangor and Schaller’s proposition of the individual and collective functions of stereotypes. It also resembles the researchers’ *categories and traits* quality of their feature-base prototype model. Brewer’s dual-process model advocates strong personal contacts, communications and relationships between perceiver and target to prevent accessing stereotypes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

What are social stereotypes?

We summarize the definitions of several researchers, starting with D. M. Mackie, D. L. Hamilton, J. Susskind and F. Rosselli (1996). They give the following definition: A cognitive structure containing the perceivers knowledge, beliefs and expectations about a human social group. Since individuals interpret experiences differently, stereotypes might also be different. However, many experiences have a common social context and this fact might influence the formation of stereotypes that eventually are shared by a whole society. C. S. Ryan, B. Park and C. M. Judd (1996), cite Allport, Tajfel, Hamilton & Troler (1984), in their work related to the cognitive quality of stereotypes. The first researchers agree with the latter in that human beings have limitations in processing information. As a result, stereotypes are used to organize and simplify the complexities of our world. This can easily lead to oversimplifications and to overgeneralizations.

Z. Kunda (1999) confirms that stereotypes are cognitive structures conformed of our knowledge, beliefs and expectations about social groups. She says that they tend to bind together to help us understand attributes, actions or behaviors that we have trouble making sense of.

Further, she mentions that studies have shown that cognitive busyness can disrupt the spontaneous activation of stereotypes. One of those studies consisted of asking participants to complete a series of word fragments presented by video by an Asian or a White assistant. The participants were given 15 seconds to complete as many word fragments as possible. Five of the fragments could be completed with words associated with stereotypes of Asian Americans. Half of the participants were made cognitively busy by giving them the task of rehearsing an eight-digit number

while completing their word fragments. The results were that the participants who were not cognitively busy activated their Asian stereotype while those who were busy did not.

Kunda sees the fact that we use traits to convey personality and to describe and make sense of behaviors also as a result of our predisposition to stereotype, in particular because traits are not at all consistent and we seem to fail to realize this. For example, when we say “Peter didn’t do his homework, he’s lazy”, the implication is that Peter is lazy all the time, while Peter perhaps always does his homework and today was an exception. Within our own groups, with those we have more contact with, it is not unusual to hear or even be the deliverers of comments like “Jenny is so *strange*. Sometime she says hello, and sometimes she doesn’t even look at me.” Of course, we can assume that we are as well the subjects of similar comments.

Another effect of stereotyping, per Kunda, is that interacting with individual members of stereotyped groups that do not fit within the frame we have positioned them in is not enough to change our judgments. Instead, we assume that the individuals are not typical of their group and sub-type them. This is the case of people who assure us that their “best friends” are Black, or Jewish, or foreigners, in spite of the fact that they hold well-entrenched stereotypes of these groups. This phenomenon is known as Subtyping Counterstereotypic Individuals, and it is defined as the mechanism that allows us to maintain negative stereotypes of groups, in spite of evidence that disproves our judgments, by way of sub-typing.

Per Kunda, our ignoring the fact that our behavior changes from one situation to another, depending on the circumstances in which we find ourselves, is further evidence of our propensity to stereotype. Although this fact of different behavior under different conditions is more of the common knowledge, we effectively suppress

it when we attribute traits to groups. Thus, individual members of stereotyped groups are generalized as acting, reacting, or behaving in certain ways, independent of the situations they find themselves in.

The researcher informs us as well that our moods influence our judgments. We have in general more positive views when we are happy than when we are sad. Also, although we may not be aware of it, factors like a song, a smell or the weather, might provoke in us feelings that we blame on the target of our stereotyping in the belief that it is the target who makes us feel a certain way.

On the issue of affect and cognition there are different views. We will summarize the points of M. Eysenck and M. Keane (1995), who cite in their work the arguments of two researchers who oppose one another.

We start with Zajonc, (1980, 1984), who insists that cognitive processes can occur independent from the basic process of affective evaluation of stimuli. He adds that affect can be brought forward without a prior cognitive process although the cognitive and affective processes normally function together.

Of different opinion is Lazarus (1982), who claims that cognitive processing is required prior to an affective reaction in response to stimuli. He further points out that meaning, which requires cognitive evaluation, is crucial to all emotional states.

Where do stereotypes come from?

Generally, stereotypes have been explained, among other things as (a) the result of culture, i.e., transmitted by parents to their offspring, learned among friends and acquaintances from each other, or learned from the different media sources; (b) the result of feelings of inferiority and fear, aroused by a sense of a changing social order, which demands that we feel superior to others in order to feel better; and (c) the

result of ordinary cognitive processes of categorization which demand structure in order to understand the relations and concordances among attributes.

M. R. Banaji and A.G. Greenwald (1995) tell us that most likely (c) is the precursor of (a) and (b). We base this conclusion on their statements in one of their studies on the issue entitled *Implicit Gender Stereotyping in Judgements of Fame*. In it, the researchers inform that “Empirical effects ...revealed the cognitive basis of stereotyping, and these discoveries changed existing views of the stereotyping process and of the social perceiver. Rather than portraying stereotyping as an intentionally motivated act to discriminate, or as an attribute of a select group prejudiced individuals, social cognition research has characterized stereotyping as a consequence of the routine operation of cognitive processes.” We have already mentioned other researchers who are of the same opinion.

Automatic operation of stereotypes

Z. Kunda states that stereotyping can take place automatically. Within this context, automatic is synonymous with unconscious. This means that we activate our stereotyping system without even realizing it at a conscious level, when we see members of stereotyped groups or when information related to stereotyped groups is brought to our attention. We are not even aware that certain stimuli affects us in a way that makes us manifest specific judgments or actions.

