

Accuracy or Stereotypes? Children's Memory Recall for Traits Attributed to Native American and Caucasian Characters

Karen A. Laslie

Abstract:

Intergroup relations are often undermined by stereotypes. Memory for traits stereotypically associated or not associated with Native Americans was studied among 57 white elementary students in or near areas disputed in the Oneida Indian land claim. Participants were presented with two stories detailing an interaction among characters of different races. After each story, children were instructed to identify adjectives used in the story. It was predicted that children would remember more stereotypes than non-stereotypes for Native American characters and more stereotypes for Native American than white characters. Results did not confirm predictions, in that children remembered more stereotypic information for whites than Native American characters. It was also predicted that children would remember more positive traits for white than Native American characters. Results supported this prediction in that children remembered more positive than negative traits attributed to white rather than Native American characters. Results were consistent with previous research on recognition tasks in adults, which show that inconsistent stereotypic information takes precedence over consistent information on recognition but not on recall tasks. Future studies should examine the role of both recognition and recall developmentally in terms of stereotypes.

Introduction

Intergroup relations are often undermined by stereotypes. Stereotyping is the attribution of particular personal characteristics to members of a specific outgroup (Aboud, 1988). Race and gender stereotypes have been extensively studied (Anderson & Cromwell, 1977; Averhart & Bigler, 1997; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Koblinsky & Cruse, 1981; Neto & Williams, 1997). In addition, stereotyping of different ethnic groups, including Native Americans, has received attention (Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Esqeda & Swanson, 1997; Hanson & Rouse, 1987; Rouse & Hanson, 1991; Watts, 1990).

Much of the focus on Native American stereotyping has been on defining such stereotypes. The following traits are associated with Native Americans: drunk, lack of ambition, withdrawn, sullen, submissive, strong, brave, moody, lazy, hard-working, mean, creative, proud, forgetful, being good friends, and excellent lacrosse players (Esqeda & Swanson, 1997; Hanson & Rouse, 1987; Rouse & Hanson, 1991; Watts, 1990). The focus of the present study was to examine whether elementary school children remember information consistent with Native American stereotypes better than non-stereotype information.

Stereotypes are shaped and maintained by biases in memory processes (Bartlett, 1932; Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985; Branscombe & Smith, 1990; Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986; Duncan, 1976; Halpern, 1985; Piaget, 1970). Beliefs and expectancies about the world are

organized into schemas that influence the way new information is encoded and retrieved (Devine, 1989; Martin & Halverson, 1983). Stangor and McMillan (1992) described three models used to explain how social information is encoded and retrieved. First, the schematic information processing model suggests that social expectancies are represented as general knowledge (or schema) and all information relative to this knowledge, whether congruent or not, will be well remembered. According to this model, information congruent with a person's schema will be most likely to be recalled because it is easier to assimilate into the pre-existing schema.

The second model, schema pointer plug tag model, suggests that information incongruent with general knowledge is encoded in a separate memory location within the long-term memory structure and marked with a unique "tag" (Stangor & McMillan, 1992). Information that is congruent with a person's schema is encoded in the same area as the schema. According to this model, incongruent information will be well remembered.

The third model, called the associate network model, suggests that processing occurs between information that is incongruent with a person's schema and the person's schema such that recall of incongruent information depends on the level of processing that has occurred (Stangor & McMillan, 1992). Thus different models predict different outcomes concerning the memorability of stereotypic and non-stereotypic information.

