

Modern American Prejudice: Stereotypes, Social Distance,
and Perceptions of Discrimination Toward
Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians

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ABSTRACT

We analyze stereotypes, social distance feelings, and perceptions of discrimination concerning blacks, Hispanic-, and Asian-Americans using data from the 1990 General Social Survey. White respondents hold the most negative views of blacks and Hispanics. Large proportions of whites rated these groups as tending to possess fewer positive qualities than whites and as composed largely of people with negative traits (i.e., lazy, welfare dependent, violence prone, etc.). Asians were rated lower than whites on most traits, but well ahead of blacks and Hispanics. Distance feelings correlated with stereotypes for all three groups, with whites expressing the greatest distance from blacks and about equal distance from Hispanics and Asians. Blacks are perceived to face more discrimination than other groups, but discrimination generally is not perceived to be widespread. Across the three groups, stereotyping, distance feelings and perceptions of discrimination are affected much the same by socioeconomic variables, and relate to a set of traits that may be called "small-minded, American individualism" (i.e., whites high on individualism, low on structural thinking, high on authoritarianism, and who oppose free speech tend to believe that blacks, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans alike are less hard-working, more prone to violence than whites, etc). Stereotypes appear to reflect assumptions about a groups' socioeconomic success. Economically successful groups tend to be credited with positive traits whereas unsuccessful groups are, in effect, credited with negative traits and blamed for their own circumstances. The results cast new light on broader changes in attitudes and suggest that the positions groups occupy in the social structure have more proximate influences on interethnic attitudes than usually assumed in research on prejudice.

It has typically been assumed that the beliefs and attitudes of majority group members about minority groups affect whether and how quickly minority groups make progress toward equality (Blalock 1965; Hirschman 1983; Myrdal 1944; Park 1950; Taylor and Pettigrew, forthcoming; Seeman 1981; Stone 1985; Yinger 1983). Surprisingly, however, the study of intergroup beliefs and attitudes in the U.S. has lagged behind demographic research in moving toward a comparative ethnic framework (cf. Hirschman and Wong 1983; Jiobu 1988; Lieberman and Waters 1988; Neidert and Farley 1985; Massey and Denton 1987 and 1989; Tienda and Lii 1987). With the noteworthy exceptions of work in the traditions established by the Katz-Braly stereotype checklist (Katz and Braly 1933) and the Bogardus social distance scale (Bogardus 1933), this research has retained a predominant focus on whites' orientations towards blacks. Indeed, there is now a large body of accumulated theory and research on whites' attitudes and beliefs about blacks (Apostle et al 1983; Campbell 1971; Carmines and Stimson 1989; Cummings 1980; Jackman 1976; Kinder and Sears 1981; Kluegel and Smith 1982; Myrdal 1944; Pettigrew 1971; Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo 1988; Schwartz 1967; Taylor 1986; Tuch 1987; Smith 1981 and 1985; Williams 1964).

There has been far less research on white American's beliefs and attitudes about people of color other than blacks. Much of this research is limited in topical scope, sample sizes, and comparability. If we are to develop a fuller understanding of the similarities and differences in the conditions of blacks, Hispanics and Asians, research and theory in this area must be expanded to fully comparable analyses of how whites' view the three major ethnic groups of color. Our purpose in this research is to help fill this gap. We analyze data from the 1990 General Social Survey

(Davis and Smith 1990) which included a special module of questions on intergroup relations expressly designed to permit broad gauge, comparable, and more representative analysis of whites' beliefs and attitudes about people of color (Bobo 1988c).¹ We present analyses of the social distribution and determinants of whites beliefs and attitudes about African-, Hispanic-, and Asian-Americans; examining group stereotypes, social distance feelings, and perceptions of discrimination against each group. We focus on these specific dimensions of interethnic attitudes because they have direct implications for both interpersonal and larger sociopolitical relations between people of color and members of the white majority.

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES ABOUT BLACKS

Research on whites' attitudes toward blacks provides a starting point for moving toward a modern multiethnic framework on ethnic attitudes. For much of the past five decades, research on white attitudes toward blacks has focused on what is now often called "traditional prejudice," i.e. open bigotry involving support of legal and normative racial segregation, and belief in the innate inferiority of blacks (Pettigrew 1982). When baseline national sample surveys were conducted in the 1940s majorities of white Americans openly supported segregation, discrimination, and believed that blacks were their innate inferiors (Hyman and Sheastley 1956). The better educated held more positive attitudes. Those living outside the South, where more tolerant racial norms prevailed and where blacks were typically a smaller fraction of the population (Fossett and Kiecolt 1989), also held more positive attitudes. Younger people, especially the better educated among them, exhibited more tolerant outlooks.

This once openly racist pattern of belief has yielded overtime to an increasingly equalitarian view (Smith and Sheatsley 1984). Most whites now endorse integration in principle, and reject discrimination preferring instead equal treatment regardless of race. Most whites also deny that blacks are innately inferior to whites (Schuman, Steeh and Bobo 1988). The young, the better educated, and those living outside the south led the way on these changes.

Overall, this represents a large and rapid societal shift. It reflects both change at the individual level and continued cohort replacement effects (Firebaugh and Davis 1988). Substantively, this positive trend has been read as a major normative transformation (Schuman et al 1988). As Blauner explained: "The belief in a right to dignity and fair treatment is now so widespread and deeply rooted, so self-evident that people of all colors would vigorously resist any effort to reinstate formalized discrimination" (1989, p. 317). These patterns suggest that we are witnessing the steady decline of racial prejudice as classically understood.²

Less sanguine, however, has been the relatively low and slowly changing levels of white support for any of a number of policies aimed at bringing about greater integration and equality (Jackman 1978). Surveys show widespread white opposition to school busing for desegregation (Sears, Hensler and Speer 1979), to open housing laws (Schuman and Bobo 1988), and to strong affirmative action plans (Jacobson 1985; Kinder and Sanders 1987; Kluegel and Smith 1983; Lipset and Schneider 1978). Black candidates for political office also frequently encounter prejudice (Kinder and Sears 1981; Pettigrew 1972; Citrin, Green, and Sears 1991).

To these attitudinal results we may add evidence of racial discrimination in access to housing and jobs that also cast doubt on the meaning of the decline in traditional prejudice (Jaynes and Williams 1989). These negative trends question whether factors that have brought about change in traditional anti-black prejudice affect other aspects of white attitudes about blacks as strongly or even at all. They also suggest that factors beyond those identified in the study of traditional prejudice need to be considered.

In this regard, studies of whites' stereotypes have consistently shown blacks to rank near the bottom of an ethnic status hierarchy. Katz and Braly's (1933) original stereotype checklist procedure showed that a sample of white college students assigned largely negative traits to blacks. The traits they found most commonly assigned to blacks included superstitiousness, laziness, a happy-go-lucky outlook, and ignorance. The overall favorableness of these rankings had blacks placing 9th out of the ten groups compared, with "Americans" (presumably interpreted to mean white Americans) and others of Northern European ancestry ranked at the top. Subsequent research using the Katz-Braly checklist showed a steady decline overtime in openly negative views of blacks, increasing mention of more positive traits (i.e., musical ability) but that blacks remained among the least favorable in overall evaluative ranking (Karlins, Coffman and Walters 1969). Recent assessments emphasize the slowness of change in whites stereotypes of blacks and the overall negative cast of these images (Devine 1989; Jackman and Senter 1983; Stephan and Rosenfield 1982).

In like fashion, examinations of social distance feelings have long shown that whites tend to place blacks near the bottom of the ethnic status

hierarchy (Bogardus 1933). Recent measurements continue to show blacks ranked in the bottom half of a thirty group hierarchy despite an overall decline in average levels of expressed social distance (Owen, Eisner, and McFaul 1981). Other research (Dyer, Velditz, and Worchel 1989; Smith and Dempsey 1983) shows that whites express greater social distance from blacks than from Hispanics.³

One of the main reasons for white resistance to government interventions to help blacks has been a tendency to downplay racial discrimination as a source of black-white economic inequality (Apostle et al 1983; Sniderman and Hagen 1985). To be sure, many whites perceive blacks as facing discrimination, though far fewer than among blacks (Sigelman and Welch 1991). The predominant explanation given by whites for blacks economic disadvantage is lack of effort on the part of blacks themselves (Kluegel 1990). Seeing limited discrimination and holding blacks responsible for their own circumstances, many whites see no need for government policies to help blacks get ahead. Trend analyses show that there has been no increase in the extent to which whites attribute racial inequality to discrimination and only weak effects of education and age on such perceptions. As a result, there are few grounds to expect an increase among whites in the perception of discrimination as a major impediment to black advancement (Kluegel 1990).

Patterns of belief about racial inequality may reflect a more general streak of American individualism (Feldman 1984; Katz and Glass 1988; Kluegel and Smith 1986). Americans' beliefs about the causes of economic inequality tend to reflect highly individualistic assumptions. Economic success or failure are commonly believed to reflect individual effort and

ability as opposed to the structure of opportunities. A belief that factors such as limited job opportunities or low wage rates cause economic inequality do occur, but with less frequency. However, acceptance of such beliefs is more strongly dependent upon race and socioeconomic status. Blacks more than whites, and those with low incomes are more likely to perceive structural barriers to economic success (Kluegel and Smith 1986). Those who hold structural outlooks on inequality are more likely to support government efforts to help blacks get ahead whereas those who hold individualistic outlooks tend to oppose such policies (Bobo 1991; Kluegel and Smith 1986).

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES ABOUT ASIAN- AND HISPANIC-AMERICANS

Analyses of whites' beliefs and attitudes about Asian-Americans and Hispanics typically assume that stereotypes and social distance feelings reflect beliefs about the economic standing and success of ethnic groups. Thus, students of attitudes toward Asian-Americans propose that their portrayal as an economic success story leads whites to assign markedly fewer negative attributes to Asian-Americans than to other ethnic groups. The prevailing view of Asian-Americans has changed from the extremely negative stereotypes held before World War II to the present "success image" and characterization as "model minorities" (Hurh and Kim 1989; Lee 1989). Whites, it is claimed, now see Asian-Americans as hard-working, industrious and intelligent. Hispanics, on the other hand, perhaps in large part because they are not perceived to be as economically successful as Asian-Americans are thought to be more negatively viewed by whites (Ramirez 1988). Hispanics are perceived to be "present-oriented" to have low levels of aspiration, and other like characteristics (Ramirez 1988).

Empirical support for these claims is limited. With few exceptions (Sigelman, Shockey and Sigelman forthcoming) most studies are based on narrow regional samples (Dyer, Vedlitz, and Worchel 1989; Roberts 1983; Starr and Roberts 1988), or on "convenience samples"—often of college students (Karlins, Coffman, and Walters 1969; Maykovich 1971; Owen, Eisner, and McFaul 1981; Triandis et al 1982). Evidence often is indirect or conjectural, based on media or other popular portrayals of Asian-Americans and Hispanics (Hurh and Kim 1989; Lee 1989; Ramirez 1988). To the degree these studies may be generalized they provide support for the claim that stereotypes of Asian-Americans now are markedly more positive than for Hispanics and Blacks (Karlins et al 1969; Marin 1984, Maykovich 1972). It is not clear, however, that the respective "success" and "non-success" images imply that whites feel less socially distant from Asian-Americans than Hispanics. To the contrary, research employing the Bogardus social distance scale shows that among a sample of college students in 1977 "Mexican-Americans" and "Japanese-Americans" are given nearly identical social distance ratings (Owen et al 1981). Moreover, these ratings are substantially higher than that for white ethnic groups, and indeed higher than that for "Negroes" (Owen et al 1981: Table 6, p. 89).

Extant research also is unclear about perceived discrimination against Asian-Americans and Hispanics. The prevailing success image is thought to lead whites to deny that Asian-Americans are the victims of discrimination (Hurh and Kim 1989; Lee 1989). Because the primary political and social discussion of discrimination in America focuses on blacks, one might well argue that whites perceive more discrimination against blacks than Hispanics or Asian-Americans. No research, however, provides empirical

substantiation for this speculation.