Automatic stereotyping is capable of creating a spiral of negative behaviors and responses. If our stereotyping is activated by a person, we may behave more aggressively toward him or her. In turn the person, feeling badly treated, might give back the same kind of behavior.

Stereotypes, Prejudice and Discrimination

We have already cited some definitions of stereotyping. We have not done so with prejudice and discrimination. Here we will summarize some definitions of these concepts provided by different researches.

Prejudice

Defined as a negative attitude, some theorist insist that other characteristics should be added to the “negative attitude” in order for it to be classified as *prejudice*. Others argue that the mere fact that an attitude is negative should be enough to make it a prejudice. J. F. Dovidio, J. C. Brigham, B. T. Johnson and S. L. Gartner (1996) cite Ashmore (1970) in defining prejudice as a negative attitude toward a socially defined group and any person perceived to be a member of that group. Prejudice has also been conceptualized as having (1) cognitive, (2) affective and (3) conative components. As examples we have (1) Irrationally based beliefs about a target group. (2) Dislike of a target group. (3) Behavioral predisposition to avoid the target group, respectively.

Discrimination

The meaning of this term goes beyond attitudes that distinguish among social objects. It implies selective, inappropriate and unjustified negative behavior towards members of a target group.

J. F. Dovidio, J. C. Brigham, B. T. Johnson and S. L. Gartner (1996) argue that there is a relationships between stereotypes and prejudice and stereotypes and discrimination. They point out that “stereotypes are the cognitive representation of prejudice and as such are related to prejudice. Since stereotypes are representations of negative attributes and prejudice are negative attitudes, prejudice would then directly predict discrimination. The researchers also note that stereotyping could relate directly to discrimination, without necessarily passing through attitudes first. The

illustration below outlines the potential relationship among stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination as proposed by the researchers.

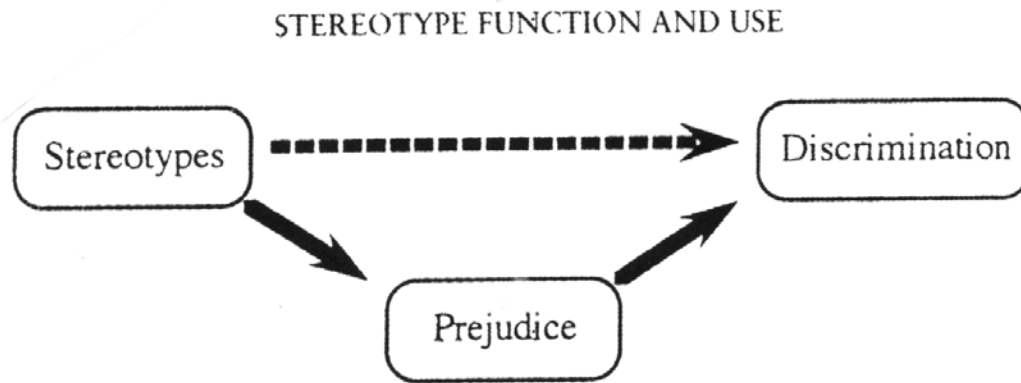


Figure 1. Outline of the potential relationship among stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination and between stereotypes and discrimination, as proposed by J. F. Dovidio, J. C. Brigham, B. T. Johnson and S. L. Gartner

Within the context outlined above, how damaging stereotyping can be to the people affected by it is well illustrated in the following experiments published in one of the research works of Z. Kunda (1999):

White participants interviewed a White and a Black job applicant. In fact, these “applicants” were confederates trained to respond in a standard manner. Nevertheless, the participants treated the White and Black applicants quite differently: They maintained a greater physical distance between themselves and the Black applicant, made more speech errors while interviewing him, and ended the interview more rapidly. A follow-up study revealed that the kind of treatment the Black applicant received – brusque, inarticulate, and distant – can undermine anyone’s performance. The interview was repeated with White Princeton students, who were interviewed for a job by trained White confederates. Half were treated much like the White applicants had been treated by the participants in the earlier study, whereas the other half were treated as the Black applicants had been. Two judges, who knew

nothing about the study's purpose, viewed a videotape of each interview showing only the applicant, and rated the applicant's competence. The interviewer's behavior had a remarkable impact on the applicants' performance: Those given the "Black treatment" were judged less adequate for the job than were those given the "White treatment." These studies suggest that African Americans interacting with White people may sometimes come across as relatively incompetent simply because they are treated in a manner that undermines their ability to perform competently."

The contact theory

The contact theory holds that if social contact between or among different racial or ethnic groups or individuals is increased, stereotyping would diminish. However, good results are not obtained just by contact. Studies on different approaches have produced promising as well as not so promising results. We will present summarized examples of some of the approaches that have worked, albeit sometimes with difficulty, after presenting brief definitions of the three contact theories discussed in the literature we used for this work.

The Contact as Personalization Theory

M. Hewstone, (1996), argues that there are three different types of generalizations: (1) change in attitudes toward the social category, which consists of generalization from a target individual to the out-group as a whole; (2) increased complexity of intergroup perception, which refers to an increase in the perceived variability of the out-group; and (3) decategorization, defined as change in the perceived usefulness of social categories to classify new individuals. Each of these must be taken into account in order to choose an appropriate intervention.

Furthermore, M. Hewstone cites the ideas of Brewer and Miller (1984) and Triandis (1988), who point out that the aim of intergroup contact should be the

highest number of personal contacts within the shortest possible time, and that it should allow for perceptions of the uniqueness of out-group members.

Stangor and Schaller (1996), argue also in favor of interpersonal interactions. They state that an approach that has become interesting because it has delivered promising results is the one they call focusing on the “bottom-up” determinants of stereotypes. Briefly stated, this approach centers on exchange between individuals. Since stereotypes are learned, the researchers see interpersonal interactions as the best tool to change them.