Much research, however, has shown that individuals are more likely to recall information consistent with their schemas and even distort their memory of stereotypic incongruent information (Carter & Levy, 1988; Koblinsky & Cruse, 1981; Martin & Halverson, 1983; Signorella & Liben, 1984). For example, sex role expectancies bias children's memory. Koblinsky and Cruse (1981) demonstrated that 10-year-old children remembered masculine behaviors of boys and feminine behavior of girls more accurately than sex-reversed behaviors. Information was processed in a way that maintained consistency with existing schemas in order to incorporate new knowledge into memory. One possible explanation is that when first forming a memory, individuals attend to incongruent information in order to develop a complete picture (Stangor & Ruble, 1989). However, once an impression is formed, subjects are more likely to attend to congruent information (Stangor & Ruble, 1989). Stangor and Ruble (1989) suggested that stereotypes may not be formed due to a bias towards stereotype-congruent information but may be retained as a result of this information. For example, Stewart et al. (1998) found that both high and low prejudice white adults had a faster recall of information stereotypic of African Americans when an African American character was presented rather than a white character. Additionally, Devine (1989) showed that both high and low prejudice people reported the same descriptive traits of African Americans, including prominent stereotypes such as hostile and aggressive. Though the research is not entirely consistent (Locksley, Stangor & Hepburn; Stangor & McMillan, 1992), there is good reason to hypothesize that information consistent with stereotypes is remembered best (Carter & Levy, 1988; Koblinsky & Cruse, 1981; Signorella & Liben, 1984; Stangor & Ruble, 1989).

Inconsistent findings for biases in stereotype congruent/incongruent information can be explained by the fact that the two different methods by which memory stereotyping is assessed, recall and recognition, produce different results. Most adult studies rely on recall tasks, whose unstructured nature is conducive to finding distortions and congruency (Martin & Halverson, 1983). For children, however, recall tasks are often difficult to administer and, thus, structured recognition formats are typically used (Martin & Halverson, 1983). One method employed for use in children's recognition tasks is the pictorial identification of a character in a story who had

exhibited specific traits, behaviors or occupations (Averhart & Bigler, 1997; Bigler & Liben, 1993). While these studies indicated that children remember stereotype consistent information, research on adult uses of recognition paradigms indicate that this paradigm is most conducive to remembering stereotype incongruent information (Locksley, Stangor & Hepburn; Stangor & McMillan, 1992).

Using recognition paradigms, several researchers have found that children do remember best information that is consistent with racial stereotypes (Averhart & Bigler, 1997; Anderson & Cromwell, 1997; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Neto & Williams, 1997). For example, Averhart and Bigler (1997) presented African American kindergarten and first-grade students with 12 stories based on stereotypical traits and occupations of African Americans. The stories assigned positive or negative stereotypical traits or occupations to either a light-skinned or dark-skinned African American main character. Participants were asked to recognize main characters presented in the stories. As predicted, children showed better recognition for positive stereotypical characteristics when they were associated with light rather than with dark skinned characters. In addition, children recognized negative stereotypical characteristics better when they were associated with darker skinned rather than lighter skinned individuals. In other words, children had better memory for the characteristics stereotypically associated with the skin tone of the main character (Averhart & Bigler, 1997).

Using paradigms other than memory assessments, several studies have found evidence that children discriminate against members of other races. For example, Anderson and Cromwell (1977) found that African American adolescents 12 to 18 years old were more likely to attribute negative characteristics towards darker skinned than lighter skinned African Americans. Work by Doyle and Aboud (1995) measured Caucasian kindergarteners level of discrimination against African Americans and Native Americans using the Preschool Racial Attitude measure and the Multi-Response Racial Attitude Measure. They found evidence that Caucasian kindergarten children discriminated against African Americans and Native Americans. In fact, kindergarten children scored higher on measurements of racial prejudice than did children in grade 3. In two other studies of Caucasian children, participants as young as four years attributed more negative traits to African Americans than to members of their own racial group (Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995). Thus stereotyping and discrimination occurs early in life and influences thought processes throughout development.

The influence of stereotypes can be provoked by the nature of intergroup relations. Fiske (1993) and Gurin et al. (1999), suggested that group boundaries, power and stereotyping interact in such a way that members of the powerful group are more likely to stereotype others because they either lacked experience interacting with outgroup members (Gurin et al., 1999) or lacked the desire to not stereotype (Fiske, 1993). Individuals in powerful positions were less likely to pay attention to subordinates because to not do so assured their dominant position (Fiske, 1993). Thus they were more likely to attend to stereotypical information. Research supports this idea by showing that members of interdependent groups were more likely to pay attention to outgroup members and attended to stereotype-inconsistent information than members of non-interdependent groups (Fiske, 1993). Interdependence produced variability in outgroup impressions and less reliance on stereotypes and expectations. In contrast, members of powerful groups have no need to attend to subordinates because they are not interdependent on them.