IMPLICATIONS FOR A MULTITETHNIC FRAMEWORK

These patterns in whites' intergroup attitudes, in their beliefs about discrimination, and in their beliefs inequality more broadly, can be read as confirming an assumption that many sociologists have made about such attitudes: namely, that intergroup attitudes are heavily determined by the structured conditions of group life (Blumer 1958). Rabb and Lipset (1962) argued that prejudiced attitudes grew out of and reinforced organized community practices of discrimination, segregation and unequal status. Wilson (1973) and Yinger (1983) have noted the degree to which prejudice and racial ideologies flow from and undergird—not of themselves create—systems of racial inequality. Similarly, Myrdal (1944) emphasized a "vicious circle" of actual economic and social disadvantage that fed negative beliefs about blacks. The negative beliefs reinforce discriminatory behaviors against blacks, making improvements in their economic status harder to achieve.

Once a pattern of group inequality has been institutionalized and supporting belief systems have become part of the culture, such beliefs are likely to acquire a degree of autonomy (Wilson 1973, pp. 34-35). As Yinger explained: "Persistent discrimination against minority groups becomes 'justified' by a tradition of prejudice. Stereotypes 'explain' why certain groups are in disadvantaged positions. Even those persons who in no way stand to gain economically or politically absorb the culture of prejudice and this helps to perpetuate discriminatory ethnic patterns for others" (1983, pp. 399-400).

These considerations suggest to us that group stereotypes and social distance feelings will reflect beliefs about the economic standing and success of ethnic groups. Groups perceived as failing economically are likely to be perceived as possessing traits that work against economic success.⁴ To the extent minority groups are perceived as unsuccessful and thus as lacking in desirable qualities, the more social distance majority groups members will prefer to maintain from members of the minority group. In addition, groups perceived as possessing negative qualities are likely to be seen as undeserving of government intervention to improve their circumstances in life. (Indeed, to the extent government adopts policies to aid minorities in the face of negative stereotyping, deep resentments are likely to develop among members of the majority group.)

Given previous research, these tendencies should be least pronounced among better educated and younger respondents (Schuman et al 1988). Highly educated individuals should think in more sophisticated terms about group differences and, as a result of greater commitment to values of individualism (Jackman and Muha 1984), be more likely to recognize within group variation (i.e., individual differences). The young as compared to older respondents should have been exposed to a more tolerant racial climate and to a set of social conditions where high socioeconomic achievement for at least some blacks (and other minorities) was a less exceptional outcome.

In addition, previous research on the effects of beliefs about inequality suggest that those high in individualistic beliefs will be inclined to perceive blacks, and any other groups regarded as economically unsuccessful, as having shortcomings that justify their disadvantaged

position. Those who do hold structural beliefs about inequality should have less negative stereotypes because they are much less likely to view economically disadvantaged groups as responsible for their own circumstances (Katz and Glass 1988).

DATA

The data for testing these ideas about interethnic attitudes come from the 1990 General Social Survey (Davis and Smith 1990). The GSS is a full probability sample of English speaking adults living in households in the continental U.S. There were a total of 1372 respondents with a response rate of 73%. Our analyses are based on data for the 1150 white respondents. Further details on sample design can be obtained from Davis and Smith (1990).

MEASURES OF ETHNIC BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Group Ratings: Stereotypes were measured by six bipolar 1 to 7 trait rating scales. Respondents were asked to rank how each group stood where a 1 meant "virtually all of the people" in a group had a given positive (negative) trait, a score of 7 meant "virtually all of the people" in a group had a given negative (positive trait) and a score of 4 meant a group "was not towards one end or another". The trait dimensions rated for whites, blacks, Asian-Americans and Hispanic-Americans were rich/poor (WEALTH), hardworking/lazy (WORK HARD), violence prone/not violence prone (VIOLENT), unintelligent/intelligent (INTELLIGENT), prefer to be self-supporting/prefer to live off of welfare (WELFARE), and patriotic/unpatriotic (PATRIOTIC). This set of traits was chosen because it covers critical social, political, and economic achievement related characteristics.

We used trait rating scales because it is now widely accepted that measurement procedures that call for simple categorical judgments likely obscure the nature of stereotypes (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981; Jackman and Senter 1983).⁵ Simple agree-disagree statements and the Katz-Braly type checklist approaches force respondents to make categorical and blunt generalizations. To the extent many people hold more qualified views, such procedures will underestimate the level of stereotyping. Since the trait rating questions were part of a national sample survey we choose to use the generic labels of "Hispanic" and "Asian" rather than more specific group labels. To be sure, doing so obscures what might be important differences in perceptions of Mexican-Americans as compared to Cuban-Americans and to Puerto Rican Americans and similarly between Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese Americans and so on. However, pre-test results suggested that the labels "Hispanic" and "Asian" were well understood by respondents. Since these specific subgroups tend to be concentrated in different regions of the country and often differ in economic status, recency of immigration, and citizenship status we pay close attention to possible regional differences in trait ratings.

In subsequent analyses we use difference scores, formed by subtracting ratings on each trait for blacks, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans from the respective rating for whites (Trait Ratings Difference). WEALTH, WORKHARD, WELFARE, and PATRIOTIC ratings were reverse coded so that overall a positive score indicates that a white respondent perceives that a given trait is found more often among blacks, Hispanics or Asian-Americans than among whites, and a negative score that it is found less often. We thus have a measure of both whether or not whites evaluate people of color as

inferior to themselves, and of how big the gap between groups is perceived to be (cf. Jackman and Senter 1983).

Social Distance: Respondents were asked two sets of social distance questions. The first asked if the respondent "very much favored", "somewhat favored", "neither favored nor opposed", "somewhat opposed" or "strongly opposed" living in a neighborhood where half of their neighbors were, variously, blacks, Asian Americans, or Hispanic Americans. Using the same response format the second set of questions asked about reactions to "a close relative or family member marrying a" black, Asian American, or Hispanic American. Both questions concern close, sustained interpersonal forms of interaction rather than the often remote forms of contact emphasized in many social distance questions (e.g., "admit to my country").

Discrimination: Respondents answered two sets of questions on discrimination. The first asked "How much discrimination is there that hurts the chances of (Hispanic Americans/Blacks/Asian Americans) to get good paying jobs? Would you say there is a lot, some, only a little, or none at all?" The second set used the same response format but asked about "How much discrimination there is that makes it hard for (Hispanic Americans/Blacks/ Asian Americans) to buy or rent housing wherever they want?".

Traditional Prejudice: We use four items -- support for a ban on racial intermarriage, support for racial segregation in housing, and willingness to vote for a qualified black presidential candidate, and attribution of black-white differences in socioeconomic status to lesser innate ability—commonly used in previous analyses of racial prejudice (Schuman, et al., 1988; Kluegel, 1990).

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

GROUP TRAIT RATINGS

Most analyses of ethnic beliefs and attitudes assume that whites perceive differences in socioeconomic status between themselves as a group and people of color. The top panel of Table 1 supports this assumption, showing clear differences in how whites rated themselves on the rich/poor dimensions as compared to blacks, Asian-, and Hispanic Americans. All of the minority groups are more likely to be rated toward the "poor" end of the continuum, especially so for blacks and Hispanics. Only 6.7% rated whites as a group as tending to be poor (scores 5 through 7). Yet, fully 75.5% of whites rated blacks as tending to be poor. The comparable figures for whites' ratings of Hispanic Americans was 77.6% but only 39.2% for Asian-Americans. Overall, whites do perceive substantial ethnic differences in socioeconomic status, with blacks and Hispanics seen to have equal status, markedly below whites. Asian-Americans are perceived to be of lower status on average than whites, occupying a position roughly half-way between blacks and Hispanics, on the one hand, and whites on the other.

— Table 1 here —

Do the perceived status differences carry-over into other more specific dispositional trait ratings? To answer this question we examine two measures: The first is the difference in means between whites and each other group, computed such that a negative value indicates that a group of color is perceived to possess less of a positive trait on average (Mean Trait Ratings Difference). Values of this measure are given in Table 1 (the row labeled "Mean Difference" in each panel). The second

is a measure of the balance of positive to negative trait ratings, subtracting the total percent of ratings below the midpoint of the scale from the total percent above. A positive score indicates that the majority of a group are seen to hold a favorable trait, and a negative score indicates the opposite. Values of this measure also are given in Table 1 (the row labeled "Balance" in each panel), and graphed in Figure 1.

— Figure 1 here —

The mean differences in Table 1 show a general pattern of people of color, in particular blacks and Hispanics, receiving negative trait ratings in comparison to whites' ratings of their own group. These negative ratings are most evident in the case of the traits related to work and socioeconomic success. The mean differences are greatest for the ratings of hardworking/lazy and prefer to be self-supporting/ prefer to live off welfare — in the latter case it is greater than two for the perceived black-white difference. Though all groups receive less positive ratings than whites, the perceived gap between Asian-Americans and whites on the whole is markedly smaller than the perceived gaps between blacks or Hispanics and whites. The difference scores for blacks and Hispanics are nearly equal on average for all six traits.

We see from Figure 1, however, that though Asian-Americans receive somewhat less positive ratings than whites, their absolute ratings for the five dispositional traits are favorable. Whites perceive that the majority of Asian-Americans are hard-working, self-reliant, intelligent, non-violent, and patriotic. With the exception of patriotism (where all groups are rated "patriotic" on balance) these positive characteristics are perceived present only in the minority of blacks and Hispanics. Again,

this graph illustrates the sharp differences perceived between whites, and blacks and Hispanics. Roughly 57 and 73 percent of whites, respectively, are rated above the midpoint on hardwork and self-support. In stark contrast, 47 and 37 percent of Blacks and Hispanics respectively are rated below the midpoint on hardwork, and 61 and 46 percent respectively below the midpoint on self-support.

— Figure 2 here —

To examine broader features of their distributions, difference scores are grouped into six categories in Figure 2. The "Don't Know" category in this figure includes small numbers of respondents who refused or otherwise did not provide a rating in addition to those choosing the "don't know" response. Four major characteristics of the trait difference scores may be noted. First, the percent "Don't Know" response is approximately twice as high for ratings of Hispanics and Asian-Americans than for blacks. This may reflect the longer history of social and political attention to blacks in this country, or may result from the greater concentration of Asian-Americans and Hispanics in several large urban areas. Second, on five of the six traits (patriotism is the exception) substantial fractions — from 15 to 25 percent — of white respondents rate Asian-Americans more positively than whites; that is, see Asian Americans as superior to whites. For blacks and Hispanics there are only negligible percents of positive difference scores. Third, white respondents are substantially more likely to give extreme negative relative ratings to blacks or Hispanics than to Asian-Americans, especially so for the two work related evaluations of hard-working vs. lazy, and self-supporting vs. live off welfare.

Fourth, with the exception of "welfare proneness" (where it is "-3 or

more" for blacks and Hispanics), the modal category for the evaluative ratings is "0", i.e. "Equal" (chosen by approximately 30 to 40 percent depending upon the trait and group), and the majority of whites (from 50 to 60 percent) have difference scores of "0" or "-1." Accordingly, one might conclude that most whites see no or little difference between groups.

However, as can be seen from Figures 4 and 5 below even a perceived one unit negative difference between whites and people of color is consequential.

— Figure 3 here —

The 1990 GSS includes a question concerning government assistance to improve the living standards of blacks because of discrimination against them. Respondents were asked to place themselves on a five point scale where "1" indicates strong agreement with the statement that government is obligated to help blacks, "5" indicates strong agreement with the statement that the government shouldn't give special treatment to blacks, and "3" indicates agreement with both statements.⁶ Figure 3 gives the mean score for this question by categories of the trait difference scores (whites - blacks)—from whites who see blacks and whites as equal to those who see whites as 3 or more units superior to blacks. It quite clearly shows that opposition to government policy to equalize black-white economic standing increases with an increase in the perceived trait superiority of whites, and that about one half of the change over the entire range of negative trait ratings occurs with a shift from an equal rating to "-1."⁷

— Figure 4 —

Figure 4 graphs the percents who oppose having a close relative marry an Hispanic and an Asian-American by the perceived trait differences

between each group and whites; again in categories from equality to pronounced white superiority. There also is a clear, substantial increase in opposition to a close relative marrying either an Hispanic or and Asian-American as one moves from an "equal" rating to pronounced perceived trait superiority among whites—with a 30 to 40 percentage point difference between the end points. As for the relationship of trait rating differences to support for government assistance, about one half of the change over the entire range of negative trait ratings occurs with a shift from an equal rating to "-1." Findings concerning the prevalence of perceived trait inferiority of people of color cannot be dismissed simply because many whites see people of color as only "a little inferior." Our data confirm Jackman and Senter's (1983) claim that even the perception of small group differences amounted to saying "different, therefore unequal".