M. Hewstone, in the same source, cites also the statements of Cook (1962, 1978), who affirms that some requirements should be filled in order to get some positive results in reducing stereotyping through contact. Among them are the need for cooperation and that those involved in the social contact have equal status. This means, for example, that contacts between a cleaning lady who belongs to a minority group and a dentist member of the dominant group would not contribute whatsoever to changing the prejudices of the dentist, or those that the cleaning lady might have. The equal-status requirement allows the individuals to find out that they are similar in many ways.

Z. Kunda mentions the same points, and adds that even when the members of opposing groups are equivalencies of each other, great difficulties exist, as the following study shows:

Muzafer Sherif and colleagues divided a group of equivalent boys into two groups. Subsequently, the groups were made to compete against each other through activities like games, sports, etc., in order to create mutual dislike. After succeeding, the researchers worked to make both groups accept each other again. This time, the activities were aimed at forcing the boys to work together, which they did when

required. However, as soon as the situations requiring their unified cooperation disappeared, they returned to their fighting. The experiment's setting was a summer camp, an appropriate site since the breaking and restoring of the group took time.

These two groups started as one, constituted of similar individuals. In spite of this, after they were separated it was extremely difficult to bring them together again. This shows us that negative stereotypes are resistant to change even when intense manipulation is involved.

Brewer and Miller (1984, 1988) are of the view that contact should be differentiated in order to have some results. That is, it should allow for perceptions of the uniqueness of out-group members. In the personalization process, category does not determine the response of the members of different groups towards each other. They focus only on information pertaining to the self, not the group. Supposedly, differentiated contact would eventually lead to decategorization, which takes us to the main topic of criticism of this model.

One of the main criticisms of the personalization theory is that the conditions demanded to achieve personalization do not allow for the generalization of the contact effects to the whole out-group. In this same context, per the same source, Rose (1981) pointed out that intimate relationships may generalize over a wide range of situations, but not over different persons.

The Intergroup Contact and Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Theory

Hewstone and Brown, (1996), contend that contact should be intergroup and based on intergroup differentiation. They base their argument on the failure of the interpersonal approach to effect generalized change in out-group attitudes. Further, they argue that contact must be defined as intergroup encounter. However, if the target is not a typical member of the out-group, contact becomes interpersonal, not

intergroup. This means that those representing the groups must recognize and accept each other as appropriate representatives of their respective groups. As previously noted, Z. Kunda cites this issue in her research on the subject.

The intergroup contact has been largely successful in generalizing change to out-group attitudes. Nevertheless, it has its critics. Vivian and colleagues (1995), for example, note that this kind of contact can produce negative generalized change as well. This might happen particularly in cases in which the groups are in real conflict and the encounters produce anxiety. Means to reduce anxiety must first be found in order to get positive results.

The Theory of A Cognitive Analysis of Contact: The Impact of Stereotype-Disconfirming Information.

Rothbart and John, (1985), maintain that intergroup contact is based on categorization. Therefore, if we agree that individuals differ in the degree of the typicality that makes them “appropriate” members of a given group, we should accept that it is not only a few defining features what determines the classification we give a person. Thus, few qualities that do not agree with the stereotype we have of a person, who otherwise would fit perfectly within our stereotype, become associated with our stereotype. Consequently, the stereotype-disconfirming information is attached to typical out-group members.

Dovidio and colleagues, (1996), criticize this model. They argue that it does not take into account affective change. Therefore, the possibilities of reducing prejudice are limited inasmuch as cognitive and affective stereotypes operate independently.

About Our experiment

We hypothesized that contact reduces stereotyping and that this would show in the differences between the participants in the two schools we tested, independent of the instructions we provided. What we did in order to find out if this is so is described below.

Method

The procedure used to carry out this study followed a design and method developed by Dr. Bert Westerlundh, Lund University (2001). This is the first time that Dr. Westerlundh's procedure is used, and it is described below.

Subjects

120 high school (gymnasium) students, 60 each at two high schools, one located in an area with a moderate number of foreign residents (a total of 99,000, of which 13% are foreigners), and one located in an area with a low number of foreign residents (a total of 16,000, of which 4.15% are foreigners). Those in charge at the schools informed us that there were no statistics which registered the number of foreign or minority students. However, their personal estimates of percentages agree with the number of foreign residents provided by the municipalities involved, that is about 14% and about 5% foreign students respectively. Of the 60 students at each of the schools, 30 were boys and 30 girls.

Measures

Materials used

A questionnaire consisting of the following:

(1) 12 racially-ethnically explicit pictures in a balanced design depicting four White, four Black and four Yellow faces. Each color has two male and two female faces. One of the male and one of the female faces have good looks, the other two have bad looks. (On this issue of attractive and unattractive, the saying goes "beauty

is in the eye of the beholder.” However, if the reader refers to research carried out by L. A. Zebrowitz (1996), he or she will find out that there are certain universalities to the question of attractiveness. The results of the Halo Effect of our own study seem to support this as well.) Each picture has a list of 10 positive and 10 negative adjectives assigned to it. The participants rated 20 adjectives for each of the pictures on a scale of 1 to 7.

(2) Six cartoon illustrations, three depicting racial-ethnic violent interaction and three depicting homogenous (white) violent interaction with lists of 10 positive and ten negative adjective scales assigned to each illustration. The participants rated the correspondence of the adjectives to the cartoons on an scale of 1 to 7.