The idea that the nature of relationship between two groups affects stereotyping and prejudice was reflected in Allport's (1954) theory of social contact. This theory stated that whether experience with outgroups increased or decreased prejudice depended on the quality of

the interaction. When outgroups have similar status, shared goals, little intergroup competition and the authority sanction of contact, then prejudice and stereotyping decrease (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Early work by Cook (1978) and Pettigrew (1971) supported Allport's (1954) primary theory. Today, efforts continue as researchers try to determine how the quantity and quality of contact can be changed in order to improve relations between races (Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Johnson & Johnson, 2000). For instance, Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) have shown that cooperative interdependence and perceptions of cooperation, personalization, and equal status promotes more positive intergroup relations.

Other research has demonstrated how competition between groups degrades intergroup relations (Brown & Lopez, 2001; Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The theory of realistic group conflict proposes that stereotypes and prejudice are the result of perceived competition between groups over scarce or threatened resources (Brown & Lopez, 2001; Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As conflict increases in intensity, the more groups interact based on group membership rather than on individual characteristics (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Hostility between groups increase as proximity between them decreases. Support for this idea was obtained by Rouse and Hanson (1991) who found that tensions between Native Americans and local residents over resources were greatest the closer individuals of each group lived to one another. These tensions, in turn, increased stereotyping and prejudice among whites. Thus the present study investigated the stereotyping of Native Americans in white communities near or within the area of the Oneida Indian land claim dispute.

The Oneida Indian land claim dispute began in 1970 when the Oneida Indian Nation filed suit that the New York state government had illegally seized 250,000 acres of Indian land in the late 18th and early 19th centuries ("Forum on Hate Crime," 2000; Chen, 2000). In 1985 the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Oneida Indians were due compensation, raising the fears of, not only the 20,000 landowners specifically named in the suit, but also of other residents of the counties in and near Rome and Utica (Kekis, 1998). Tensions have been fueled by the fear of losing land to the Indian tribe, disagreement of a sales tax formula, and how much sovereign authority the Oneida Indian Nation should have on the reservation land ("Land Claim Bound," 2000). The escalation of tensions has resulted in the converging of a hate crime forum, where details of the suffering by members of the Oneida Indian Nation from hate crimes were presented ("Forum on Hate Crime," 2000).

Our study measured children's selective memory for both positive and negative traits attributed to Native American and Caucasian characters presented in a story. It was conducted among elementary level students in central New York communities in or near the Indian land claim dispute. Our methodology was adapted from Averhart and Bigler (1997). Traits were either stereotypically associated or not associated with Native Americans. Children were asked to remember information about the main character of a story who was portrayed as either a Caucasian or Native American child.

Our hypothesis was that children would have different patterns of trait identification for Native American and white characters. We expected that children who had little or no contact with Native Americans would be more likely to remember stereotypical traits when applied to Native American characters rather than to white ones (Averhart & Bigler, 1997; Fiske, 1993; Gurin et al., 1999; Koblinsky & Cruse, 1981; Stewart et al., 1989). Furthermore, we predicted that due to the tensions arising from the land claim dispute, children would show greatest memory for negative stereotypical traits of Native American characters (Bigler & Liben, 1993;

Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Rouse & Hanson, 1991). Furthermore, we proposed that children would show an ingroup bias, such that they would remember more positive than negative characteristics attributed to a white character but not to a Native American character (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; Gurin et al., 1999; Sidanius, 2000).

Method

Participants

Participants included 57 elementary school students from the central New York area. This number included 34 sixth graders and 23 seventh graders from two predominantly European-American schools. Participants ranged in age from 11 to 13 years with a mean of 11.74 years. There were 40 females and 17 males. Only participants who had written parental permission and who also expressed a willingness to participate were included in the study.

Materials

Three stories were pre-recorded on a cassette tape and played to participant groups. Two of the stories included an interaction between two characters who varied in race. The main character was described with positive and negative traits associated with Native Americans, including excellent lacrosse player, brave, good friend, moody, lazy, hard-working, mean, creative, proud, and forgetful. These traits were extracted from research by Esqeda and Swanson (1997), Hansen and Rouse (1987), Rouse and Hanson (1991), and Watts (1990) who surveyed participants regarding their views of Native Americans. Characters were also assigned positive and negative traits that were not stereotypically associated with Native Americans including sad, messy, rude, patient, stupid, smelly, dirty, dedicated, determined, athletic. The third story was unrelated to race and presented only to the children to cloak the study's intent and protect against demand characteristics.