— Figure 5 here —

At least in the areas of residential preference and marriage, whites express the same degree of social distance sentiment towards Asian-Americans and Hispanics. Figure 5 shows that whites on average express equal social distance towards blacks, Hispanics and Asian-Americans in residential preference. Whites equally oppose having a close relative marry an Hispanic or an Asian-American, and are markedly more opposed to marriage to a black than to either an Hispanic or an Asian-American.

— Figure 6 here —

Though the success-image of Asian-Americans does not act in their favor in promoting less social distance relative to the "non-success" image of Hispanics, it does appear to affect the perceived amount of discrimination (Figure 6). Asian-Americans are seen to be less often the target of

discrimination in jobs than are blacks or Hispanics. Whites perceive "a lot" of discrimination against blacks and Hispanics (26 and 20 percent) roughly twice as often as they perceive it against Asian-Americans, and more often choose the "a little" or "none" responses to characterize the amount of job discrimination experienced by Asian-Americans. On the other hand, blacks are seen to be more often the victims of housing discrimination than either Asian-Americans or Hispanics who are seen to be its targets equally often.

AGE, AND EDUCATION GROUP DIFFERENCES

As noted above research has underscored the facts that traditional anti-black prejudice decreases with years of formal education and increases with age. Though it is not possible to rule-out an affect of aging per se, the steady decline of traditional prejudice over the past few decades and evidence regarding cohort change (cf. Firebaugh and Davis, 1988) suggests that younger age groups lead the way in broader societal change in racial beliefs and attitudes. Under the assumption that similar processes affect racial beliefs and attitudes in general, we also expect to find that younger age and higher educated whites lead the way in changing stereotyping of people of color.

— Figure 7 here —

The education level and age group differences found in prior research are replicated in the 1990 GSS (Figure 7). It is noteworthy that among the youngest and most highly educated whites, traditional anti-black prejudice is expressed by a very small minority. Indeed, among whites with 17 or more years of education one might characterize the expression of anti-black prejudice as virtually absent. Are the same patterns evident

in the white trait rating differences?

— Figure 8 here —

To answer this question, we array the percent of whites who give people of color an "inferior" rating for three evaluate ratings (patterns for the remaining two are the same) — i.e. have trait difference ratings for blacks, Hispanics, or Asian-Americans that are one unit or more lower than the relevant white ratings — by education and age. Since we have seen that even a one unit lower rating is highly consequential, whites who have trait difference scores of "-1" or lower may be validly characterized as having negative evaluations of blacks. We may thusly compare whites who express anti-black prejudice to those who express a negative relative evaluation of a group of color.

The overall pattern for traditional prejudice is replicated in Figure 8. As education increases, the percent rating ethnic groups inferior to whites with regard to hard work, self-support, and intelligence declines. Likewise paralleling findings on traditional prejudice, the same ratings increase with increasing age. There is one marked difference, however, between patterns for traditional prejudice and stereotyping. Here we call attention to the much higher level of willingness on the part of whites to rate people of color, especially blacks and Hispanics, as inferior to whites on important traits than to endorse prejudiced responses on commonly used indicators. The markedly higher willingness to rate blacks and Hispanics as inferior holds even among the most highly educated (17+ years) and youngest (18-29 years) age groups, where prejudiced responses are nearly absent. For example, whereas only about three and eight percent of whites with 17 or more years of education would ban

racial intermarriage or support the right to residential segregation by race, approximately 55 percent of such whites rate blacks as less hard-working, and fully 71 percent as more prone to live off welfare. The same contrast holds for the relative ratings of intelligence versus endorsement of the traditional prejudice item attributing black-white socioeconomic differences to innate ability. Approximately one half of white respondents with 16 years of education rate blacks and Hispanics as less intelligent than whites, but fewer than 10 percent of these whites endorsed attribution to lesser innate ability on the part of blacks.

As also may be seen in Figure 8, the more favorable trait ratings for Asian-Americans hold among all education and age groups. Among the youngest and most highly educated groups whites characterize Asian-Americans in terms essentially equal on average to other whites. Indeed, mean trait difference ratings (not given here) show that the most highly educated whites (16 or more years) rate Asian-Americans as essentially equal in intelligence and self-reliance, more hard-working, and less violence-prone than whites in general. In addition, the ordering of "inferiority ratings" for Asian-Americans, Hispanics, and blacks, is virtually the same at all education and age levels. At the youngest and oldest ages, and among the least and most educated blacks and Hispanics receive ratings that on average are quite close, and roughly the same amount more negative than ratings of Asian-Americans.

— Figure 9 here —

Social distance sentiment towards all people of color declines uniformly with increasing education (Figure 9). It increases with age, but as shown in Figure 9, not uniformly. Instead, it follows a pattern such that

whites under 50 express nearly equal average social distance sentiment, and those 50 or older express substantially higher average distance feelings about all people of color.

— Figure 10 here —

Figure 10 shows that the perceived amount of discrimination against people of color in general varies little by age or education. There essentially are no differences in the mean perceived amount of job- or housing discrimination by age group. The most highly educated whites only perceive a somewhat higher amount of job discrimination against blacks, and they perceive a similarly small amount more housing discrimination against blacks and Hispanics.

SUMMARY: Our results confirm with nationally representative data findings from prior research based on small, non-representative samples and the non-empirically based assertions of scholars that whites hold a more positive view of the personal traits of Asian-Americans than of either blacks or Hispanics. Consistent with the hypothesis that the more positive view of Asian-Americans derives from the perception that they are more economically successful, whites rate Asian-Americans as nearly their equals in the distribution of wealth, and some see them as better off. Though confirmation of the more positive view of Asian-Americans perhaps is not surprising, the markedly negative evaluations of Hispanics and blacks perhaps are so. Majorities of whites rate blacks and Hispanics inferior to whites on all five dispositional traits—and at the extreme, fully three-fourths of white respondents rate blacks and Hispanics as inferior to whites on self-support (WELFARE).

Our results also shed light on areas not addressed in prior empirical

study. Whites express nearly equal social distance from Asian-Americans and Hispanics, and somewhat more social distance from blacks, especially as regards marriage. In general white Americans are equally divided in their expression of social distance sentiment—from 40 to 65 percent of whites express opposition to close contact with one of the three groups in one of the two social distance areas we measured. We have seen that in general whites see people of color as the targets of "some" discrimination, but in general do not appear to characterize discrimination against people of color as widespread. With the exception of perceived housing discrimination against blacks, more whites specify that there is little or no discrimination against people of color than say that there is "a lot." This holds especially for perceptions of discrimination against Asian-Americans where only 10 percent of whites on average in both the job and housing areas say "a lot" and nearly 40 percent say "a little" or "none."

What factors shape these views of people of color? The age and education level differences presented above suggest that factors we know from prior research affect (or in the case of perceived discrimination we know do not affect) beliefs and attitudes about blacks influence views of people of color in general. However, the contrast between the relatively low level of anti-black prejudice expressed and the high levels of inferior ratings of blacks and Hispanics suggests that additional factors play a role. The remaining analyses presented in this paper concern the determinants of whites views of people of color.

DETERMINANTS

Factors

As a preliminary step to estimating regression models for the determinants of whites' views of people of color, we factor analyzed the correlations among nine items, separately in each of the three groups.⁸ For each group the same three factor structure was obtained, with the factor loadings given in Table 2. Factor scores for each of the three factors concerning each of the three groups were compiled under estimates from the best fitting models.⁹ The correlations among these factors are given in Table 2.

Three important observations about them are in order. First, the Perceived Discrimination factor for each group is essentially uncorrelated with the Trait Difference and Social Distance factors (Kluegel and Bobo forthcoming). Thus the independence of perceived discrimination perceptions from other dimensions of beliefs and attitudes about blacks holds more generally for people of color. Second, the correlation between the trait difference factor for ratings of Asian-Americans and the Asian-American social distance factor is smaller than the two correlations among corresponding factors for blacks and Hispanics. This is consistent with our prior observation that the more positive trait evaluations of Asian-Americans by whites does not lead to correspondingly lower social distance sentiment. Third, the three correlations among social distance factors are essentially equal to one another as are the three correlations among perceived discrimination factors. Overall, the pattern of correlations among trait-evaluation, social distance and discrimination factors suggests that much the same factors shape social distance sentiment toward- and

perceived discrimination against all people of color.

Sociodemographic Variables

In addition to age and education, we examine the partial effects of four other sociodemographic variables often considered in research on traditional prejudice — sex, family income, urban-rural location, and region — on factor scores for the Trait Difference, Social Distance, and Perceived Discrimination factors (Table 3). For purposes of comparison, we present parallel analyses for the partial effects of these variables on traditional prejudice.¹⁰

— Table 3 here —

The bivariate relationships between age, education and beliefs and attitudes about people of color discussed above hold when controls for one another and other sociodemographic variables are introduced. There are no statistically significant effects of gender on any of the Trait Difference, Social Distance, or Perceived Discrimination factors. There is one statistically significant effect of income, and two such effects of urban-rural residence, but they are weak and essentially neither variable meaningfully affects beliefs or attitudes about people of color. The lack of an income effect argues against a simple self-interest interpretation such that higher income people view people of color more negatively than lower income whites out of a desire to justify their relative privilege.

Holding the effects of other sociodemographic variables constant, Southerners endorse the most consistently negative view of people of color, relative to whites from other regions. They express more negative trait evaluations of blacks and higher social distance from all groups of color

than whites from the non-South. Southerners perceive less discrimination against blacks than whites from the other three regions, and whites from the south perceive an amount of discrimination against Hispanics and Asian-Americans equal to westerners, and less than the amount perceived by whites from the Northeast or the Midwest. Westerners express a more positive view of Hispanics than whites from other regions for both trait evaluations and social distance. Perceived discrimination against people of color is largely unaffected by sociodemographic variables — apart from tendencies for more highly educated and higher income whites to perceive more discrimination against blacks, and the just noted regional differences in perceived discrimination against people of color.

Traditional prejudice is affected by sociodemographic variables in ways expected from prior research. However, the combined influence of all sociodemographic variables (as reflected in the R^2 's for the respective regression equations), and of age and education in particular, is substantially stronger on traditional prejudice than on other belief and attitude dimensions. This suggests that the factors producing change over-time and sizeable education level differences in traditional anti-black prejudice have more weakly influenced other dimensions of whites' racial and ethnic beliefs and attitudes.

Social-Psychological Traits

There is a large body of research that has examined the roots of traditional prejudice in more general aspects of intolerance in American society (Corbett, 1982). We are able to call on two sets of measures from the General Social Survey to construct composites that tap aspects of intolerance. Two items relate to the concept of Authoritarianism often

proposed to underlie negative stereotyping and hostility towards blacks, and toward minorities in general.¹¹ Three items concern tolerance for political minorities (Political Tolerance), in particular freedom of speech for communists.¹² There is empirical evidence of links between general intolerance and anti-black traditional prejudice (Corbett, 1982). As noted above however, it is an open question of the affect of factors shaping traditional prejudice on other dimensions of beliefs and attitudes. In addition, to our knowledge no study has examined such links for beliefs and attitudes about other minorities.