We consider it important to point out that in Dr. Westerlundh’s design some of the scores of the adjectives ascribed to the pictures and the cartoons have to be reversed in order to get their true value. For example, if a participant marks the number 1 as score for the word *fientlig* (it means *hostile*) in one of the pictures, the value the researcher ascribes to it is 7. We advise the readers that want to reproduce this study that besides the word *fientlig*, the other words treated with the same procedure are *passiv* (*passive*), *hårdhärtad* (*hardhearted*), *obegåvad* (*unintelligent, untalented*) and *trög* (*sluggish, slow, dull*). In regards to the cartoons, the words that should receive the reverse treatment are *avspänd* (*relaxed*), *trevlig* (*nice*), *behaglig* (*pleasant, agreeable*), and *vänlig* (*kind, friendly*).

(3) A Modern Racism Scale (MRS) based on the version developed by Dr. Bo Ekehammar, (1996), which consists of 8 statements. In our test, the 8 statements were hidden among 22 others. The Appendix contains a copy of the MRS. The statements in question are numbers, 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24 and 28. The subjects rated the statements on a scale of 1 to 5. In regards to this measurement, J. L. Eberhardt and S.

T. Fiske (1996), say that “*Modern Racism is expressed in terms of abstract ideological symbols and symbolic behaviors of the feelings that an out-group is violating cherished values and making illegitimate demands for changes in the (racial) status quo*”. In the perceiver, this generates avoidance rather than destructive behavior. Modern Racism is measured by a scale that accomplishes non-reactivity by disguising the link to prejudices.

Observe that in the three parts of this test, high scores indicate less stereotyping or prejudice.

(4) Two different sets of instructions advising half the boys and half the girls at each school that the test measured certain psychological characteristics, namely Anxiety and the Halo Effect, and the other half that the tests measured Stereotyping.

The writer finds a similarity between these tests and Stangor and Schaller’s feature-base prototype perspective, which defines stereotypes as associations between categories and traits, to which follows that stereotypes can be measured in accordance to the degree to which the traits are activated. We remind the reader of the example given with the word “Italian” as category, which activates traits like “romantic” (among others). In our tests, a face or interaction illustration became the category that triggered the traits, and our subjects picked the word triggered (the trait) from any of the 20 adjectives ascribed to the faces and illustrations.

Procedure

How the test was conducted

At each school we separated our participants into four groups of 15 students, two of girls and two of boys. One of the male and one of the female groups were informed that the tests measured Stereotyping, the other two that they measured Anxiety and Halo Effect (or as explained in the instructions, “if appearance affects

our judgment of people”). The tests were administered in the students’ classrooms and the procedure lasted around 45 minutes.

Ascribing of adjectives to the pictures and the illustrations

As previously stated, we intended for the faces and the illustrations in our tests to become the category that triggered in the minds of our participants the stereotyping that would prompt them to pick adjectives from the lists provided and ascribe them to the pictures and illustrations.

The Modern Racism Scale

As previously stated our participants worked with the MRS we created based on the Uppsala version. Our particular version of the MRS consisted of 30 questions but only eight dealt with our subject of interest (see page 17). Supposedly, by the time our participants started to work with the MRS their attitudes towards the target had already been activated by the first two tests.

Results

Before we explain our results, we want to advise the reader that the words *homogenous* and *white* interchange, as well as the words *series* and *cartoons*. Should the word *minority* be found, it is interchangeable with *foreigner*. The words *pictures*, *faces* and *photos* are also interchangeable.

Since our hypothesis was that there is a difference in the attitudes and stereotypes of native youngsters that have low or no contact with foreigners, and those that have moderate or high contact with foreigners, the null hypothesis tested is that there is no difference.

The results of the Anxiety and Halo Effect, and Stereotyping instructions would be related to the adjectives chosen by the participants to rate the pictures and the series, and to their rating of the statements in the Modern Racism Scale.

A preliminary test of the means of the different colors (Black, White and Yellow) showed the mean for Yellow as the lowest at 159.1167.

The other means were 173.4667 for Black and 162.9917 for White.

SD = 17.7298 for White, 17.7263 for Yellow and 20.4117 for Black.

A higher mean value indicates a more positive attitude.

Figure 2 below shows a graph of the means of the three colors.

- (1) Totblk=total score of Black pictures
- (2) Totwht=total score of White pictures
- (3) Totyell=total score of Yellow pictures

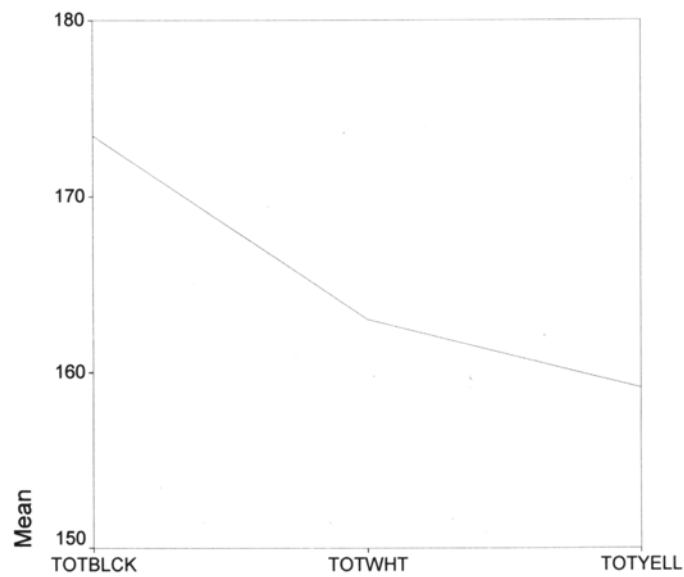


Figure 2. Line graph of the means of the three colors.

Figure 3 shows how each of the eight groups rated each color.