Response booklets contained three questions for each of the stories. Booklets also provided colored illustrations of both the male and female main characters of each story. These illustrations were obtained from Photo Disk and were approximately 2 in. X 2 in. in size. The booklets were counterbalanced for location of character pictures (right or left of the page) and the location of the ten assigned character traits within the list of twenty choices so as to avoid listening and placement biases (see Appendix A).

Procedure

The study was introduced to participants as an exercise in reading comprehension. Participants were asked to listen to three stories and to answer questions related to the stories as accurately as possible. Groups of 7 to 17 students from five different classes were randomly assigned to one of five groups of stories describing the two main characters, one white and one Native American. Each story contained either two female or two male characters. Half of the stories assigned the Native American character to the stereotypic Native American traits and half assigned these traits to the white Character. This character was assigned in total three positive and two negative stereotypical traits and two positive and three negative non-stereotypical traits.

The children remained in the classroom and as they listened to the stories, they were asked to look at the two characters illustrated in their test packets. Both illustrations were labeled by the characters' names (see Appendix A).

Immediately following each story, children were asked to refer to their booklet in order to answer three corresponding questions. In order to test participants' general memory and attentiveness to the story, two of each set of three questions were related to the story plot. The third question asked the participants to identify (by circling) 10 out of 20 traits used to describe the main character describing the main character as they remember from the story.

The last page of the booklet asked students to indicate their age and gender. Participants were also asked to list the names of their closest friends (up to 10). They were then asked to circle the names of those friends who are Native American and to write a "G" next to the names of females. When done, students were debriefed and thanked for their participation. The study took 20 minutes to complete.

Results

The dependent variable was memory for traits associated with the main character. The primary analysis was a 2 (stereotype/non-stereotype) X 2 (positive/negative trait) X 2 (race of character) X 2 (story) X 2 (gender of character) X 2 (gender of participant) analysis of variance (ANOVA) with repeated measures on the first three factors. Results indicated a four-way interaction involving story, stereotype, positive/negative trait and gender of character, $F(1, 49)=4.17, p<.05$. Therefore, analyses were computed for each story separately.

For the first story, which was about lacrosse, the primary analysis was a 2 (stereotype/non-stereotype) X 2 (positive/negative trait) X 2 (race of character) X 2 (gender of character) X 2 (gender of participant) analysis of variance. The preliminary analysis indicated no significant effects or interactions involving gender of participant ($ps>.05$), so results were collapsed across this variable. Subsequent analysis yielded a main effect for stereotype, with participants identifying more stereotypic ($M=.80$) than non-stereotypic traits ($M=.71$), $F(1, 53)=8.78, p<.05$. There was also a significant main effect for positive/negative characteristics, such that participants circled more positive traits ($M=.81$) than negative traits ($M=.71$), $F(1, 53)=6.05, p<.05$. As predicted, an interaction between stereotype and race of the character emerged, although it was marginally significant, $F(1, 53)=3.55, p<.065$.

A breakdown of the predicted interaction between stereotype and race of the character was performed. Contrary to expectations, participants did not recognize significantly more stereotypes than non-stereotypes for the Native American character $F(1, 25)=.312, p>.05$ (see Figure 1). In fact, participants circled significantly more stereotypes than non-stereotypes for white characters, $F(1, 30)=15.13, p<.001$ (see Figure 1). Additionally, participants unexpectedly identified stereotypes for Native American and white characters equally well, $F(1, 55)=.308, p>.05$, and identified non-stereotypes slightly more for Native American than for white characters although the difference was not significant, $F(1, 55)=2.02, p>.05$ (see Figure 1).