As also noted above, more recent writings and research argue for the importance of American socioeconomic ideology. It is not the simple fact of perceived economic differences between whites and minority groups alone that drives the way whites view them, but the ideological filters through which they are seen. Included in the 1990 General Social Survey are five questions that allow us to construct measures of Structuralism and Individualism, respectively. Two questions each concern structuralist and individualist causes of poverty, and the fifth question concerns equality of opportunity.¹³

Tendencies to view the social world in rigid terms — i.e. as involving "simple right or wrong" with regard to children's actions or as composed of the "weak and the strong" (40% to 50%) — and to deny freedom or expression to those who hold minority political beliefs (30% to 40%) are present among a sizeable proportion of white Americans. In addition, individualist views of poverty are more prevalent than structuralist ones. Whereas roughly thirty percent of white Americans rate structural cause of poverty as "very important," nearly forty and fifty percent respectively so

rate the respective individualist causes of "loose morals" and "lack of effort."

— Table 4 here —

The tendencies toward authoritarianism and intolerance found in the white public have clear negative consequences.¹⁴ Regression coefficients for the influence of social psychological traits, net of the affects of sociodemographic variables and each other, are presented in the Table 4. They show that authoritarianism and political intolerance promote negative trait evaluations of- and greater social distance sentiment from all people of color. These two factors, however, do not have statistically significant partial effects on perceived discrimination.

Net of the influence of sociodemographic variables, authoritarianism and political intolerance, structuralism and individualism also significantly shape trait evaluations, and social distance sentiment towards all three groups of color. In contrast to the lack of effects of authoritarianism and political intolerance, structuralism and individualism have statistically significant effects on perceived discrimination against all groups.

The lack of effects of authoritarianism and political intolerance, coupled with the very weak influence of sociodemographic variables on perceived discrimination underscores that this is a dimension of beliefs and attitudes about people of color independent from others. Being non-authoritarian or being politically tolerant are not sufficient in and of themselves to engender beliefs that people of color are the victims of discrimination. Whites must also tend to see inequality in general as the product of structural factors.

Finally, whereas authoritarianism and political intolerance have roughly equal effects on traditional prejudice and other dimensions of whites' beliefs and attitudes, structuralism and individualism have substantially stronger effects on other dimensions than on traditional prejudice. This in part may account for the seeming greater resistance of negative trait evaluations and social distance feelings than of traditional prejudice to change with education and over time. The tendency of Americans to "blame the victim" (Ryan 1971) for a perceived lack of economic success plays a role in shaping the former dimensions of beliefs and attitudes about people of color that it does not play in shaping traditional prejudice. Put another way, it seems that white Americans have more easily come to accept that blacks (and presumably all people of color) should have equal rights, than to accept that people of color are not personally responsible for their poorer economic standing relative to whites.

CONCLUSIONS

Negative images of people of color, blacks and Hispanics in particular, remain fairly widespread. Blacks, Hispanics and Asians were rated as less intelligent, more violence prone, lazier, less patriotic and more likely to prefer living off welfare than whites. Whites' views of Asian-Americans typically place them lower than whites but also a noteworthy distance ahead of blacks and Hispanics. Not only were whites rated more favorably than were people of color, but on four of the five personality traits examined many whites' rated the majority of blacks and Hispanics as possessing negative qualities and the majority of whites as possessing positive qualities. The one exception to this pattern concerns patriotism where, on balance, all groups received positive ratings.

In and of themselves these data fill a critical lacunae. No previous national sample survey has documented such patterns with a comprehensive set of parallel measures. These patterns have important theoretical implications as well. The trait ratings of people of color appear to be linked to assumptions about a groups relative economic success. Groups that are viewed as having made greater economic strides are credited with more desirable qualities. Groups lagging behind economically are, in essence, faulted for their own circumstances which are seen as the product of a number of behavioral deficiencies (i.e., lazy, unintelligent, violence prone etc.).

A critical question is whether the stereotyping measures tap an expression of prejudice or merely descriptive statements about actual average group differences in levels of certain traits. Allport drew a distinction between stereotypes that reflected well deserved or "earned reputation" based on realistic experiences with a group, and those stereotypes that merely contained a "kernel of truth" (1954). There are several reasons to assume that most of the stereotyping we have found involves at best a kernel of truth. First, given the high levels of ethnic residential segregation, in particular between blacks and whites, it is unlikely that a wide array of direct personal experiences provided the basis for an individual's stereotyped judgments. Second and more important, the wording of several of the trait rating questions explicitly calls for a judgment about group personality traits rather than reports on dry social facts. For example, the WELFARE question expressly discouraged thinking in terms of objective group rates by asking whether group members "tend to prefer to be self-supporting or do they tend to prefer to live off

welfare?" (emphasis added). Results for this question show the largest gaps between ratings of whites and those for blacks and for Hispanics. Any interpretation of the meaning of these responses must bear in mind that other research has found no important differences between blacks and whites in work values or the desire to be self-supporting (Jaynes and Williams 1989, pp. 540-544); and that most whites greatly exaggerate both the proportion of blacks who are poor and the proportion of welfare recipients who are black (Gilens 1991). It thus seems likely that most respondents who rated blacks and Hispanics as more likely to prefer to live off welfare than whites were making an erroneous attribution to an underlying personality trait, not merely describing a well understood social fact. This type of erroneous attribution, according to Seeman (1981, pp. 379-380), is precisely what separates prejudice from other types of social attitudes.

Fourth, although not as strong as the associations with traditional antiblack prejudice, the trait ratings for all three groups have the expected negative associations with level of education, positive associations with age, and positive associations with authoritarianism and other indicators of intolerance. Traditional measures of antiblack prejudice also correlate with the trait rating measures. In addition, the group trait ratings are plainly filtered through a set of ideological beliefs about the causes of economic inequality. Individualistic beliefs about the sources of economic inequality lead to the perception of larger trait differences between whites and people of color whereas structural beliefs work in the opposite direction. Moreover, it is not the case that authoritarianism and intolerance correlate across the board with

interethnic attitudes. The connection between ethnic attitudes and authoritarianism and intolerance does not hold for perceptions of discrimination. Taken all together, we believe that the trait ratings given by most respondents constitute stereotypes in the negative sense of overgeneralizations based on little direct information. A priority for future research will be to probe respondents assumptions about the sources of group trait differences (e.g., social causes or cultural causes) and to test the malleability of these stereotypes in the face of new or contradictory information.

Negative stereotypes matter. Even the perception of only small group differences increased the individual whites' expressed desire for social distance from members of minority groups. It also reduced support for government intervention to help minority group members get ahead in life.

The stereotyping and social distance results add to our understanding of why economic and residential mobility for people of color has been difficult to obtain. To be sure, the connection between attitudes and behavior is often tenuous. But the weight of a number of careful investigations suggests that attitudes usually bear an important connection to behavior even though not always the only or most influential input to behavior (Schuman and Johnson 1976). Even if we assume only a weak association between the two, our results are consistent with research pointing to ongoing discrimination against minorities in the labor market and in the housing market.

Perceptions of discrimination differ in nature from stereotyping and distance feelings. These perceptions are neither closely correlated with the other dimensions of ethnic attitudes nor are they connected to

authoritarianism and intolerance. Indeed, only in the case of perceived discrimination against blacks does education, one of the traditional demographic variables to influence prejudice, increase perceptions of discrimination. Although not a dimension of prejudice, we have shown elsewhere that perceptions of discrimination are potent determinants of support for government intervention to help minorities to get ahead in life (Bobo and Kluegel 1991). Such perceptions are a key element in modern intergroup relations and politics.

The full sweep of these results help to resolve the much discussed paradox of modern racial attitudes or the principle-implementation gap (Bobo 1988b; Jackman 1978; Kinder and Sears 1981; Kluegel 1990; Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo 1988) and place in more meaningful context the racial resentments aroused by affirmative action policies and other government efforts to ameliorate ethnic inequality. The categorical and expressly biological racism characteristic of the Jim Crow era American south has fallen into disrepute. Surveys show a steady decline in segregationist preferences and in the belief in innate differences in intelligence between the races (Firebaugh and Davis 1988; Schuman et al 1988; Steeh and Schuman 1991). However, policies aimed at directly increasing the level of integration (i.e., school busing) or at directly improving the economic status of minorities such as affirmative action have long been controversial.

These complex patterns may have common roots. Declining traditional prejudice, steadfast policy opposition, and our current finding of more qualified but widespread negative stereotyping in white racial attitudes may all share a connection to basic realities in American social structure

and culture. Jim Crow racism went into decline, in part, because of a direct and potent assault on it by the civil rights movement (Bloom 1987; Morris 1984). Jim Crow practices and ideology were made vulnerable by an interlocking series of social changes—declining importance of cotton to the American economy, limited immigration from Europe, black migration in response to the pull of urban and Northern job opportunities during WWII, expansion of black colleges and civil rights organizations, etc—that improved blacks' economic standing, their political freedom, and thereby greatly strengthened black community institutions (McAdam 1982). The economic basis for Jim Crow racism had been weakened and its political underpinnings, in response to increasing black political mobilization and supportive white allies, were authoritatively rebuked by the 1954 Brown decision, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Wilson 1978). If ethnic attitudes come to reflect structural conditions of group life, then it is no surprise that traditional prejudice, or more precisely, Jim Crow racism, has continued to gradually wane in popular acceptance. Jim Crow racism no longer has the embeddedness in economic or political institutions that it once did and most of its ideological tenets are now regarded as inconsistent with American values (Bobo 1988b).

However, blacks and other minorities remained economically disadvantaged despite these monumental social changes. Even young and well-educated blacks continue to face an earnings gap relative to comparable whites (Farley 1984) and there is growing evidence of on-going discrimination in the labor market (Feagin 1990; Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Pettigrew and Taylor, forthcoming). For many urban, inner city residents, both black and Hispanic, job prospects and living conditions went into sharp decline

in response to changes in the economy (Wilson 1987). The black-white gap in underemployed—that is, the impact of race on the likelihood of nonlabor force participation—greatly increased during this period (Lichter 1988). Thus, despite the decline of Jim Crow institutions and of the attitudes that supported them, the disadvantaged economic status of blacks and Hispanics and to a degree Asians, continues to provide a basis for the development of negative stereotypes of these groups. Basic cognitive or perceptual processes facilitate this pattern of stereotyping, as do American cultural values of individualism which reinforce the tendency to attribute a lack of economic success to personal failings (Katz and Hass 1989; Kluegel and Smith 1986).

Viewed in this light, the gap between increasingly equalitarian racial principles (the decline of Jim Crow racism) and resistance to policies such as affirmative action are no paradox at all. Both are products of changes in American social structure and politics that successfully deposed Jim Crow institutions but left large numbers of people of color in economically disadvantaged and segregated communities. The level of negative stereotyping suggests that for many white Americans, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are viewed as undeserving of special treatment from government. To the extent pressure from civil rights groups and white liberals have put such policies into effect they would, perforce, breed resentment and resistance. Absent a change in the underlying social conditions that breathe life into ethnic stereotypes, or a substantial increase in the perception by whites that discrimination prevents minorities from getting ahead economically, the political stalemate over policy interventions to help minorities is likely to continue.

These results caution against a view of stereotypes and prejudice as involving largely self-contained psychological processes and predispositions that bear only a distal connection to social structure (cf. Allport 1954 and 1962; Sears 1988). Ethnic attitudes appear to have proximate ties to the positions groups occupy in the social structure (or at least to perceptions of group status).

A range of questions must now be answered in order to specify the processes that link social structure, individual perceptions of group statuses, and the resulting beliefs about ethnic minorities. The relative importance of perceptual tendencies and basic ethnocentric or color biases (Stephan and Rosenfield 1982), traditional ideology and values (Kluegel and Smith 1986), and group competition and conflict (Bobo 1988a; Fossett and Kiecolt 1989) in shaping interethnic attitudes must be examined. It will be essential to specify how class and gender modify or condition stereotyped perceptions. Class plays a part in social distance feelings (Schuman and Bobo 1988). Observational studies (Anderson 1990) and interviews with employers (Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991) suggest that the most negative stereotypes may be held about young black males from poverty backgrounds. It will be of value to know whether increasing class differentiation within minority communities leads to more class dependent images of members of ethnic minority groups. We cannot here resolve these complex questions. Yet, the longstanding sociological assumption that structured conditions of group existence powerfully mold interethnic attitudes should play a more central role in theory and research than it has heretofore.