- 1) Fewbhalo=boys tested for Halo Effect at school with few foreigners
- 2) Fewgrlshalo=girls tested for Halo Effect at school with few foreigners.
- 3) Fewbster=boys tested for Stereotype at school with few foreigners
- 4) Fewgrlster= girls tested for Stereotype at school with few foreigners.
- 5) Morbhalo= boys tested for Halo Effect at school with more foreigners
- 6) Morgrhalo= girls tested for Halo E. at school with more foreigners.
- 7) Morbster= boys tested for Stereotype at school with more foreigners
- 8) morgrlster= girls tested for Stereotype at school w/ more foreigners

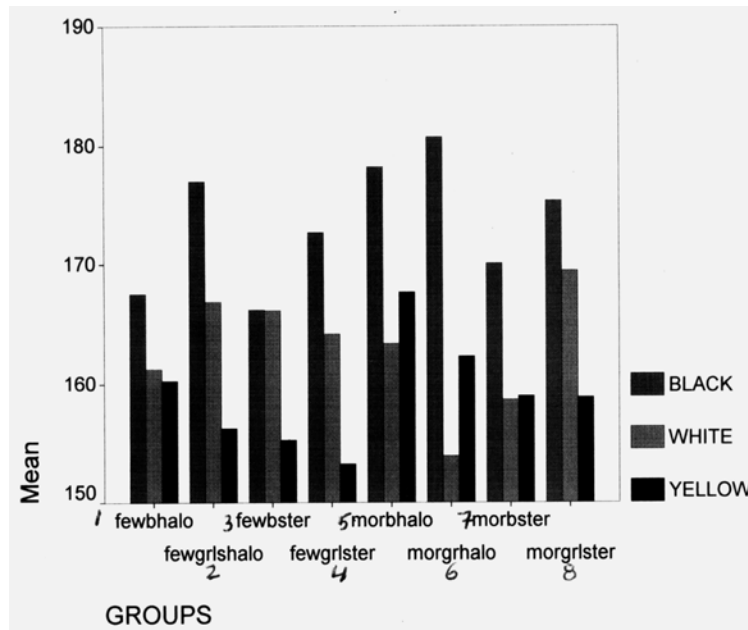


Figure 3. Bar graph of the means of the three colors ratings per group.

Groups 1-4, School 1 (few foreigners). Groups 5-8, School 2, (more foreigners)

After obtaining these results, we opted for working only with the Black and White colors. We subtracted the scores of the White faces from the scores of the Black faces and the scores of the White interaction cartoons from the scores of the mixed interaction cartoons. The totals (the difference) we got from the subtraction of the faces tests and the cartoon tests, together with the total we obtained from adding the modern racism scores, became our dependant variables. Schools, gender and views (this last term involves the two different sets of instructions, *Anxiety and Halo*,

and *Stereotypes*) became our factors or independent variables. Thus, we initiated our work. Our results of the T-Tests that followed are described below.

The first one, cartoons mixed minus White*views, gave us a mean of -18.1833 for Halo and 6,5167 for Stereotypes, SD = 20.2011 and 21.5237 respectively. The Levene’s test for equality of variance was not significant at $p=.750$. The rest of our results were $T(118) = -6.481$; $p=0.00$.

The bar graph (*Figure 4*) below shows that the participants testing for Anxiety and the Halo Effect rated the cartoon interaction illustrations considerably lower than those who tested Stereotyping. This test indicates that a negative racial attitude exists, but it disappears when the participants are told that they are being tested for stereotypes.

- 1) **blminwh = Black & White faces**
- 2) **seriwmx = Cartoon White and Mixed Interaction**
- 3) **modrascl = Modern Racism Scale**

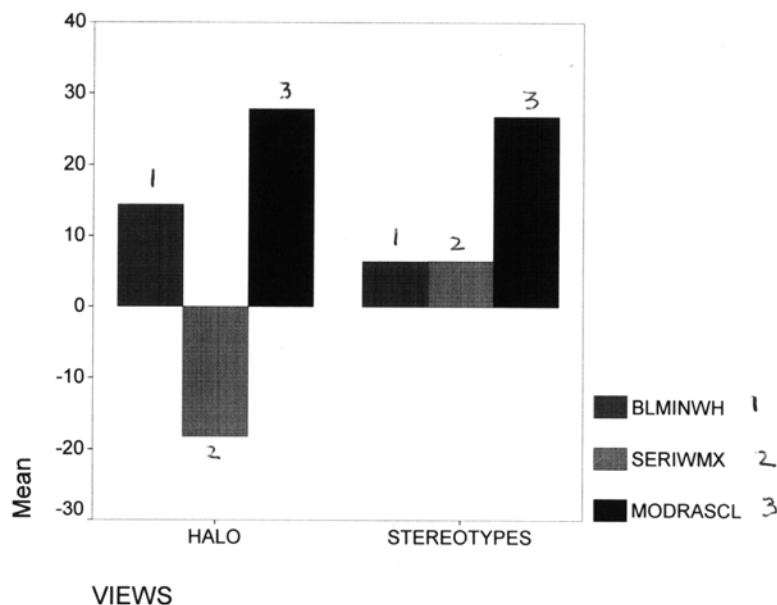


Figure 4. The bar graph shows that the participants that tested for anxiety and the halo effect rated the cartoon interaction illustrations lower than those who tested for Stereotyping.

The Black minus White pictures*views test gave us means of 14.5000 for Halo and 6,4500 for Stereotypes, SD = 24.6270 and 22.1018 respectively. The Levene's test for equality of variance was not significant at $p=.762$. The rest of our results were $T(118)=1.884$; $p=0.062$.