The two-way interaction between stereotype and race of character was qualified by a three-way stereotype X race of the character X positive/negative trait interaction, $F(1, 53)=3.81, p<.05$ (see Table 1). For white characters, the breakdown of this interaction showed a simple main effect for stereotype, which revealed that participants identified more stereotypes than non-stereotypes, $F(1, 30)=15.14, p<.001$, (see Table 1). As predicted, there was a simple main effect for positive/negative traits, such that participants were significantly more likely to attribute positive than negative traits to a white character, $F(1, 30)=6.09, p<.05$ (see Table 1). Results also indicated that participants identified more positive than negative stereotypes, $F(1, 30)=5.3, p<.05$ (see Table 1). Participants also recognized more positive stereotypes than positive non-

stereotypes, $F(1, 30)=11.91$, $p<.05$ (see Table 1). Contrary to predictions, results for Native American characters revealed neither main effects for stereotype or valence of traits nor any interaction ($ps>.05$).

The overall test revealed several unanticipated effects of gender, which did not involve race of character, our variable of primary interest. Therefore, only the three-way positive/negative traits X gender of character X stereotype interaction, was considered $F(1, 53)=10.60$, $p<.05$ (see Table 2). For female characters, the simple main effect for stereotype revealed that participants identified more stereotypes than non-stereotypes, $F(1, 27)=12.63$, $p<.001$, (see Table 2). Stereotype and valence of traits interacted, $F(1, 27)=5.49$, $p<.05$, such that participants remembered more negative stereotypical than non-stereotypical traits, $F(1, 27)=21.61$, $p<.001$ (see Table 2).

For male characters, a main effect for valence of traits showed that participants identified significantly more positive than negative traits $F(1, 28)=9.88$, $p<.05$ (see Table 2). A Stereotype X positive/negative trait interaction was marginally significant, $F(1, 28)=3.73$, $p<.06$, such that participants indicated more positive stereotypical traits than negative ones, $F(1, 28)=10.77$, $p<.05$. Additionally, participants circled more positive stereotypes than non-stereotypes, $F(1, 28)=5.67$, $p<.05$.

As in the lacrosse story, the preliminary ANOVA of 2 (stereotype/non-stereotype) X 2 (positive/negative) X 2 (race of character) X 2 (gender of character) X 2 (gender of participant) for story B (the cat story) showed no significant effects or interactions involving gender of the participant, ($ps>.05$) so results were collapsed across this variable. Similar to the lacrosse story, the analysis yielded a main effect for valence of trait quality which indicated that participants recognized significantly more positive traits ($M=.84$) than negative traits ($M=.69$), $F(1, 53)=12.13$, $p<.001$. The predicted interaction between stereotype and race was not obtained, $F(1, 53)=.001$, $p>.05$. Unlike for the lacrosse story, results for the cat story showed an unanticipated interaction between positive/negative trait qualities and stereotypes, $F(1, 53)=6.76$, $p<.05$. A breakdown of the interaction between trait qualities and stereotype indicated that participants identified significantly more positive stereotypes ($M=.89$) than negative stereotypes ($M=.64$), $F(1, 56)=19.81$, $p<.001$. Participants also remembered more negative non-stereotypes ($M=.75$) than negative stereotypes ($M=.64$), $F(1, 56)=4.64$, $p<.05$.

There was another unpredicted interaction between valence of traits and gender of the character, $F(1, 53)=11.36$, $p<.001$. Similar as the results for the lacrosse story, participants showed a greater identification of positive ($M=.92$) than negative traits ($M=.62$), $F(1, 28)=24.23$, $p<.001$. Participants were also more likely to remember negative traits when associated with a female ($M=.78$) than a male character ($M=.62$), $F(1, 55)=7.26$, $p<.05$. Participants correctly recognized more positive traits attributed to a male character ($M=.92$) than to a female character ($M=.79$), $F(1, 55)=7.14$, $p<.05$.

Discussion

Although it was predicted that children would remember more stereotypes than non-stereotypes when applied to Native American characters, the results from the lacrosse story indicated that they actually identified more stereotypes than non-stereotypes when these traits were attributed to white characters. The cat story, however, produced no effects for race of stimulus at all. Overall, the results from each story indicated a general bias towards recognizing more positive traits than negative traits especially for white characters. Contrary to predictions,

participants did not recognize more stereotypes for Native American characters than for white characters in either story. Thus there was no support for the hypothesis that children would reveal racial bias by selectively associating stereotypes with Native American characters.