FOOTNOTES

1. This module was designed by a subcommittee of the GSS Board of Overseers. The first author of this paper chaired the committee and the second author was a member of the committee. Other members of the committee were: Mary R. Jackman, John Shelton Reed, Howard Schuman, A. Wade Smith, and Tom W. Smith.
2. It is essential to note that this great shift in racial attitudes can only be understood in historical context (Blauner 1989; Schuman et al., 1988). Underlying these attitudinal changes were major structural changes involving a tremendous black out-migration from rural to urban areas and from the south to the north. The changing social location of blacks brought a great expansion of black economic opportunities, status, and political organization and influence (Bloom 1987; McAdam 1982; Morris 1984). This interconnected web of changes, in all likelihood, set the stage for positive changes in racial attitudes.
3. Though this research suggests that stereotypes and social distance feelings have not changed apace with traditional prejudice, it does not support strong conclusions. With but two exceptions (Jackman and Senter 1983; Smith 1990), these studies have employed samples of college students or a regionally limited sample (Dyer et al 1989). In addition, this research provides only description, pursuing little, or no analysis of the determinants of stereotypes and social distance.
4. Such a process is also consistent with prevailing theories in cognitive psychology (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981) which emphasize the biasing effects of social categories such as race (Stephan and Rosenfield 1982) and memory processes (Hamilton 1981) on perception of group traits. These models

assume that individual perceivers try to organize and make sense of information in their social environments. Where ethnic group categories exist and groups clearly differ along important dimensions such as socioeconomic status, the result of basic cognitive tendencies in information processing is likely to be an exaggeration of between group differences and of within group similarities on traits central to those outcomes (Stephan and Rosenfield 1982). In particular, there is likely to be an exaggerated correlation made between minority group membership and undesirable social characteristics (Hamilton 1981). Given the linkage between actual group circumstances and the content of stereotyping that develops, one eminent cognitive psychologist was prompted to observe that: "if we wish to change our stereotypes of female and black inferiority, we would do well to change first their inferior social and economic status" (Rothbart 1981, p. 177, emphasis in original).

5. This procedure is consistent with the dominant view of stereotypes in cognitive psychology which now regards stereotypes as any trait belief about members of an ethnic group (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981; Stephan 1985). In an important modification of traditional conceptions of stereotypes this approach does not regard stereotypes as intrinsically categorical, inaccurate, or a source of prejudice. These qualities may often attach to ethnic trait beliefs. But whether ethnic trait beliefs have these qualities in any given instance is a matter for empirical verification.

6. The specific wording is, "Some people think that blacks have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to help improve their living standards. Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to blacks." See Davis and Smith

(1990) for other details.

7. The respective effects of trait ratings on support for government assistance and social distance sentiment hold after controlling for the effects of sociodemographic variables (Table 3) and social-psychological traits (Table 4).

8. Confirmatory factor analysis was employed to test hypotheses about the factor structure underlying these items. To save space we do not present them here. They are available upon request from the authors.

9. These and subsequently employed factor scores were calculated by a method described in Joreskog and Sorbom (1989:131). This is one of several possible methods to compute factor scores (Bollen, 1989). To check the robustness of our estimates we have also run the models presented here using different procedures for constructing factors scores — with results that are the same in all important respects.

10. Because of the split ballot rotation used on the GSS, only about one-third of the respondents were asked all four traditional prejudice questions. Excluding the question concerning willingness to vote for a qualified black presidential candidate increases this total to about three-fourths. Thus, we employ a composite scale based on three of the traditional prejudice items only: support for a ban on racial intermarriage, support for racial segregation in housing, and attribution of black-white differences in socioeconomic status to lesser innate ability.

11. These are (1) "A child should never be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them," and (2) "People can be divided into two classes—the weak and the strong."

12. These items are (1) "Suppose this admitted communist wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak or not?" (2) "Suppose he is teaching in a college. Should he be fired or not?" and (3) "Suppose he wrote a book which is in your public library. Somebody in your community suggests that the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it or not?" There are several other items on free speech in the 1990 General Social Survey. With the exception of the set of items on free speech for racists, the other subsets could be used interchangeably with the three concerning Communists.

13. Respondents were asked, "Now I will give a list of reasons to explain why there are poor people in this country. Please tell me whether you feel each of these is very important, somewhat important, or not important in explaining why there are poor people in this country." "Failure of society to provide good schools for many Americans," and "failure of industry to provide enough jobs" are Structuralism items. "Loose morals and drunkenness," and "lack of effort by the poor themselves" are Individualism items. Agreement/disagreement on a four point scale with the item "One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance" also is used as an indicator of Structuralism.

14. To save space we do not present here the factor analysis results on which the four composite measures -- Authoritarianism, Political Intolerance, Individualism, and Structuralism -- used in these regressions are based. Procedures for the construction of the Individualism and Structuralism scales are discussed in Bobo and Kluegel (1991). Procedures for the construction of all four composites are available from the authors.

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"BALANCE" SCORES
By Trait and Group

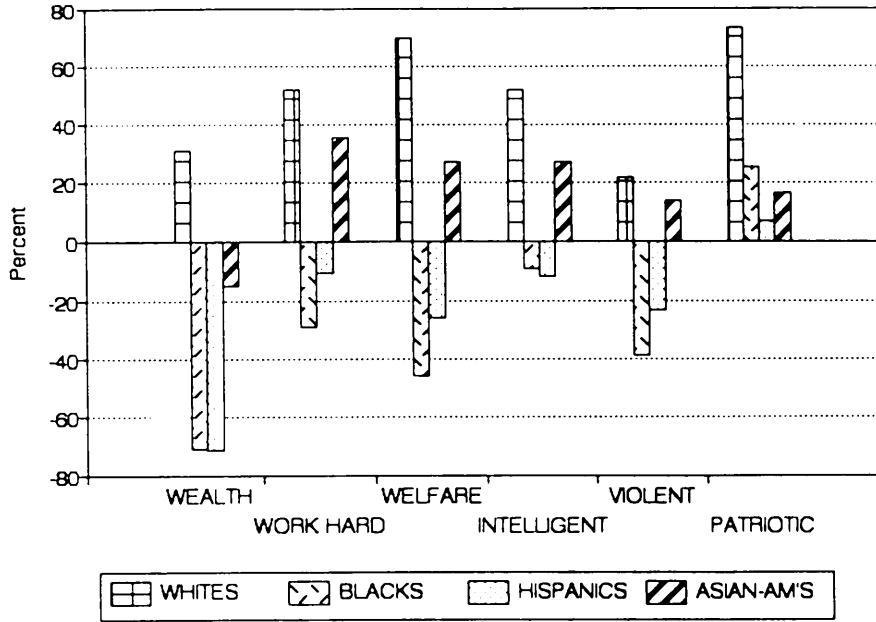


Figure 1. Balance Scores

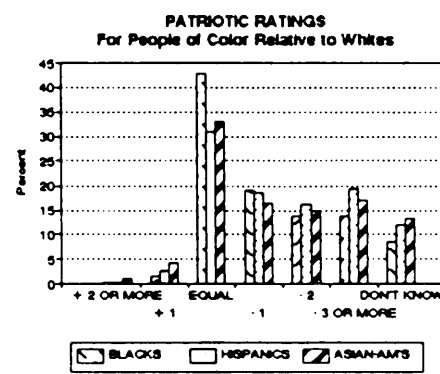
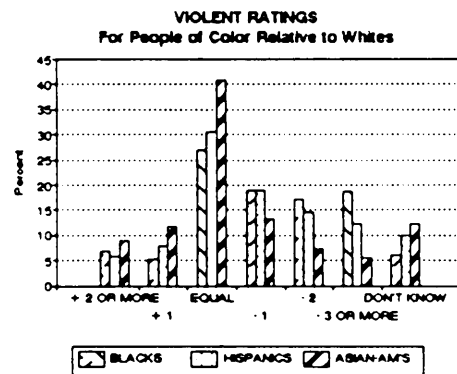
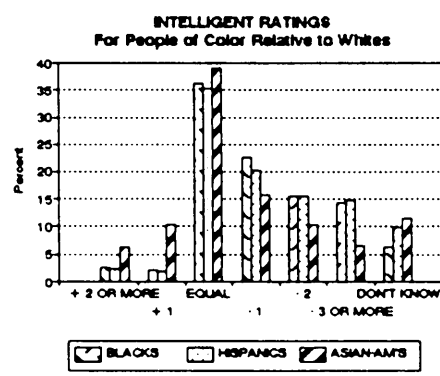
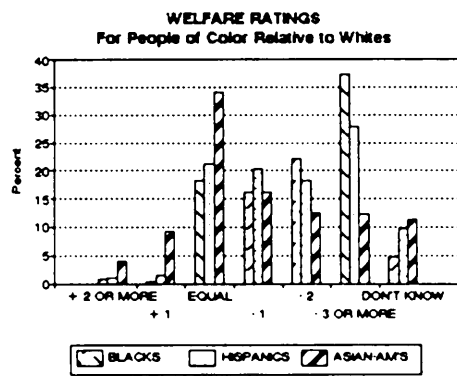
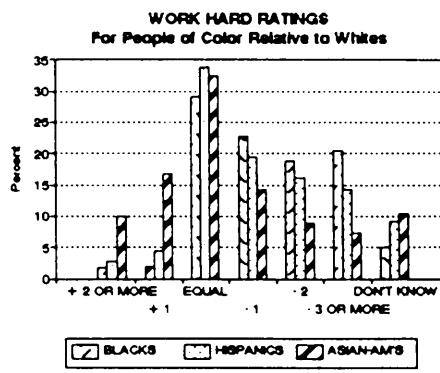
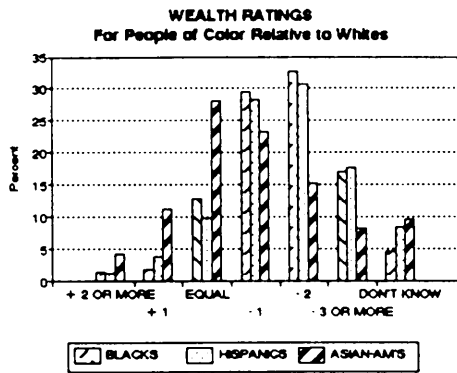