The means for the Modern Racism Scale *views test gave us means of 27.8333 for Halo and 26.8000 for stereotypes, SD = 6.2522 and 6.3641 respectively. The Levene's test for equality of variance was $p=.648$. The remaining results were $T(118)=.897$; $p=0.371$.

The second series of tests consisted of mixed minus White series *School, which resulted in means of -1.9333 for the school in the area with few foreigners and -9.7333 for the school in the area with higher number of foreigners, SD = 24.3713 and 23,5939 respectively. The equality of variance test rendered $p=.859$. The rest of our results were $T(118)=1.781$; $p=0.077$.

The Black minus White pictures*schools test gave us means of 6.2333 for the school with few foreigners (school 1) and 14.7167 for the school with higher number of foreigners (school 2), SD = 22.3557 and 24.3221 respectively. The Levene's test, gave is $p= .806$. We proceeded with our independent T-test, which gave us: $T(118)= -1.989$; $p=0.049$. The indication is that the school with higher number of foreigners gave the higher scores to the Black pictures. This difference can be seen in *Figure 3*.

The means for the Modern Racism Scale *schools test gave us means of 27.5667 for school 1, and 27.0667 for school 2, SD = 6.6009 and 6.0362 respectively. The Levene's test was $p=.533$. The rest of our results were $T(118)=.433$; $p=0.666$.

The third series of tests involved the mixed minus White series * gender, which gave us means of -2.1167 for boys and -9.5500 for girls SD = 24.6557 and

23.3575 respectively. The Levene's Test for Equality of variance gave us $P = .656$.

Our other results indicate were: $T(118) = 1.695$; $p = .093$.

The means of Black minus White * gender were 8.1333 for boys and 12.8167 for girls, $SD = 24.2714$ and 22.9712 respectively. The Levene test was $P = .828$. The other results were: $T(118) = -1.086$; $p = 0.280$.

The means for the Modern Racism Scale *gender were 25.2500 for the boys and 29.3833 for the girls, $SD = 6.4719$ and 5.4371 respectively. The Levene's test for equality of variance was $p = .086$. Our other results gave us: $T(118) = -3.788$; $p = 0.000$. This means that there is a difference, as shown in figure 5 below. The girls show less stereotyping than the boys.

- 1)blminwh = black & white
- 2)seriwmx = cartoon interaction white & mixed
- 3)modrascl = modern racism scale

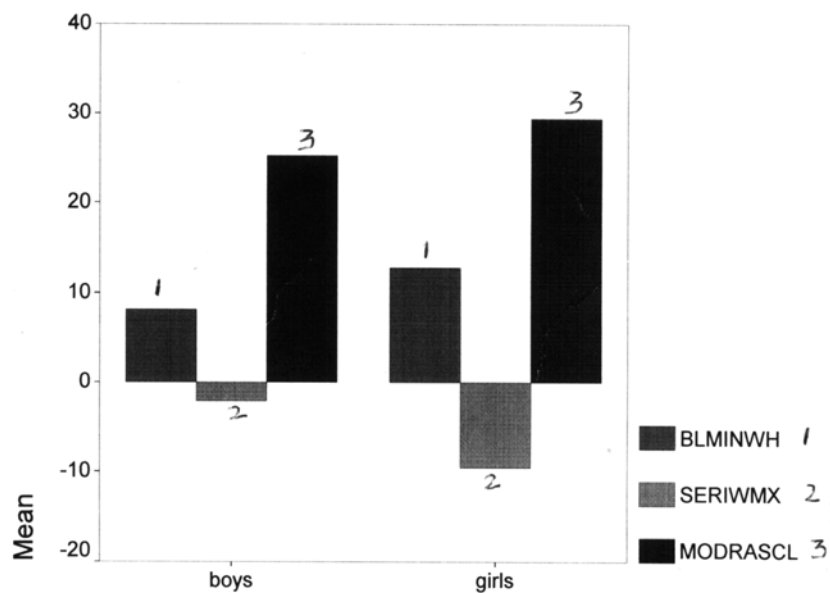


Figure 5. The bar graph shows the results of our T-Tests Gender*Black minus White faces, Gender*mixed minus White cartoons and Gender*Modern Racism Scale.

The one-sample T-Tests for (1) Black minus White pictures and (2) mixed minus White interaction gave us the following results: : $T(119) = 4.852$; $p = 0.000$ and $T(119) = -2.640$; $p = 0.009$, respectively. This means that the difference from 0 is significant. But observe that the Black-White faces test was in favor of Black, whereas the Cartoon interaction goes in the opposite direction. The reader can refer again to Figure 5.

We ran correlation tests to verify our results. These tests showed correlation between the same variables that our T-Tests showed differences. The correlation results are below:

Views*series mixed minus White: $r = .512$; $n = 120$; $p = 0.000$.

Gender*Modern Racism Scale: $r = .329$; $n = 120$; $p = 0.000$.

Schools*Black minus White photos: $r = .180$; $n = 120$; $p = 0.049$.

Besides, we correlated our dependent variables, that is Black minus White pictures with mixed minus White interaction, Black minus White pictures with Modern Racism Scale and Modern Racism Scale with mixed minus White interaction. The results were that there is no correlation between any of them, or at least, not one that our tests can show.

Discussion

This study was performed following to some extent the *feature-base prototype* perspective of Stangor and Schaller's, which defines stereotypes as associations between categories and traits. The researchers argue that this perspective allows for the stereotypes to be measured in accordance to the degree to which the traits are activated. It was expected that the four groups tested at the school located in the area with few foreigners, and consequently with a smaller number of foreign students, would show higher levels of stereotyping. The contrary was expected in relation to the school located in the area with a higher number of foreign residents, and, consequently, with a higher number of foreign students. The expectations were the same independent of the instructions and the information given to the participants as to whether they were being tested for the *halo effect* or for *stereotyping*. However, the differences we found were not spread over all the statistical tests we carried out.