In some ways the results were consistent with previous research on bias. Whereas recall tasks performed by adults typically reveal biased memory for stereotypes, recognition tasks often produce stereotype-inconsistent results (Stangor & McMillan, 1992). For example, Locksley, Stangor and Hepburn (1984) found that participants recognized more expectancy incongruent than congruent adjectives from a list of adjectives. In the second study cited in their work, the results generalized these findings across modalities, such that participants recognized expectancy incongruent actions, but this time from pictorial stimuli (Locksley, Stangor & Hepburn, 1984). Similarly in my study, traits stereotypically associated with Native Americans were attributed more to white than Native American characters. However, it is important to note that recognition tasks for children have shown more bias for stereotype consistent information. Thus, it would seem that the results of this study are more consistent with those found for adult participants than children. This may be due to the age of the children we studied, in that at ages 11-13, the participants' cognitive and social abilities may be closer to those in adults than young children.

The result indicating a positive bias for white characters may have been provoked by the land claims dispute. In the communities affected, residents would more likely be aware of their social group and their group's relation to the Native American population (Hanson & Rouse, 1991). Gurin et al. (1999) has shown that strong group identity, when a person is subjectively aware of and accepts belonging to a specific social group, increases the salience of group boundaries. Group boundaries influence a person's reactions to those in opposing groups (Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; Sidanius et al., 2000). Sidanius et al. (2000) found that these kind of reactions were based on distinctions of gender and age. Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong (1998), however, found that group boundaries could also cause people to react less favorably to immigrants and minority groups in general. Therefore, enhanced group boundaries in response to the land claim dispute might explain the positive bias shown by white children towards white characters.

There were a variety of shortcomings reflected in this study, which compromised the conclusion we hoped to draw. First, we were denied access to schools with significant Native American populations. We anticipated that those with no Native American contact would exhibit greater response bias in remembering stereotypes than those with contact (Fiske, 1993; Allport, 1954; Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Johnson & Johnson, 2000; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

Methodological limitations in this study also included how the story characters were perceived in terms of race. When judge by a subset of children, the portrait images of the Native American boy target characters were identified by six out of seven children as Native Americans. However, when the main characters were white, the second characters (whose Native American image was the same as that just described) were more often perceived as white or Chinese. Additionally, although the white main characters were mostly identified as white (European American), there were some participants who perceived the white faces as African American and/or Native American. To control for such variability, pictures of Oneida Indians should have been used. Additionally, these pictures should be pre-tested among independent groups of school children to ensure that they are identified as Native American.

Another limitation in the study includes the age of the children studied. Although prejudice and stereotyping have been shown to develop early in life, some research has shown that these effects peak in kindergarten and decrease (at least in appearance) with age (Anderson & Cromwell, 1977; Averhart & Bigler; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Fiske, 1993; Signorella & Liben, 1984). However, studies of adolescents and adults have found substantial evidence of stereotyping (Carter & Levy, 1988; Esqeda & Swanson, 1997; Hanson & Rouse, 1987; Koblinsky & Cruse, 1981; Rouse & Hanson, 1991; Watts, 1990) and others have found that stereotyping actually increases with age (Neto & Williams, 1997).

Another methodological limitation in the present study was the strength of the positivity or negativity of the adjectives used. The adjectives chosen for both the stereotype and non-stereotype words may have differed in their impact, such that the positive stereotypes were be considered “better” than the positive non-stereotypes. Given ingroup biases, this may explain why positive stereotypes were associated more with white characters than Native American characters.

Unexpectedly, gender had an impact on memory biases for both stories. Participants were generally more likely to recognize negative traits associated with female characters. For the cat story, more positive traits were attributed to male characters than to the female characters. Participants generally revealed a bias towards remembering positive traits associated with a male character rather than negative traits. The results indicating that male and female participants showed a positive bias towards male characters contrast with those found by Zalk and Katz (1978). Zalk and Katz (1978) found that both males and female placed males more in negative situations while both genders placed characters of their respective gender in positive situations. However, the results of this study are consistent with broader gender stereotypes. For example, much research has shown that women have less public status and power (Rosenblatt & Cunningham, 1976). Additionally, Feldman-Summers and Kiesler (1974) found that males and females both judged males as more likely to perform better on various tasks. When a female physician was identified as equal to a male physician, participants still judged them as less competent. In fact, Feldman-Summers and Kiesler (1974) could find no occupations in which females were expected to perform better than males including stereotypical female jobs such as teaching and nursing. The results of my study, therefore, are consistent with previous research that shows a positive bias towards males rather than females.

Naturally occurring disputes among communities and group provide an important backdrop against which to study the development of stereotyping. Researches could benefit by identifying such communities and working wit the school to tap both recognition and recall memory, which lies at the heart of stereotyping. .

Table 1

Means for Response Recall in the Stereotype By Race of Character By Valence of Traits

Interaction for Story A

Race of Character	Positive Traits				Negative Traits			
	<u>Stereotype</u>		<u>Non-Stereotype</u>		<u>Stereotype</u>		<u>Non-Stereotype</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
White	.91	.17	.73	.28	.74	.36	.63	.22
Native American	.78	.21	.81	.25	.77	.35	.69	.26

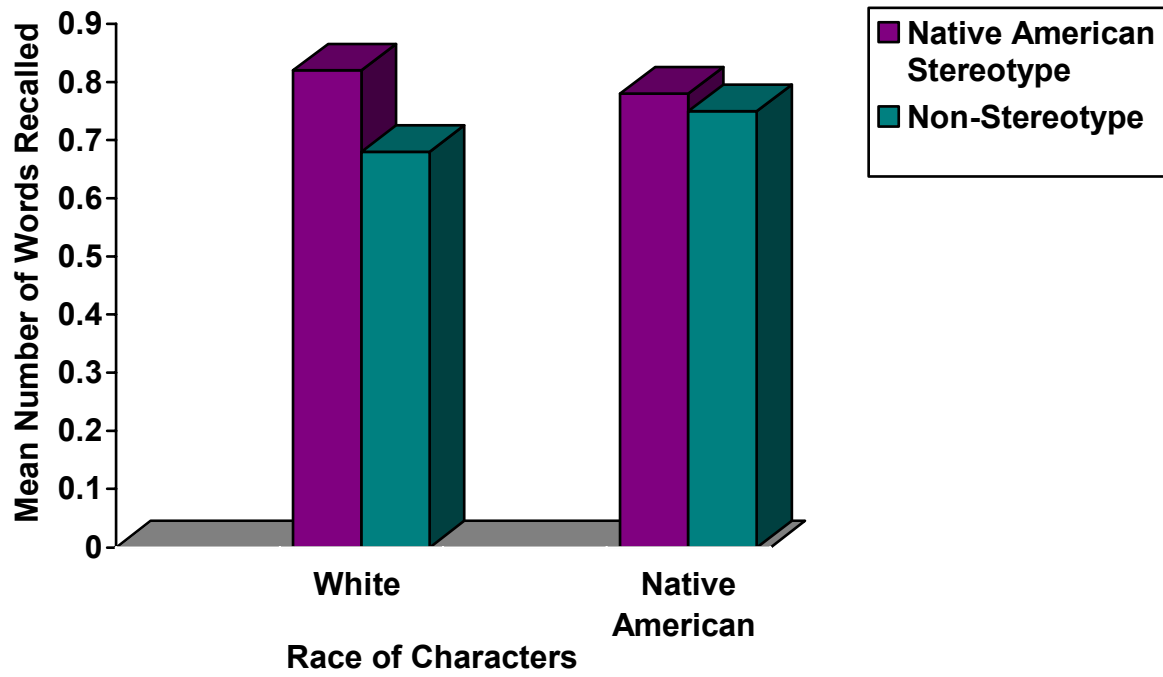
Table 2

Means for Response Recall in the Stereotype By Gender of Character By Valence of Traits

Interaction for Story A

Gender of Character	Positive Traits				Negative Traits			
	<u>Stereotype</u>		<u>Non-Stereotype</u>		<u>Stereotype</u>		<u>Non-Stereotype</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Male	.90	.20	.76	.25	.62	.39	.65	.27
Female	.81	.19	.77	.29	.89	.25	.67	.20

Figure 1. Mean number of stereotype and non-stereotype words recalled for white and Native American character.



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