Figure 2. Trait Ratings Differences in Categories

MEAN "GOVERNMENT HELP BLACKS"
by Black Ratings Relative to Whites

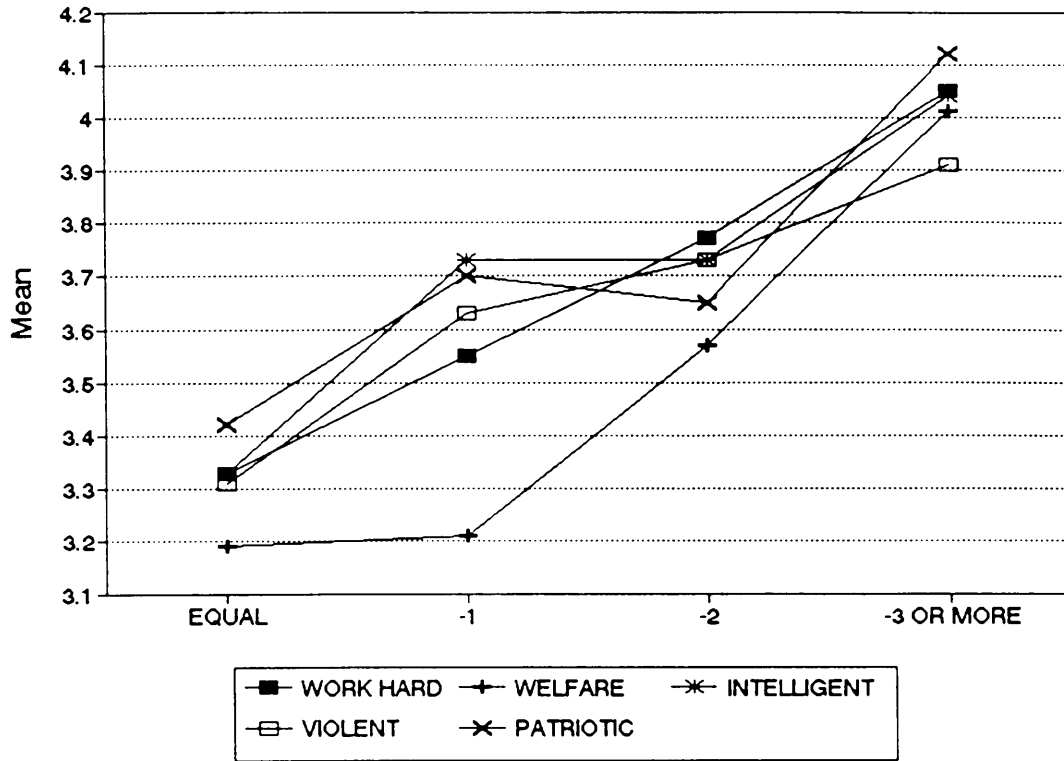


Figure 3. Mean Government Help Blacks by Black-White Trait Differences

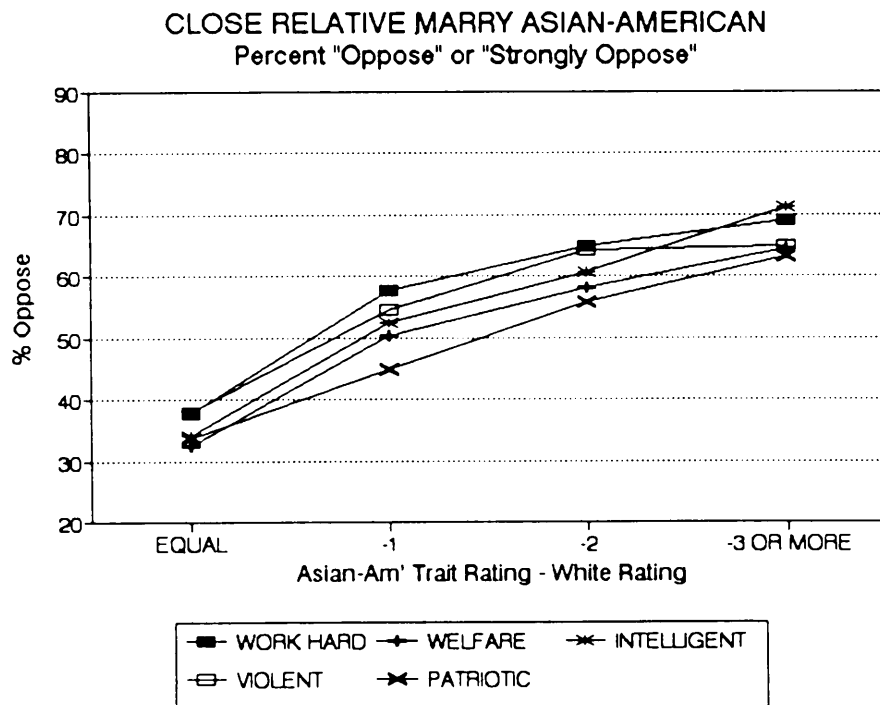
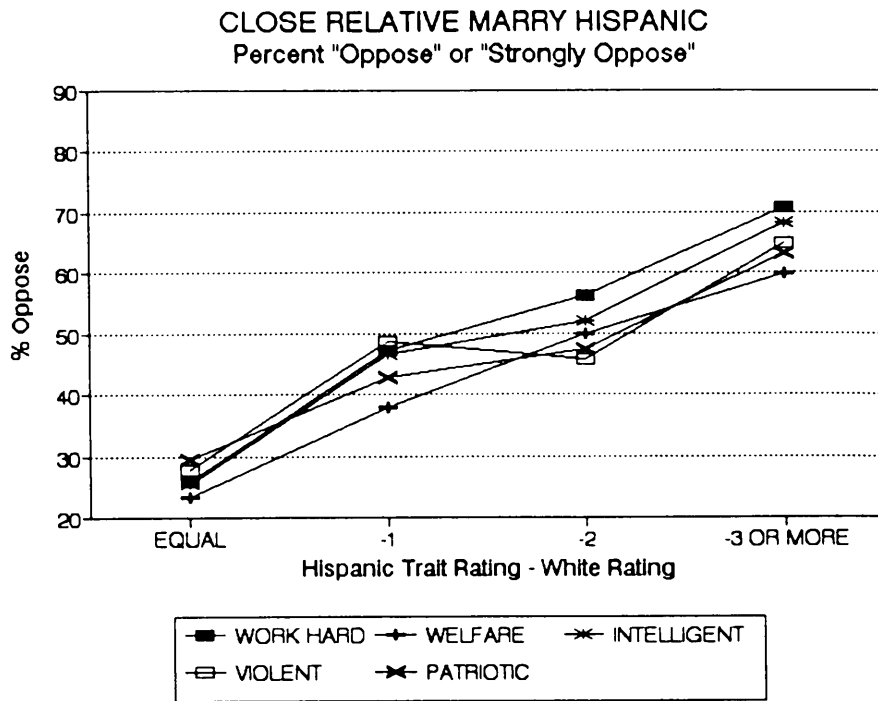


Figure 4. Oppose Marry Hispanic or Asian-American by Trait Differences

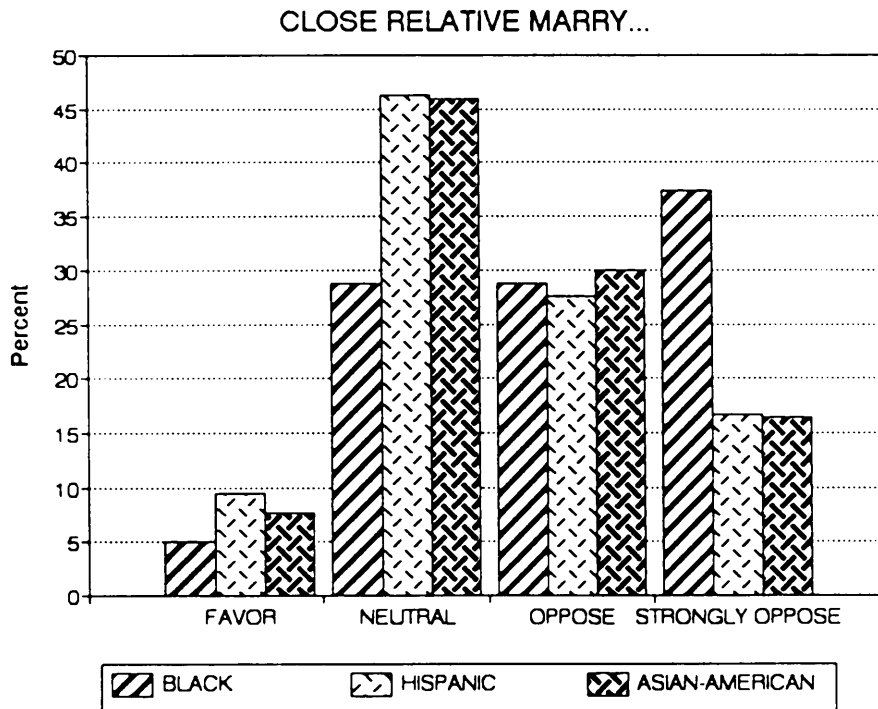
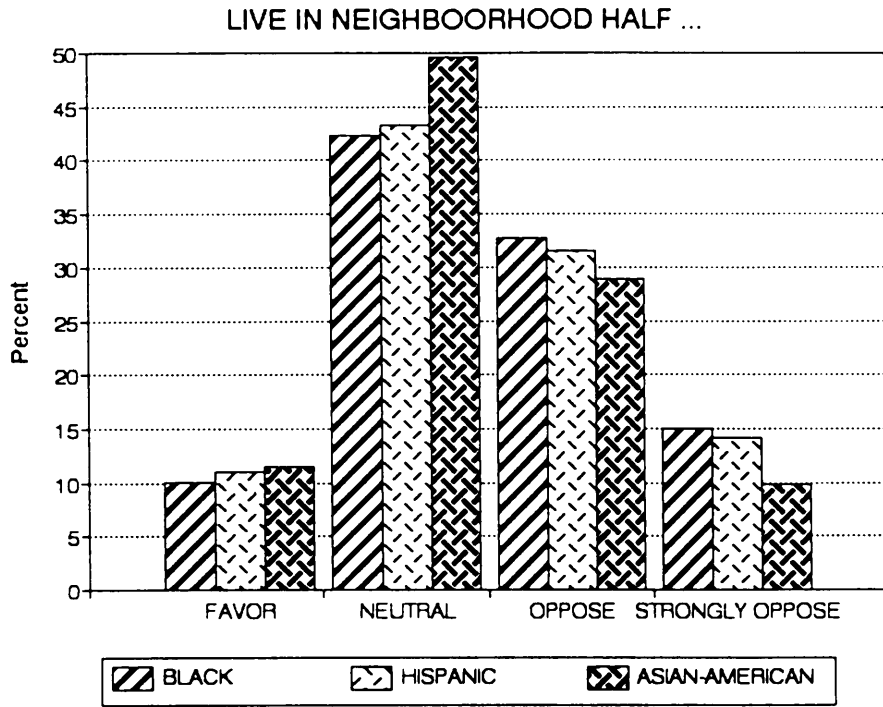
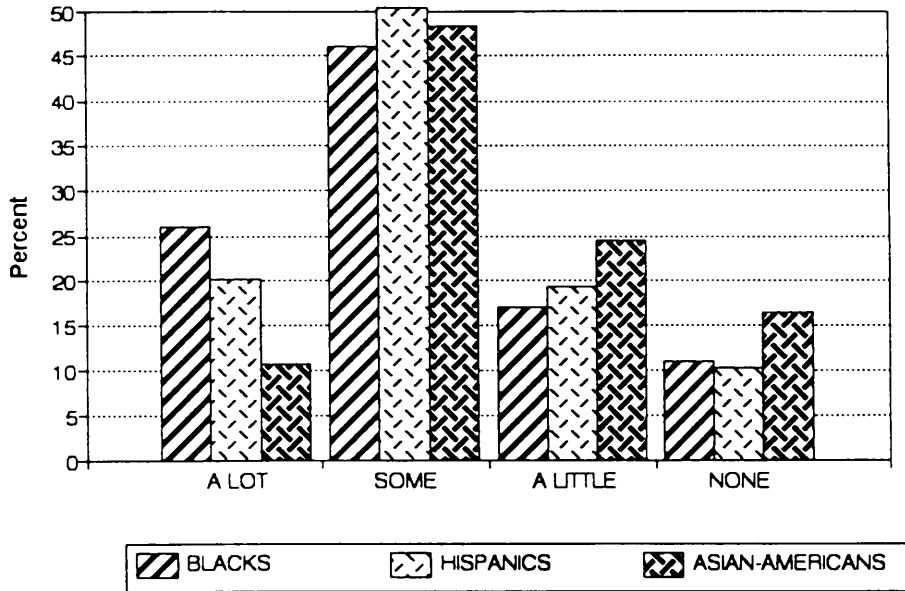


Figure 5. Distribution of Social Distance Items

JOB DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ...
Perceived Amount



HOUSING DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ...
Perceived Amount

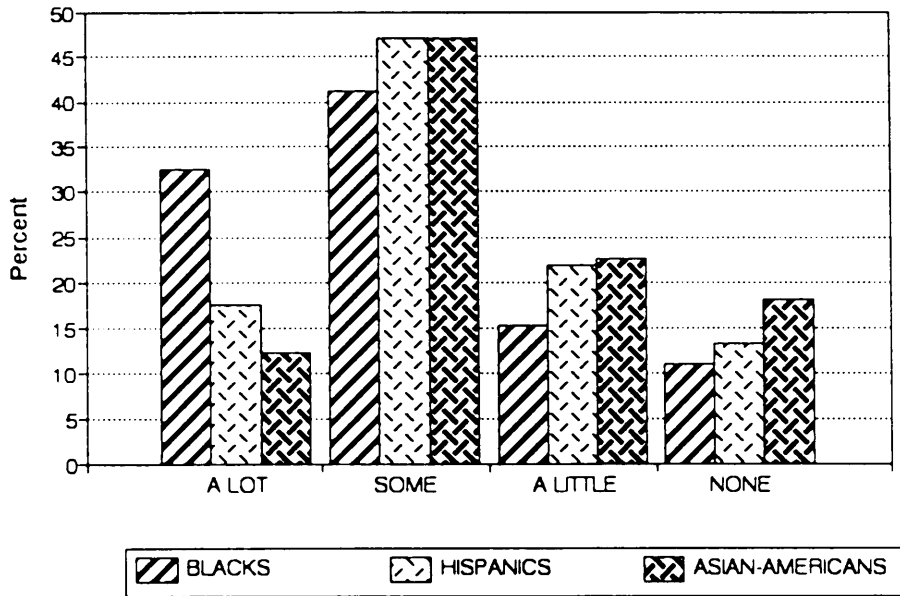
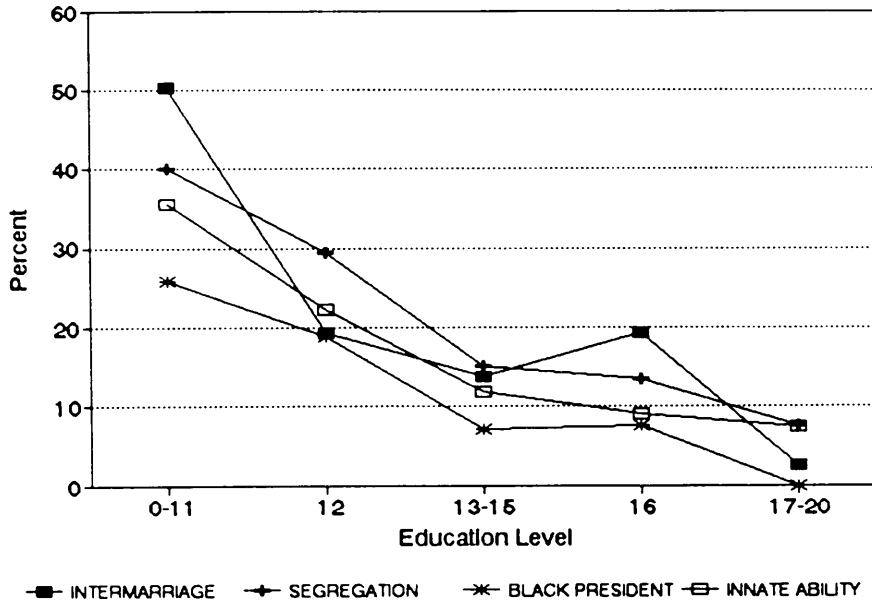


Figure 6. Distribution of Perceived Discrimination Items

**TRADITIONAL PREJUDICE INDICATORS
by Education Level**



**TRADITIONAL PREJUDICE INDICATORS
by Age Group**

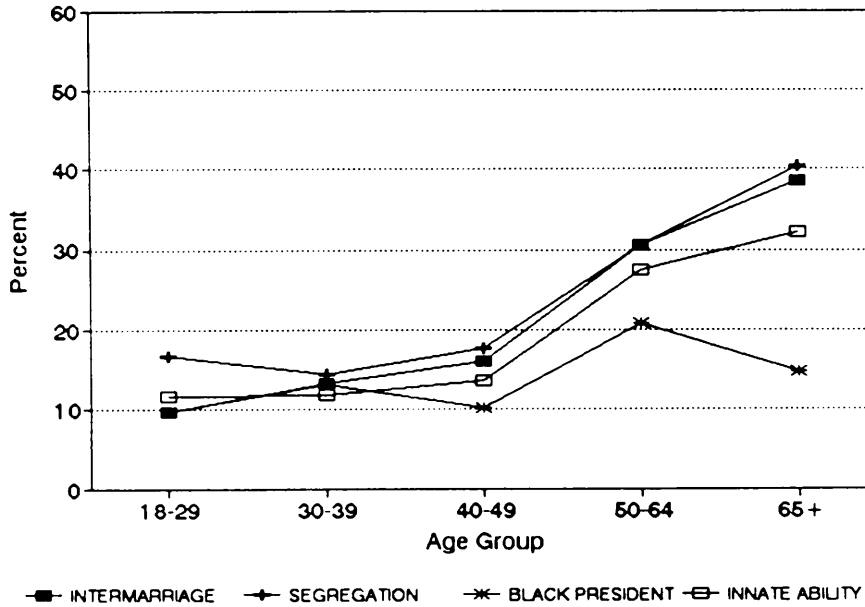


Figure 7. Traditional Prejudice by Education Level and Age Group

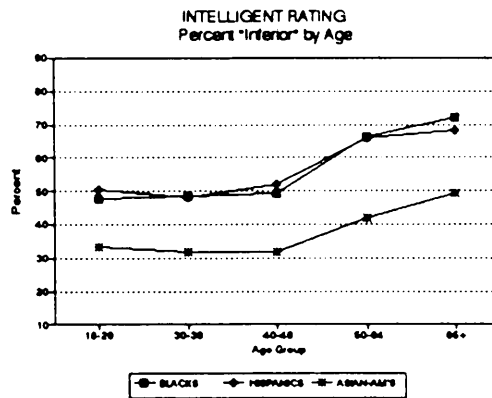
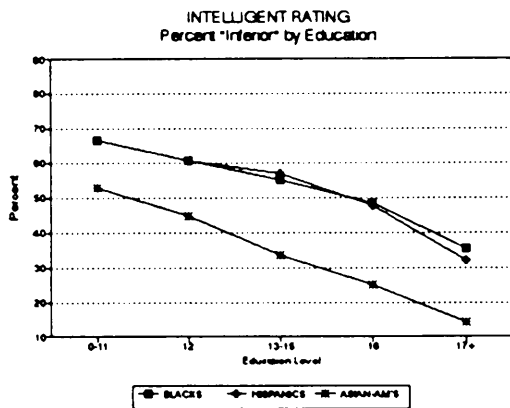
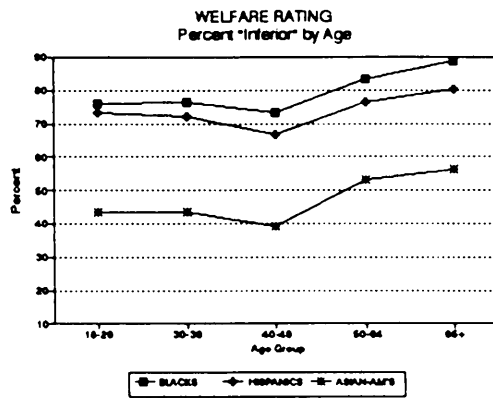
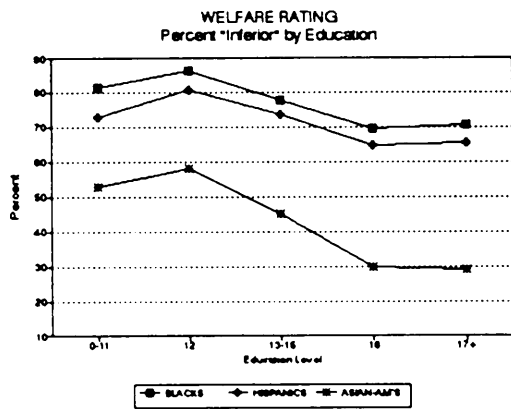
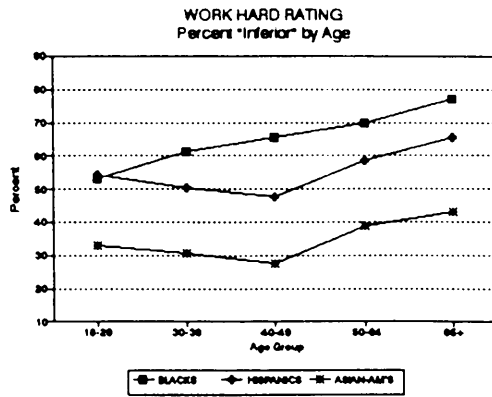
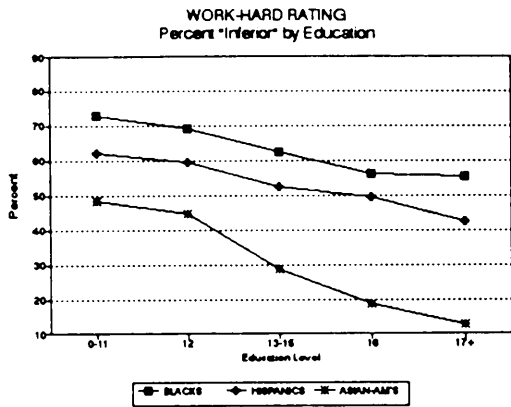
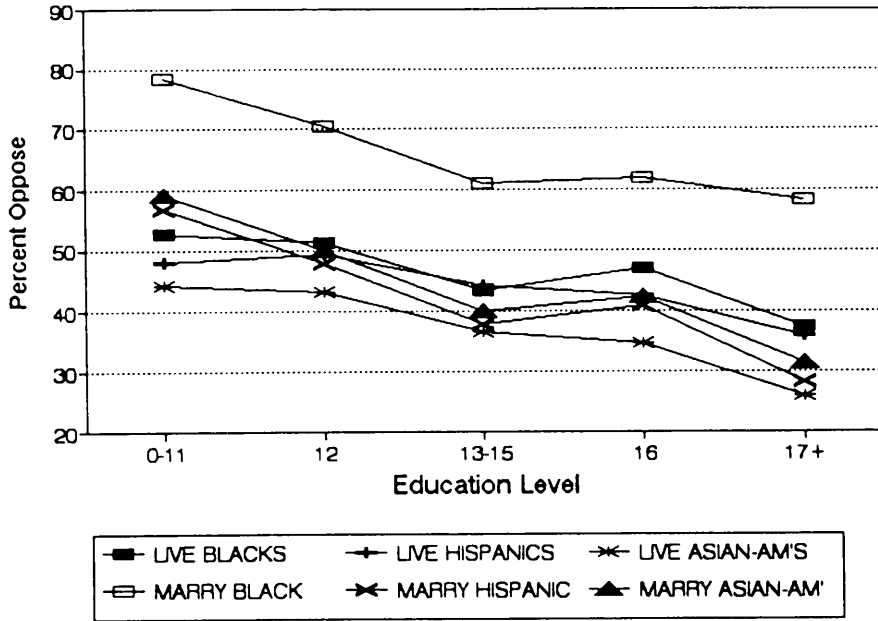


Figure 8. Inferior Trait Ratings by Education and Age

SOCIAL DISTANCE ITEMS By Education



SOCIAL DISTANCE ITEMS By Age

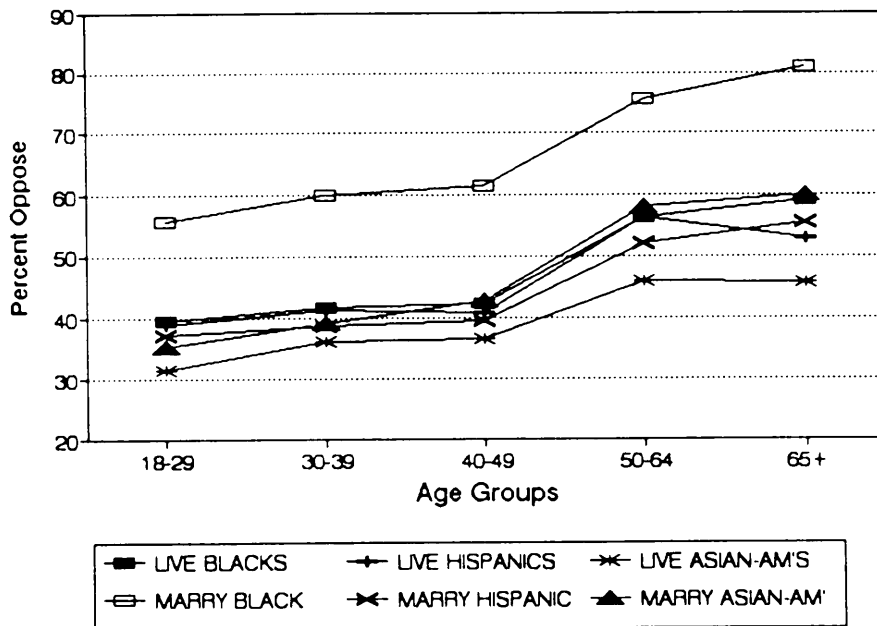
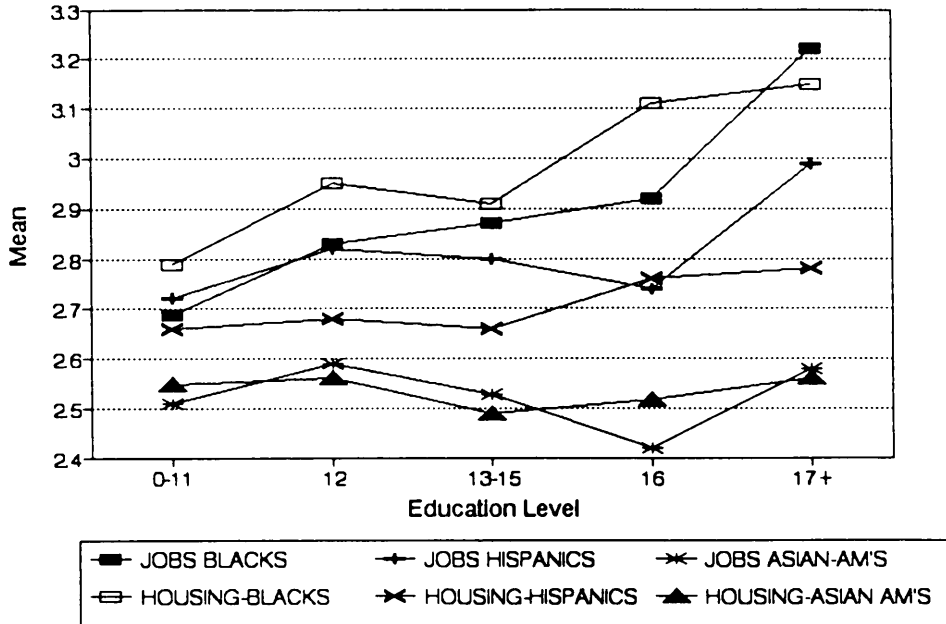


Figure 9. Social Distance Items by Education and Age

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ...
 Mean Perceived Amount by Education



PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ...
 Mean Perceived Amount by Age

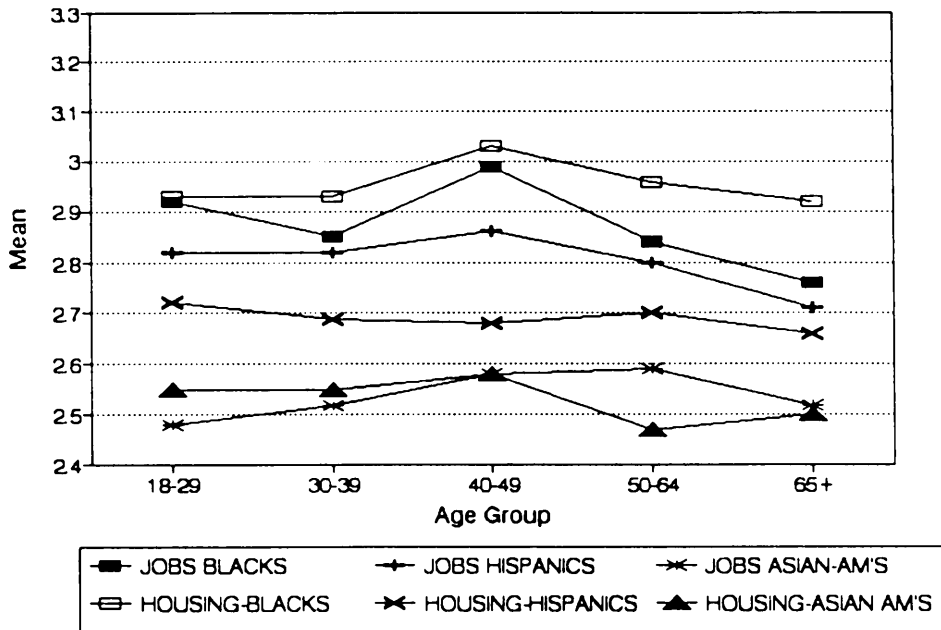


Figure 10. Mean Perceived Job and Housing Discrimination by Education and Age

Table 1. Whites' Trait Ratings of Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans

	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian-Am's
WEALTH				
1. Rich	2.4	0.3	0.2	1.1
2.	4.8	1.4	1.4	5.8
3.	30.6	2.8	4.6	17.3
4.	55.5	20.0	16.1	36.5
5.	6.2	38.7	40.7	23.8
6.	0.3	29.3	29.2	11.6
7. Poor	0.2	7.5	7.7	3.8
N	1,111	1,098	1,053	1,040
Balance	31.1	-71.0	-71.4	-15.0
Mean	3.60	5.13	5.14	4.27
Mean Difference		-1.53	-1.56	-0.69
WORK HARD				
1. Hard-working	8.3	2.0	3.1	10.5
2.	18.5	3.8	5.5	16.4
3.	30.0	11.8	17.7	25.5
4.	38.0	35.7	37.0	30.8
5.	3.9	25.5	21.8	11.0
6.	0.9	15.1	12.2	4.1
7. Lazy	0.3	6.0	2.8	1.6
N	1,102	1,094	1,047	1,034
Balance	51.7	-29.0	-10.5	35.7
Mean	3.14	4.48	4.17	3.38
Mean Difference		-1.34	-1.02	-0.19
WELFARE				
1. Prefer to be self-supporting	16.1	1.9	2.6	9.9
2.	31.7	3.1	4.8	18.0
3.	25.9	8.3	12.8	18.0
4.	22.4	27.8	33.8	35.7
5.	2.5	24.5	26.1	12.6
6.	1.3	24.6	13.3	3.9
7. Prefer to live off of welfare	0.2	9.8	6.6	2.0
N	1,101	1,096	1,039	1,018
Balance	69.7	-45.6	-25.8	27.4
Mean	2.68	4.83	4.42	3.43
Mean Difference		-2.15	-1.76	-0.76

Table 1. continued

INTELLIGENT

1. Unintelligent	0.8	2.0	1.5	1.1
2.	1.8	7.5	9.1	4.5
3.	3.8	21.1	21.7	9.3
4.	35.1	48.8	47.3	42.9
5.	27.6	13.8	13.5	21.5
6.	21.4	5.2	4.9	13.7
7. Intelligent	9.4	2.3	2.0	7.0
N	1,090	1,079	1,037	1,018
Balance	52.0	-9.3	-11.9	27.3
Mean	4.89	3.89	4.48	3.85
Mean Difference		-1.00	-0.37	-1.02

VIOLENT

1. Violence Prone	0.6	8.5	4.1	1.2
2.	3.6	17.7	14	3.9
3.	12.4	27.5	24.5	14.5
4.	44.7	30.1	37.7	46.8
5.	17.4	9.3	21.8	18.9
6.	16.6	5.1	12.2	10.4
7. Not Violence Prone	4.8	1.8	2.8	4.4
N	1,087	1,082	1,011	1,037
Balance	22.2	-38.5	-23.2	14.1
Mean	4.44	3.36	3.64	4.27
Mean Difference		-1.07	-0.79	-0.16

PATRIOTIC

1. Patriotic	24.9	8.5	5.5	7.3
2.	31.1	15.8	10.7	13.3
3.	20.1	19.3	17.5	17.7
4.	21.0	38.4	39.9	40.1
5.	1.8	11.2	15.7	14.0
6.	0.9	4.7	7.5	5.1
7. Unpatriotic	0.2	2.2	3.3	2.4
N	1,082	1,052	1,014	997
Balance	73.2	25.5	7.2	16.8
Mean	2.47	3.51	3.85	3.65
Mean Difference		-1.03	-1.37	-1.17

Table 2. Factor Loadings and Correlations

FACTOR LOADINGS

Item	FACTORS								
	Trait Difference			Social Distance			Perceived Discrimination		
	B	H	A	B	H	A	B	H	A
WORK HARD	.72	.60	.65	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
WELFARE	.76	.87	.65	.00	-.22	.00	.00	.00	.00
INTELLIGENT	.63	.55	.65	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
VIOLENT	.42	.40	.38	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
PATRIOTIC	.56	.58	.34	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
LIVE CLOSE	.00	.00	.00	.70	.76	.73	.00	.00	.00
MARRY	.00	.00	.00	.83	.76	.69	.00	.00	.00
JOBS	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.94	.68	.98
HOUSING	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.68	.88	.69

FACTOR

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Trait Difference - Blacks								
2. Trait Difference - Hispanics	0.78							
3. Trait Difference - Asian-Am's	0.57	0.57						
4. Social Distance - Blacks	0.77	0.61	0.44					
5. Social Distance - Hispanics	0.57	0.77	0.40	0.69				
6. Social Distance - Asian-Am'	0.50	0.54	0.57	0.70	0.71			
7. Discrimination - Blacks	-0.14	0.13	-0.10	-0.26	0.18	-0.19		
8. Discrimination - Hispanics	-0.03	0.07	-0.01	-0.14	0.01	-0.10	0.58	
9. Discrimination - Asian-Am's	-0.09	-0.03	0.11	-0.14	-0.08	-0.05	0.56	0.54

Table 3. Standardized Partial Regression Coefficients for the Effects of Sociodemographic Variables on Ethnic Beliefs and Attitude Factors

	TRAIT DIFFERENCE			SOCIAL DISTANCE		
	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian-Am's	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian-Am's
Age	.20*	.08*	.05	.20*	.11*	.06
Education	-.20*	-.18*	-.26*	-.24*	-.17*	-.22*
Sex (1=female)	.00	.02	.01	-.01	.00	-.01
Income	.04	.08*	.03	.02	.11*	.05
Small City	.00	.03	.07*	.02	.06	.04
Rural	-.01	-.02	.01	.03	.04	.02
Northeast	.05	.07	-.04	.03	.04	.00
South	.09*	.03	.04	.16*	.05	.08*
West	.05	-.09*	-.05	-.01	-.09*	.03
R square	.11	.06	.11	.15	.07	.07
	DISCRIMINATION			TRADITIONAL PREJUDICE		
	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian-Am's			
Age	-.02	.00	.01	.30		
Education	.11*	.03	.01	-.28*		
Sex (1=female)	.03	.05	-.02	.01		
Income	.08*	.03	-.04	-.12*		
Small City	.00	.03	.07*	.00		
Rural	.00	.01	.02	.01		
Northeast	-.01	.00	-.07	-.05		
South	-.12*	-.08*	-.09*	.08*		
West	.01	-.16*	-.12*	-.13*		
R square	.05	.03	.02	.30		

* = p < .05

Notes: City is the reference group (excluded category) for the Urban-Rural variable. Midwest is the reference group (excluded category) for the Region variable.

Table 4. Standardized Partial Regression Coefficients for the Effects of Social-Psychological Traits on Ethnic Beliefs and Attitude Factors (Net of sociodemographic variables)

	TRAIT DIFFERENCE			SOCIAL DISTANCE		
	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian-Am's	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian-Am's
Structuralism	-.15*	-.12*	.02	-.20*	-.15*	-.14*
Individualism	.24*	.21*	.13*	.20*	.17	.20*
Authoritarianism	.10*	.15*	.10*	.05	.05	.00
Political Intolerance	.18*	.10*	.21*	.20*	.08*	.17*
R square	.22	.15	.18	.25	.12	.14

	DISCRIMINATION			TRADITIONAL PREJUDICE
	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian-Am's	
Structuralism	.23*	.22*	.21*	-.09*
Individualism	-.14*	-.07*	-.07	.08*
Authoritarianism	-.03	-.05	.01	.08*
Political Intolerance	-.04	-.02	.02	.21*
R square	.10	.07	.06	.36

* = $p < .05$