We consider of significance the fact that, independent of whether the school had a low or high number of foreign students, the combined scores of the pictures, the cartoons and the Modern Racism Scale showed that our eight groups of participants gave their highest mark to the Black color. The same occurred when we separated the colors when we initiated our study. As we have mentioned earlier, in our tests, the higher the score, the lower the stereotyping. The separation of the factors Schools, Gender and Views, however, did show two differences between the groups at their respective schools as well as one difference in regards to gender. The last factor showed a difference when we put together the scores of the boys of both schools and the scores of the girls of both schools. We show again the significant results obtained with our T-Test and our Correlation tests:

Views*mixed minus White cartoons:

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>T-Test</u>	<u>Correlation</u>
Halo	-18.1833;	20.2011;	T(118)=-6.481; p=0.00;	r=.512; n=120; p=0.000
Stereotype	6.5167;	21.5237		

Schools*Black minus White photos:

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>T-Test</u>	<u>Correlation</u>
School 1	6.2333;	22.3557;	T(118)=-1.989; p=0.049;	r=.180; n=120; p=0.049
School 2:	14.7167;	24.3221		

Gender*Modern Racism Scale

<u>School 1&2</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>T-Test</u>	<u>Correlation</u>
Boys	25.2500;	6.4719;	T(118)=-3.788; p=0.000;	r=.329; n=120; p=0.000
Girls	29.3833;	5.4371		

These results bring to mind the Contact as Personalization Theory as put forward by Miles Hewstone, (1996), in particular when he cites the statements of Brewer, Miller and Triandis. The three last-mentioned researchers were quoted by the first one in connection with the importance of intergroup contact, which, they argue, should be “the highest number within the shortest possible time.” The encounters should also allow room to expose and perceive the uniqueness of out-group members.

It is not difficult to imagine that the students at the schools we chose to do our research, as is the case in general in all institutions of education, have the highest number of close encounters, not only at short but also at long term, as represented by the length of the school year. What happens during these encounters? The school situation, especially at high schools or at schools teaching elementary education, brings about interpersonal interactions promoted by the teachers and, not rarely, also by the students themselves. Team work in the process of studying as well as other

activities appropriate of the setting like sports, parties, membership in associations, etc., bring about contact, mostly at personal level.

The above brings to mind the propositions of Stangor and Schaller (1996) in regards to interpersonal interaction. They argue in favor of their *focusing on the "bottom-up" determinants* of stereotypes, which is based on exchange between individuals. They are of the view that this method as capable of changing stereotypes.

There are other ingredient that M. Hewstone considers essential for the interpersonal interaction approach to work. He agrees with Cook's ideas that cooperation and that those involved in the social contact have equal status are among the most important requirements to fill if this approach is to succeed in reducing stereotyping.

On this point, again, in their condition of students our participants were equivalents of each other. For example, most are the same age, take the same courses, share the same classrooms, practice the same sports, etc. Many of them might even be neighbors. And, in regards to cooperation, we repeat our previous observation about the group or team work that most schools demand from their students, as well as other activities related to sports and leisure.

In view of the above, perhaps Brewer's dual-process, which recommends strong personal contacts, communications and relationships between perceiver and target to prevent accessing stereotypes, could well be an appropriate addition to the perspectives of the researches already mentioned. There is no doubt that the school situation, independent of the location of the institutions (whether they are in an area with a large or a small number of foreigners), promotes the requirements of Brewer's dual-process, in particular in regards to strong personal contacts and even relationships.

There is only one result that we wonder about: the scores the students gave the White-White and White-mixed interactions. Taking into account the high scores the participants gave to the Modern Racism Scale and to the Black color (we repeat, in our tests the higher the score the lower the stereotyping), we suspect that the reason might be that, independent of whether the cartoons represented White-White or White mixed interaction, the illustrations mostly represented people engaging in violent behavior. Other type of interaction might have rendered different results.

A last observation is that our participants gave the Black color, independent of instructions, school or gender, the highest mark (see figures 2 and 3). Within the Black pictures, the one that got the highest rating is number 6. The reader will have the opportunity to examine this and the other pictures in the attached sample of our test. What is the meaning of these results? We believe that these results imply the power of the halo effect.

In sum, we conclude that all of the observations in this discussion concerning our participants and their situations, which might be at least partly explained by the theories we chose to work with, added to the fact that the halo effect seems to conquer beyond skin color and race, contributed to our result.

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APPENDIX

Hej!

Jag är studerande vid Lunds Universitet. Genom att svara på dessa frågeformulär hjälper du mig att fullfölja mina studier.

Jag undersöker stereotypering, alltså bilder vi har av olika människogrupper. Det kan man göra på olika sätt med olika tekniker.

Här kommer några frågeformulär som handlar om detta. Var snäll och fyll i dem.

Tack så mycket för din hjälp. Den här undersökningen är helt anonym, du ska inte skriva ditt namn.

INSTRUKTIONER:

Först, kryssa din genus. Maskulin_____ Feminin_____

Sedan, följ instruktionerna som finns på varje sida.

Hej!

Jag är studerande vid Lunds universitet. Genom att svara på dessa frågeformulär hjälper du mig att fullfölja mina studier.

Jag undersöker om man har väldigt allmänna attityder och om man lätt tolkar saker som hotfulla. Jag tror att det påverkar ens sociala attityder. För att undersöka om man har väldigt allmänna attityder kan man se om utseendet påverkar bedömningar av människor. För att undersöka om man tolkar saker som hotfulla kan man se hur folk bedömer bilder. Här kommer några frågeformulär som handlar om detta. Var snäll och fyll i dem.

Tack så mycket för din hjälp. Den här undersökningen är helt anonym. Du ska inte skriva ditt namn.

INSTRUKTIONER:

Först, kryssa din genus: Maskulin _____ Feminin _____

Sedan, följ instruktionerna som finns på varje sida.

Här kommer ett antal bilder av ansikten. Din uppgift är att bedöma dem på egenskaperna som står vid dem. Det gör du genom att rita en ring runt siffran mellan motsatsparet där du tycker att personen verkar vara. Arbeta snabbt, sätt bara dit ringen och fortsätt. Se till att fylla i vid alla ordparen.



Lugn	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ängslig
Fientlig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Vänlig
Sällskaplig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Enstörig
Passiv	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Utåtriktad
Pålitlig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Opålitlig
Hårdhärtad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ömsint
Kompetent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Okunnig
Obegåvad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Intelligent
Trög	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Livfull
Glad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Nedstämd



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Här kommer ett antal bilder av händelser. Din uppgift är att bedöma stämningen på dem. Det gör du genom att rita en ring runt siffran mellan motsatsorden så du tycker det passar med den bild som hör till. Arbeta snabbt, sätt bara dit ringen och fortsätt med nästa. Se till att fylla i vid alla ordparen.



Spänd 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Lugn
 Sorglig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Glad
 Sluten 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Öppen
 Resignerad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Hoppfull
 Avspänd 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Hotfull

Trevlig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Otrevlig
 Behaglig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Olustig
 Trög 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Häftig
 Vänlig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Ilsken
 Våldsam 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Stilla



Spänd 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Lugn
 Sorglig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Glad
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Spänd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Lugn	Trevlig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Otrevlig
Sorglig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Glad	Behaglig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Olustig
Sluten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Öppen	Trög	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Häftig
Resignerad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hoppfull	Vänlig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ilskan
Avspänd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hotfull	Våldsam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stilla



Spänd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Lugn	Trevlig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Otrevlig
Sorglig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Glad	Behaglig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Olustig
Sluten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Öppen	Trög	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Häftig
Resignerad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hoppfull	Vänlig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ilskan
Avspänd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hotfull	Våldsam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stilla

Här kommer ett antal bilder av händelser. Din uppgift är att bedöma stämningen på dem. Det gör du genom att rita en ring runt siffran mellan motsatsorden så du tycker det passar med den bild som hör till. Arbeta snabbt, sätt bara dit ringen och fortsätt med nästa. Se till att fylla i vid alla ordparen.



- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Spänd 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Lugn | Trevlig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Otrvlig |
| Sorglig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Glad | Behaglig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Olustig |
| Sluten 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Öppen | Trög 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Häftig |
| Resignerad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Hoppfull | Vänlig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Ilsken |
| Avspänd 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Hotfull | Våldsam 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Stilla |



- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Spänd 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Lugn | Trevlig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Otrvlig |
| Sorglig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Glad | Behaglig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Olustig |
| Sluten 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Öppen | Trög 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Häftig |
| Resignerad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Hoppfull | Vänlig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Ilsken |
| Avspänd 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Hotfull | Våldsam 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Stilla |

Nedan följer ett antal påstående. Under varje påstående följer en femgradig skala, som sträcker sig från (1) *Instämmer helt* till (5) *Instämmer inte alls*. Markera med en ring kring den siffra som bäst beskriver hur du instämmer med påståendet.

1. Löneskillnaderna är för stora i Sverige.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

2. Den sociala snedrekryteringen är ett problem i Sverige.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

3. Man bör inte betala skatt för sprit.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

4. Diskriminering mot människor med utländsk härkomst är inte längre ett problem i Sverige.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

5. Det är viktigt att kvinnor har lika hög lön som män.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

6. Ett mångkulturellt Sverige vore bra.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

7. Pensionärerna beklagar sig för mycket över hur de behandlas.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

8. Sverige är tillräckligt jämställt.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

9. Man bör inte kvotera in kvinnor i Riksdagen.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

10. Anarkister och Nazister borde inte omfattas av demonstrationsfriheten.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

11. Det är samhällets ansvar att ta hand om missbrukare.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

12. Det är lätt att förstå invandrares krav på lika rättigheter.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

13. Problemen i vården får för stor uppmärksamhet i media.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

14. Vi betalar för mycket skatt i Sverige.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

15. Kollektivtrafiken bör vara gratis.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

16. Det är viktigt att investera pengar för att möjliggöra invandrares undervisning i sitt modersmål.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

17. Införandet av fler privatskolor vore bra.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

18. Det ska inte vara tillåtet att ta ut avgifter för utbildning.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

19. Vi har för korta strafftider i Sverige.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

20. Racistiska grupperingar innebär inte längre ett hot mot invandrare.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

21. Det har vidtagits tillräckligt med åtgärder för de arbetslösa.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

22. Ett bra företagsklimat är viktigare än miljöhänsyn.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

23. Utan arbetslöshet kan inte produktionen vara effektiv.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

24. Det har vidtagits tillräckligt med åtgärder för att skapa jobb för invandrare.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

25. Vi får för lite för våra skattepengar i Sverige.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

26. Privatiseringen av vården gör att människor inte får en rättvis vård.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

27. Djurförsök borde förbjudas.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

28. Människor med utländskt påbrå får för lite uppmärksamhet i media.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

29. Som neutralt land bör Sverige inte ägna sig åt vapenexport.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

30. Pensionerna ligger på en lämplig nivå.

Instämmer helt 1 2 3 4 5 Instämmer inte alls

Hur uppmärksam man är kan påverka hur man fyllt i formulären. Kan du därför här skriva några meningar om hur du uppfattat vad den här undersökningen har handlat om:
