

SONJA M. BROWN GIVENS

Mammies, Jezebels and other “controlling” imagery: An examination of the influence of televised stereotypes on perceptions of an African American woman
(Under the direction of JENNIFER L. MONAHAN)

Two contrasting predictions about how African American female stereotypes influence judgments of other African American females were tested. Participants were undergraduate college students in basic speech communication courses ($N = 182$). Participants observed a stereotypical mammy, stereotypical jezebel or non – stereotypical image on video. Participants then observed one of two videos involving either an African American or European American female interviewing for employment. Participants completed a series of self-report scales to measure their explicit perceptions of the interviewees. Participants were also instructed to respond to a series of adjectives (positive, negative, mammy, jezebel) using “YES” and “NO” computer keyboard keys as an indirect assessment of racial prejudice. Devine’s (1989) Dual Process Model was supported by the data. Specifically, participants associated only the African American interviewee with negative terms (aggressive, hostile, lazy) more quickly than with positive terms (sincere, friendly, kind). Conversely, participants associated positive terms with the European American interviewee more quickly than negative terms. This effect was obtained across all stereotype conditions. In addition, partial support was obtained for Hansen & Hansen’s (1988) activation-recency hypothesis. Participants who observed the jezebel stereotype video and the African American female interviewee responded more quickly to jezebel related terms (e.g. sexual, exotic) than positive, negative and mammy terms. In addition, participants who viewed a stereotypic image judged only the African American interviewee as consistent with the portrayed stereotype. Stereotype priming occurred in the hypothesized directions, however the finding was not statistically

significant. Future research should look to strengthen the priming effects observed in this study by conducting rigorous pilot tests on multiple forms of media imagery. Results of this inquiry evidence the influence of televised schemas on perceptions of African American women. Moreover, evidence of a clear dissociation between explicit (self-report) and implicit (response latency) measures of prejudice was exhibited in this experiment. Future studies of social stereotypes and implicit perceptions should consider the role of televised imagery on social judgements and behaviors.

INDEX WORDS: Implicit Stereotypes, Implicit Perception, Stereotyping, Media Stereotypes, Television Portrayals, African American Stereotypes, Racial Prejudice, Communication Behavior

MAMMIES, JEZEBELS AND OTHER CONTROLLING IMAGERY: AN
EXAMINATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISED STEREOTYPES ON
PERCEPTIONS OF AN AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMAN.

by

SONJA M. BROWN GIVENS

B.A., California State University, Fresno, 1996

M.A., California State University, Fresno, 1998

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2001

© 2001

Sonja M. Brown Givens

All Rights Reserved.

MAMMIES, JEZEBELS AND OTHER CONTROLLING IMAGERY: AN
EXAMINATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISED STEREOTYPES ON
PERCEPTIONS OF AN AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMAN.

by

SONJA M. BROWN GIVENS

Approved:

Major Professor: Jennifer Monahan

Committee: Kenzie Cameron
Jerold Hale
Tina Harris
Dwight Brooks

Electronic Version Approved:

Gordhan L. Patel
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
December 2001

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the three significant men in my life. First to my father, Louis Brown Jr. for all of your love and support. If it weren't for your continued belief that I would do something great with my life, I may not have. I love you for your undying patience and understanding. I hope that I've made you proud. Second to my son, Lyn Dale Scott Jr. for the hope you brought to my life on the day you were born. Everyday has been a blessing; absolutely NO REGRETS. Mommy loves you sweetie! Finally to my wonderful husband, Lamont Givens for your willingness to see me for who I am and love me all the same. It has been an exciting friendship and fulfilling marriage. I look forward to sharing the remainder of my life with you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I must give all thanks and honor to God who has blessed me to come this far in my life. His path for me has exceeded my highest hopes. It is only through him that I have achieved so much in this short time. Immeasurable thanks are due to my advisor, Dr. Jennifer Monahan. You have taught me so much about this discipline and myself. I admire your talent and drive. Your kindness to me when we were strangers will never be forgotten. I sincerely appreciate how you took me under your wing, obviously seeing more in me than I knew was there at the time. Thank you from the bottom of my heart. I would also like to thank my friend and committee member, Dr. Tina Harris. You have taught me what it means to believe in myself and remain steadfast through adversity. I truly believe your place in my life is far more than academic. Many thanks to the other members of my committee, Drs. Jerold Hale, Kenzie Cameron and Dwight Brooks. You all have made tremendous contributions to this project and my development as a scholar. Thank you for arranging meetings with me, reading my work (even when it was bad!) and having my best interest at heart.

Last but not least, I would like to thank the friends I've made along the way. My sorority sisters of SIGMA GAMMA RHO SORORITY, INC. My "sands" Pasha Burr & Chaka Lockhart. My dear grad buddies: Dr. Kelly Dorgan, whose friendship has been my biggest strength over the past three years, Dr. (to be) Kami Silk, Dr. (to be) Keisha Edwards, and Dr. (to be) Nneka Ofulue. Thank you ladies for listening to me rant & rave (sometimes all in one breath!) and watching out for me. I'll miss our sessions at Bennigan's. Thanks for the memories.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW	1
2 METHODS	25
3 RESULTS	36
4 DISCUSSION	43
ENDNOTES	65
APPENDICES	
A TABLES	66
B FIGURES	70
C INTERVIEW SCRIPT	73
D QUESTIONNAIRES	76
REFERENCES	83

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1	Rotated Component Matrix for Perceptions of Interviewee Job Suitability Measures.....	66
2	Means for Response Time Measures as a Function of Prime Condition for the African American Interviewee.....	68
3	Means for Mammy and Jezebel Job Suitability Clusters as a Function of Prime Condition for the African American Interviewee	69

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		Page
1	Response Times to Positive and Negative Adjectives as a Function of Interviewee Race.....	71
2	Response Times to Mammy and Jezebel Adjectives as a Function of Stereotype Prime.....	72

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Take a moment to ponder the first impressions that come to mind when you think of the following groups: lawyers, New Yorkers, and blondes. Now think about how effortlessly you were probably able to equate deceit with lawyers, rudeness with New Yorkers and dull-wittedness with blondes. In fact, if you are American it is likely that you were familiar with these perceptions before you could explain them. This act of categorizing is one that people use consistently throughout their lives. We know it most commonly as stereotyping.

According to Hamilton & Sherman (1994, p. 2), “a stereotype can be defined as a cognitive structure that contains the perceiver’s knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about a human group.” Stereotypes pervade many aspects of our thinking and judgment. For instance, they can help to protect us by arousing the eerie feeling we get when encountering a “dangerous” looking stranger. They also allow us to expend less energy during interactions by providing *schemas* for behavior, reliable patterns of conduct that enable us to act appropriately without much analysis or forethought. In short, with our inclination to categorize individuals, we are able to cope with the multiple stimuli from our social environments as well as anticipate/predict the behavior of others (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). According to the literature on stereotypes, without this ability to classify people by schema-consistent features, we would perceive our social lives as chaotic and unmanageable (Bargh, 1997). Thus, stereotypes bring a degree of comfort and predictability to social exchanges.

However, with this helpful advantage comes a major social disadvantage in that: “Once activated, [a] stereotype both shapes the interpretation of [a] target’s behaviors and fills in stereotype-consistent features (e.g., traits such as “lazy” or “submissive”) in the perceiver’s impression of the target that were not present in the stimulus information” (Bargh, 1997, p. 243). This statement refers to the automatic application of stereotypes. As compared to stereotypes that are purposefully established out of selected experiences, much automaticity research focuses on the more introspective and consistent foundations of stereotype formation (Bargh & Chartrand, 2001, p. 4). These stereotypes, also referred to as implicit stereotypes, are developed effortlessly and without conscious control (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Blair & Banaji, 1996; Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

Given the potential disadvantages of stereotypes, particularly for negatively stereotyped groups, it is important to explore their cognitive components in ways that further our understanding of their impact on life decisions. Recent research on stereotypes suggests that African Americans are automatically perceived as “hostile” regardless of other informational resources (e.g., gender). However, another compelling body of literature contends that racial schemas are quite diverse and complex. For example, schemas of African American women (which may involve negative racial AND gender stereotypes) activate perceptions related to nurturance, sexuality and aggressiveness (Collins, 1991; hooks, 1990; Jones, 2000).

This dissertation sought to fill a gap in the stereotyping literature by comparing two theoretical perspectives about how stereotypes of African American women affect judgments of them. Hypotheses center on predictions from social cognitive theory and

the work of several media scholars. These two perspectives make contrasting predictions about how activating an African American female stereotype in one situation will influence judgments of other African American females. This investigation is important because statistical evidence suggests that the economic and social mobility of African Americans is largely dependent on how they are perceived in society. In addition, this study makes a theoretical contribution to the literature on stereotyping and the influence of visual media on social perceptions.

The Process of Stereotyping

Contemporary research on stereotyping suggests that racial and gender stereotypes often become active spontaneously in the presence of a stereotyped group member (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Zarate & Smith, 1990). In other words, as long as a stereotype permeates in an existing culture, it can and will become active if the schema for that stereotype is cued. For example, some of the most prevalent stereotypes in our society relate to general perceptions of African Americans. Much research suggests that African Americans are tenaciously perceived as “hostile,” “dangerous,” “lazy,” and “stupid” (Dijksteruis & van Knippenberg, 1998; Dovidio, Evans & Tyler, 1986; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson & Howard, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995; Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman & Tyler, 1990; Spencer, Fein, Wolfe, Fong & Dunn, 1998; Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 1997). The negativity associated with these stereotypes has been shown to shape judgments of ambiguous behaviors performed by African Americans in ways that do not occur for European Americans (Devine, 1989; Ford, 1997; Power, Murphy & Coover, 1996; Wyer & Srull, 1994). In addition, prolonged exposure to such character traits can produce complex behavioral effects (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows

1996; Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1998). In this way, activation of stereotypes can not only lead us to make unwarranted inferences about individuals but can also encourage us to behave prejudicially toward members of a negatively stereotyped group.

Despite recent efforts to refine theoretical discussions of stereotyping, social cognitive researchers remain eluded by some conceptual gaps. For instance: What causal mechanisms guide the stereotyping process? How do stereotypes influence behaviors toward and perceptions of negatively stereotyped groups? In her groundbreaking work, Devine (1989) first posited the argument that racial stereotyping is a function of both automatic and controlled processes. She offers a model of stereotyping that emphasizes two discrete stages. The first stage (activation) occurs nonconsciously, that is, stereotyping involves an involuntary process. She argues that because most stereotypes have been activated frequently in the past, activation of them happens in the mere presence of a target group member. This component of the model also assumes that a degree of inevitability exists with stereotyping – despite an individuals' personal belief system. Thus, both prejudiced and nonprejudiced individuals have access to the same stereotypes. In other words, all persons share the same set of associations for certain target groups. These associations come to mind without intention when we see someone from that group (Bargh, Chen & Burrows, 1996; Dovidio, Evans & Tyler, 1986; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Zarate & Smith, 1990). This subprocess is the same one that allowed you to make the associations for lawyers, New Yorkers, and blondes in the introduction of this dissertation.

After a stereotype is activated within the nonconscious mind, it can be used to interpret subsequent information. This component (application) is based on one's

decision to use the stereotype-consistent information in a prejudicial manner. Thus, stereotyping also involves a voluntary process. In this stage the information provided by a stereotype may be controlled, that is, a person can choose to reject the stereotype.

However, if an individual chooses to accept a stereotype OR if s/he simply chooses not to reject it, then it will be employed to interpret the targets' actions. This component of the model assumes that a degree of agency exists with stereotyping – one that acknowledges an individuals' personal beliefs. In this regard, nonprejudiced individuals may inhibit their own prejudicial behaviors by making a conscious commitment to accept racial diversity. In the same token, persons whose personal beliefs do not influence them to either accept or reject a stereotype will exhibit prejudicial judgments and behaviors.

This model has been supported in research on African American stereotypes and prejudice (Spencer, Fein, Wolfe, Fong & Dunn, 1998; Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 1997; Wyer, Sherman, & Stroessner, 1998). Throughout this literature, automatic activation of African American stereotypes was achieved using either *detectionless* or *attentionless* priming procedures. Both operations are forms of automatic activation that have been shown to produce reliable perceptual and behavioral effects (Devine, 1989). Whereas detectionless activation “involves presenting stimuli below subject's threshold for reliable detection,” attentionless activation is carried out by presenting participants with information they can detect, yet cannot recall or recognize in subsequent decision tasks (Devine, 1989, p. 9). Devine (1989) for example employed a tachistoscopic activation procedure to facilitate attentionless information processing. The goal of the study was to demonstrate automatic stereotype activation for both high and low prejudiced samples. She argued that if both samples exhibited stereotype activation (operationalized as

prejudicial judgments on a series of trait scales), then stereotypes had been activated automatically despite level of prejudice.

To accomplish this end, participants were presented with “words that are labels for the category Blacks.” These words were acquired from the responses of an independent sample that was instructed to list the components of the African American stereotype. The most common themes identified by the group in reference to African Americans were “aggressive,” “hostile” and “criminal-like.” After the activation manipulation, participants read a description of an “ambiguously hostile” target person named “Donald” whose race was unspecified and rated him on a series of trait scales. The researcher concluded that: “The judgment data of this study suggest that when subjects’ ability to consciously monitor stereotype activation is precluded, both high and low prejudice subjects produce stereotype congruent or prejudice-like responses (i.e., stereotype-congruent evaluations of ambiguous behaviors) (Devine, 1989, p. 12). Devine’s study made a tremendous contribution to the literature on stereotypes because it explored the effects of stereotype activation on social judgment. Thus, support was found for the argument that “Even for subjects who honestly report having no negative prejudices against Blacks, activation of stereotypes can have automatic consequences that if not consciously monitored produce effects that resemble prejudiced responses” (p. 12).

Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, and Williams (1995) obtained similar activation effects in their test of the argument that personal beliefs were activated in Devine’s (1989) research rather than racial stereotypes. In order to test the argument, facial photographs of African American, European American, Hispanic and Asian individuals were used. Associations of the faces to unrelated positive and negative adjectives (e.g., likeable,

disgusting) were compared to pre-test measures (Modern Racism Scale scores) of personal prejudice. Results of the investigation disconfirmed the author's main hypothesis:

People with less prejudiced scores on the Modern Racism Scale exhibited more negativity toward Blacks on our measure of automatically activated evaluations.

That is, more negative scores on the unobtrusive measure tended to be associated with lower, less prejudiced scores on the Modern Racism Scale (p. 1020-1021).

Thus, their work provided substantial confirmation for both components of Devine's (1989) model.

Researchers have obtained significant automatic activation and inhibition effects using a variety of activation methods. For instance, Gilbert & Hixon (1991) utilized a series of word fragments that may be "stereotypically associated with Asians" (e.g., _ice could be completed as "rice" or "nice"). An Asian or European American female confederate presented the fragments on cards. Participants were instructed to complete as many of the word fragments as possible in 15 seconds. During this task, half the participants were also instructed to engage in a memory task while the others were not. The researchers predicted that: "Not busy subjects would generate more stereotypic completions when exposed to an Asian [i.e., rice] than a European American [i.e., nice] assistant, but that busy subjects would not" (p. 511). Results of their analysis support this prediction and suggest that racial stereotypes can be automatically activated in the presence of a stereotyped group member. In addition, the authors found significant inhibition effects (operationalized as fewer stereotypic completions) for participants who

engaged in the memory task. Yet what implications do these findings have for social interaction?

Similar investigations have reported consistent automatic activation effects on social behavior (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994; Banaji & Greenwald, 1995; Banaji, Hardin, & Rothman, 1993; Jost & Banaji, 1994; McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990; Ruggiero, Mitchell, Krieger, Marx & Lorenzo, 2000). In their study of the effects of automatic stereotype activation on social action, Bargh, Chen, and Burrows (1996) argue that the influence of automatic activation is not limited to perception. This work calls for an extension of previous findings on stereotyping by investigating the behavioral consequences of automatic activation. In this study, half of the participants were primed in the form of a scrambled sentence task with words related to the elderly stereotype (e.g., wrinkle, helpless, bingo). After activation, they were fictitiously debriefed by a research assistant and directed to an elevator down the hall from the research lab to exit the building. As participants exited the lab room and proceeded down the hall, a confederate sitting in a chair nearby recorded the amount of time participants spent walking down the corridor to the elevator. Results of the investigation indicate that participants who were primed with the elderly stereotype walked down the corridor significantly more slowly than those in the neutral activation condition. After replicating the study using the same procedures on a different sample of thirty participants, the researchers concluded: “Because there were no allusions to time or speed in the stimulus materials, the results of the study suggest that the elderly activation stimuli activated the elderly stereotype in memory, and participants subsequently acted in ways consistent with that activated stereotype” (p. 237). This report is valuable because it illustrates the behavioral effects of

automatic stereotype activation. Participants in the study applied the elderly stereotype to themselves. Thus, their behavioral outcomes were measurably influenced.

This finding was replicated in study 2 of the investigation, which focused on the influence of automatic activation of racial stereotypes on social behavior. Using similar techniques, participants were primed with facial photos of African American men. Results indicate that they “behaved in a more hostile fashion compared to participants primed with European American faces” to a vexatious request made by a confederate (p. 239). Thus, it was illustrated in both studies that the mere existence of stereotype consistent environmental features (e.g., skin color, age) could sufficiently cue stereotypic behaviors. Another important contribution of this study involves the authors’ discussion of limitations for automatic behavioral effects.

In study 2 of Bargh et al. (1996), stereotype consistent and inconsistent responses were equally appropriate for the constructed situation. Participants were simply observed walking down the hall, an activity they could have engaged in at the rate of their choice. However, in study 3, the confederate informed participants that they might be asked to complete the study a second time. Thus the hostility observed during the analysis was a potentially relevant response to the request rather than a function of the manipulation. In both situations, participants’ relevant associations guided participants’ behavior. The authors argue that such associations are a precondition for the automatic activation of behaviors. In short: “[A]utomatic social behavior may occur only if the behavioral representation that is activated is already associated with that situation by the individual” (p. 240). Under this view, relevant environmental features are a requirement for automatic activation.

Social perceptions of African Americans

Another considerable research finding regarding the automatic activation of behavior is that some person features (e.g., such as race) are more dominant than others (e.g., such as gender). For instance, Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson and Howard (1997) failed to find significant differences between perceptions of African American men and women after exposing participants to digitally produced faces of African American and European American men and women. In study 1 of this investigation, response latencies were calculated for participant associations of the photos with positive and negative trait words (e.g., trustworthy, cruel). Results of the inquiry suggest that participants responded more quickly to positive words following a European American photo than an African American photo. Conversely, they responded more quickly to negative traits when they followed an African American face than a European American face. However, no race x gender associations for the facial primes was observed. In other words, African American men and women were schematically identical (e.g., hostile) according to this participant sample.

In addition, study 3 of Dovidio et al. (1997) provides further support for the findings of Bargh et al. (1996). After a preliminary assessment of racial prejudice (operationalized as Modern Racism scale scores), participants were instructed to view the faces and thereafter participate in two identical “interview practicums.” One involved an African American female interviewer while the other was European American. The interactions were recorded for subsequent coding of nonverbal cues. Following the second session, participants completed a series of impression scales for each interviewer and were excused from the research setting. Results of the study suggest that the African

American interviewer was evaluated more negatively than the European American interviewer. These evaluations were consistent with findings from the nonverbal data. In other words, higher levels of implicit racial bias (operationalized as response latency measures for trait words) were associated with higher rates of blinking, less visual contact and less speaking time with the African American interviewer than the European American interviewer. Analyses also reveal that measures of Modern Racism were significantly correlated with participant evaluations of the European American and African American interviewers. However, no significant correlation was obtained between participant evaluations of the interviewers and participant nonverbal displays. Furthermore, no significant correlations were found between the nonverbal cues and MRS scores. These findings suggest that non-prejudiced individuals may exhibit prejudicial responses when their efforts to control such responses are inhibited. Thus, self-report measures may not always be sufficient predictors of social judgments and behaviors.

This research makes a significant contribution to the literature in three ways: First, the study provides a convincing demonstration of the behavioral effects of automatically activated stereotypes. Second, these results seem to suggest that African American men and women are schematically identical. Third, the authors have confirmed Devine's (1989) model of stereotyping by illustrating the dissociation between measures of automatic and controlled components of stereotyping.

In summary, it is clear from this literature that African Americans often are the targets of negative stereotyping. These social perceptions have been shown to influence the way we see African Americans, even when we do not intend for them to. Stereotypes

are often activated effortlessly and involuntarily. However, we may choose to reject the information and inhibit its application onto members of the stereotypes group. Yet if we do not engage in this thoughtful exercise for any reason, the impact of stereotype activation will manifest in our overt judgments and behaviors. The research in social cognition on racial stereotypes also gives us reason to be concerned with the behavioral implications of attentionless and detectionless stereotype activation. The effects of personal beliefs and prejudices increase exponentially when these forms of information processing are experienced. According to Devine (1989) and others, acts of agency, tolerance and acceptance can inhibit this process, but these acts are impossible without conscious acknowledgement of the activation.

According to this research, two arguments explain why African Americans are more quickly associated with negative concepts than positive ones. Devine (1989) argues that we are all aware of the social perceptions of African Americans as generally “bad” in the sense that the social category “Black” connotes linear and overarching negativity. Under this view, even African American respondents would associate other African Americans more quickly with negative cues than positive ones out of general knowledge of the constructs commonly used to characterize African Americans in society. Devine’s (1989) model paints a clear picture of racial stereotyping which suggests that the same simple stereotypes will be activated in the presence of any African American. These common bases of information are argued to be accessible for all individuals.

A more pointed argument comes from social cognitive scholars who contend that faster association to negative cues for African Americans signifies implicit racial bias. For instance, Greenwald and Banaji (1995) would argue that these subtle associations not

only reflect knowledge of the stereotypes but belief in them as well. Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) Aversive Racism framework supports that view by suggesting that associating African Americans with negativity illustrates a latent form of racism which can enable an individual with an egalitarian self-image to behave in prejudicial yet rationalizable ways. They argue that these types of association are a reflection of personal beliefs, even in cases where indicators of more overt forms of racism are absent (e.g., low scores on a Modern Racism Scale). Yet are stereotypes of African Americans REALLY as gloomy and one-dimensional as previously postulated? A considerable amount of research on schema theory suggests that the mental models we often hold of others contain very complicated knowledge structures (for a review see Brewer, 2000). In fact, some media imagery of African Americans may involve these more elaborate schemas.

Television Schemas

Several media scholars argue that the struggle of subverting stereotypes in the media involves a lack of "realistic prototypes" for characters and situations (Shohat & Stam, 1997). For example, Wilson & Gutierrez (1996) suggest that one-sided images reinforce racist attitudes and oppressive ideologies. According to these scholars, visual representations of minority groups on television more often than not embrace age-old stereotypes in order to strike common ground for a wide range of viewers (Gray, 1991; 1995; Reid, 1979).

The longstanding tradition of "typecasting" on television plays a tremendous role in the dissemination of social schemas. By offering limited representations of social groups, television offers its viewers "dominant readings" of them, thereby denying audiences the opportunity to see these groups from various subject positions (Collins,

1990; Dates & Barlow, 1990; Dines & Humez, 1995; hooks, 1992; Kellner, 1995; Turner, 1994). Omi & Winant (1986) articulate this relationship in the following statement:

Television's tendency to address the "lowest common denominator" in order to render programs "familiar" to an enormous and diverse audience leads it regularly to assign and reassign racial characteristics to particular groups, both minority and majority (p. 63).

In this way, television not only influences how we see others, but also how we perceive them in social situations.

Images of African American Women on Television

Collins (1991) argues that African American women have historically been portrayed by mediated institutions (e.g., television) as nurturing-asexual mammies, domineering matriarchs, sexually aggressive jezebels, and lazy welfare mothers.

Although some of these images may carry more positive connotations than others, they are united in that they represent perceptions of African American female sexuality. For example, the image of the mammy might be considered positive because it represents African American women as nurturing and maternal. However, it also presents an image of African American women as subservient and submissive to the desires of European Americans. Objectified as an asexual woman with little or no hope of establishing a family unit of her own, the mammy is often presented as physically unattractive (in many cases dark and overweight) and incapable of harboring sexual attention. It paints a picture of the African American woman who has few aspirations and abilities. Her primary role is to care for others, particularly European Americans.

In contrast, the image of the jezebel may conjure a more negative connotation because it portrays blatant sexuality and aggression. This representation of African American women focuses on their uncontrolled sexual appetites. Her desire centers on being sexually alluring to men (in many cases European American men). She takes great pride in her ability to manipulate them. The visual image painted here is one in which African American women's role is to provide sexual gratification to men, which in turn satisfies her need to feel erotically appealing.

Collins (1991) makes the point that these portrayals control the lives and external perceptions of African American women by advancing oppressive ideologies. She and other cultural critics contend that the salience of these popular forms negatively contribute to the ways African American women are perceived and the conditions under which they are accepted in society (Bogle, 2001; hooks, 1992; Jones, 2000). However, these multidimensional images can be contrasted to that of African American men in the media who are routinely portrayed as "social deviants" (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Mayall & Russell, 1990; Oliver, 1996).

Television Schemas and Social Perception

Most examinations of the effects of group portrayals on television have focused on the influence of specific television shows or themes (Harris, 1999). For instance, Jhally & Lewis (1992) looked at the positive portrayal of African Americans in The Cosby Show. The researchers sought to understand how this portrayal of the African American family influenced European American viewer's perceptions of the socio-economic status of African Americans at large. In this study, they found that even positive portrayals of African Americans could contribute to misperceptions that may be

applied to the entire group. Results suggest that heavy viewers of the show believed that racism toward African Americans no longer exists and that their earnings as a social group were equivalent to their European American counterparts. They report that the majority of their European American participants “cited the Huxtables as examples of why affirmative action is no longer necessary” (p. 147). Conclusions from this line of research suggest that “In general, effects of repetition are often underestimated; if the same themes about how men and women are supposed to behave and think keep recurring on show after show, that is more likely to be perceived as reality” (Harris, 1999, p. 50).

Power, Murphy & Coover (1996) sought to examine the connections between media imagery and social perceptions by investigating the influence of racial stereotypes on participant attributions of blame in two well-known media events. In this study, participants read versions of a fictitious campus newsletter describing an African American male student as stereotypical (e.g., lazy), counter stereotypical (e.g., hard-working) or neutral (no activation by race). After reading the newsletter, participants were asked to evaluate its format as a distraction. Finally, they completed an attitude survey about the Rodney King and Magic Johnson media events. As predicted by the researchers, participants who were exposed to stereotypic descriptions of the African American male attributed significantly more blame to King and Johnson than those who read the counter-stereotypic essay. Thus, implications of this finding speak to the potential effects of televised representations of social groups. As a premier source of information, television programming shapes viewer perceptions of “reality” (Harris, 1999; Potter, 1988). In fact, many media scholars argue that television rearticulates social

stereotypes because viewers are only exposed to selective representations of non-white groups.

Hansen and Hansen (1988) demonstrated how television schemas can become salient social perceptions in their exploration of the relationship between portrayals of men and women in rock music videos and impressions of a male/female social interaction. To activate gender stereotypic schemas the researchers utilized an attentionless activation technique. *Activation* in this sense “refers to any experiences or procedures that bring a particular concept (or any other knowledge structure) to mind” (Kunda, 1999, p. 22). As described earlier, attentionless activation is achieved when unidentified traces of past experience influence impressions formed of a subsequent event. Hansen and Hansen (1988) argue that exposure to television content can activate given schemas in the same manner as exhibited from facial photos, stereotypic word fragments, and print media.

The *activation-recency hypothesis* proposed by Hansen and Hansen (1988) suggests that individuals who are primed with media content are more likely to use the content for subsequent information processing than those not primed because “the distorted appraisal of a subsequent stimulus induced by activation is unlikely to be consciously corrected” (Hansen & Hansen, p. 290). Furthermore, they contend that beyond the short-term effects of media activation “a long-term, chronic effect also could be anticipated”(p. 290). Under this view, stereotypic media depictions become highly accessible with continued viewing. Over time, the imagery becomes an informational resource to the extent that it is considered common knowledge. As such, the images are

no longer perceived as viewing pleasure and thereafter understood as personal beliefs.

The authors tempered this meager outlook of television effects by suggesting that:

In the course of appraising a stereotypic media depiction, the appraiser may become aware that it is a stereotype or fantasy. Conscious recognition that the media depiction is “not real” might allow the appraiser to consciously override entry of the stimulus into schematic memory (p. 290).

Similar to Devine’s (1989) model, these investigators acknowledge the possibility of inhibition in this process. However, they contend that inhibition is not likely during television activation because identification of the source as a stimulus rather than entertainment is required.

In the Hansen and Hansen (1988) study, participants were primed via rock music videos that either did or did not portray sex role stereotypic interactions between men and women. Afterward, participants viewed a videotaped mock employment interview between a male and female research confederate. Results of the analyses for activation effects revealed significant schema effects on impressions of the female confederate. Main effects for skill and dominance judgements suggest that she was judged to be significantly more skilled and less dominant when participants were exposed to stereotypic than neutral videos.

Hansen and Hansen (1988) offer a paradigm for studying television activation effects that is both effective and reliable. They have used this same activation technique in a variety of contexts and report significant stereotype activation results (Hansen, 1989; Hansen & Hansen, 1990, Hansen & Hansen, 1991; Hansen & Krygowski, 1994). In a subsequent study, Hansen and Krygowski (1994) used stereotypic music videos to

consider the influence of physical arousal on stereotype activation effects. Similar to the previously described study, participants were instructed to view gender stereotypic rock music videos. However, the outcome measure in this investigation was participant judgments of a television commercial. The researchers hypothesized “Attribute judgments made about the commercial would differ as a function of the video prime and the content of the commercial would be assimilated to the content of the priming videos” (p. 29). Results of the study indicate that participants rated the commercial preceded by the stereotypic video more stereotypically than the commercial that followed the neutral video.

Ford (1997) adopted this paradigm to test the hypothesis that stereotypic portrayals of African Americans increase the likelihood that European Americans will make negative social judgments of an African American target person. Stereotypic and neutral comedy skits involving African American characters were used as priming stimuli in this study. Participants viewed the skits and afterward were instructed to read a vignette describing a legal case in which a student was accused of physical assault. The race of the “offender” in the case was left unspecified. However, his name was manipulated so that participants might infer his racial identity (Tyrone as African American and Todd as European American). After reading the vignette, they were asked to assess the offender’s guilt. The researchers found significant activation effects for participants who were primed with stereotypic comedy skits. These effects resulted in greater attributions of guilt for the perceived African American offender than the European American offender. Furthermore, the skits only influenced perceptions of the African American target.

Thus it seems that media imagery may provide detailed group schemas for viewers. The more regularly these schemas are observed, the more easily they are consulted and used to interpret subsequent information (Bargh, 1997). Television plays a particularly interesting role in this process as a medium for attentionless information processing. According to many cultural critics, viewers are repeatedly exposed to diverse stereotypes of African American women; I argue that these stereotypes significantly influence perceptions of African American women in social situations. They do so by activating a specific African American female schema and making it salient for subsequent information processing. In this way, televised portrayals tell viewers WHO African American woman are as individuals and HOW to behave toward them in social settings.

In sum, two different research paradigms appear in the literature on how stereotypes of African Americans influence social perceptions of African Americans. A convincing body of evidence in social cognition suggests that African Americans are stereotyped as negative and hostile. The general findings in this area would suggest that all African Americans are perceived as “bad,” regardless of other potential influences. According to this research individuals apply African American stereotypes in relatively undifferentiated ways. For instance, in studies where men and women are used as primes, no race x gender effects were obtained for African Americans. Whereas participants held significantly divergent perceptions of European American men and women, African American men and women were seen as equally hostile, aggressive and dangerous (Dovidio et al., 1997). Thus, the social cognitive literature argues that African American men and woman are perceptually similar. In contrast, some media scholars contend that

television provides complex portrayals of African Americans, particularly those for African American women.

So, how are African American women perceived in social situations? The current work in social cognition would lead us to believe that the overarching category “Black” subsumes perceptions of African American men and women. However, several media scholars argue that African American women are at a social disadvantage because: “African American female identity is largely dominated by a society mired in racism and sexism” (Jones, 2000, p. 117; c.f. Bogle, 1980; Turner, 1994). In this way, television portrayals advance stereotypes of African American women that denigrate their racial and sexual identities. Yet the current stereotyping research does not reflect this enigma. These findings (or lack thereof) evidence the necessity for further investigation of television stereotypes and their influence on perceptions of African American women.

The purpose of this investigation was to examine how televised portrayals of African American women influenced social perceptions of an African American female target in a social setting. Competing hypotheses were extrapolated from the previously described literature. In this study, individuals were primed with an image of an African American woman as: “mammy,” “jezebel,” or they observed a control “non stereotypic” image. Afterward, they watched a mock employment interview and evaluated the interviewee who was either an African American or European American female. The hypotheses guiding this investigation concentrate on the influence of stereotypic imagery on social judgments of the interviewees.

From a social cognitive standpoint, the mere presence of an African American woman should automatically prime negative judgments more quickly than positive ones

when compared to a European American woman. Conversely, a European American woman should prime positive judgments more quickly than her African American counterpart, despite differentiated exposures to stereotypic imagery. Previous works test this argument using unobtrusive measures. Specifically, participant response times to positive and negative terms have illustrated consistently reliable priming effects.

Therefore, this study is designed to test the following hypotheses:

H1a: Participants will respond more quickly to negative words and more slowly to positive words after viewing an African American woman target.

H1b: Participants will respond more quickly to positive words and more slowly to negative words after viewing a European American woman target.

In addition, the social cognition literature clearly indicates that following exposure to any stereotypic image of African Americans, subsequent evaluations of an African American target will be affected by activation of the stereotype. These evaluations will be more negative than those following a non-stereotypic image:

H2: Exposure to a stereotypic portrayal of an African American woman will result in faster responses to negative judgments of another African American woman than will exposure to a non-stereotypic portrayal.

This literature also suggests that activation of an African American female stereotype will not influence judgments of a European American woman target because the activated schema will not become salient for application. In other words, an African American female stereotype is schematically inconsistent with perceptions of European American women (Zarate & Smith, 1990).

However, Hansen and Hansen with other media scholars suggest that automatic activation (priming) of a specific stereotype should result in stereotype consistent judgments rather than simple positive/negative judgments. For instance, participants primed with an African American female jezebel stereotype should evaluate another African American woman as more sexual compared to those primed with a mammy stereotype.

H3a: Exposure to stereotypic portrayals of an African American woman will result in stereotype consistent judgments of another African American woman.

H3b: Participants will respond more quickly to stereotype consistent adjectives than to stereotype inconsistent adjectives after viewing a stereotypic portrayal of an African American woman.

This study permits a direct comparison of cognitive priming theory (H2) and the work of several media scholars (H3a & H3b) by examining how stereotypic images of African American women influence perceptions of another African American woman. This research utilized the advances of the competing research camps to determine whether or not schema-specific portrayals of African American women (e.g., mammy or jezebel) will result in schema-consistent judgments of an unrelated African American female target.

In sum, this dissertation tests two competing viewpoints. One suggests that negative racial stereotypes overshadow all other aspects of identity for African Americans. Under this view, a friendly, intelligent and attractive African American will automatically be perceived as simply hostile and dangerous in social situations. Without conscious control, this unidimensional picture will taint perceptions of and behaviors

toward all African Americans we encounter – despite other facets of their character (e.g., gender). According to this perspective, African American women are perceptually gender-less, simply perceived as other “bad” individuals. In contrast, another viewpoint contends that African American women are perceived in accordance with complex racial and gender schemas. Some critics of the media argue that these schemas are learned and reproduced through exposure to television programming. This perspective assumes that stereotypic portrayals influence viewer perceptions and behaviors in complicated ways. For instance, a friendly, intelligent and attractive African American woman perceived as a jezebel is likely to be evaluated differently in a selection interview than one perceived as a mammy.

Although neither of these paradigms cast much hope for improved interracial communication encounters, they do offer strikingly divergent views of how African American women could be perceived in social settings. This dissertation sought to fill a gap in the literature on stereotyping by posing these perspectives against one another in a situation where perception means everything – an employment interview.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

This study utilized a 3 (stereotype prime: mammy, jezebel or no prime condition) x 2 (race of interviewee: African American or European American) between-subjects experimental design with both factors completely crossed.

Participants

182 undergraduate students between the ages of 18-29 from introductory speech communication courses were solicited for participation in this study. Participants were recruited through their course instructors and posted sign-up sheets offering research credit as partial fulfillment of their course requirements. They volunteered for one thirty - minute time slot each to complete their involvement in what they perceived to be two unrelated studies. One of these was about television shows and the other focused on interview techniques.

Independent Variables

Stereotype Primed. Participants in the stereotype prime conditions viewed a two-minute videotaped segment of a movie where an African American actress played the role of mammy (taken from Imitation of Life) or jezebel (taken from Introducing Dorothy Dandridge). In the control condition, participants viewed a time equivalent segment of a movie about the life of a European American male in high school (taken from Better off Dead). In the mammy prime condition, the visual presentation entailed an African American woman housekeeper/nanny who appeared to be obedient, faithful and nurturing to a European American mother and daughter. Three short scenes of the character “Annie

Johnson” played by Juanita Moore in the 1959 drama Imitation of Life were used for stereotypic content. This character was selected because she closely resembled Collins’ (1991) description of a mammy:

The mammy is typically portrayed as overweight, dark, and with characteristically African features – in brief, as an unsuitable partner for white men. She is asexual and therefore is free to become a surrogate mother to the children she acquired not through her own sexuality (p. 78).

The jezebel prime condition involved a sexually aggressive African American woman character. Collins (1991) describes the image of Jezebel as one portraying African American woman as having uncontrollably “excessive sexual appetites” (p. 77). A single scene of the character “Dorothy Dandridge” played by Halle Berry from the 1999 biographical drama of the 1950’s singers’ life was used as the stimulus in this condition. In this movie, she is a physically attractive opportunist who desires the constant attention of men and often takes pride in her sexual conquests.

For the non-stereotypic prime condition, a segment featuring John Cusack as a tormented high school teen was utilized. The presentation was designed as an obscure control such that no traits related to the stereotypes were deducible from segments in the attentionless activation conditions.

Race of interviewee. After viewing the priming tape, participants observed a 3-minute interview tape involving a male interviewer and female interviewee in an employment interview scenario. The interviews were similar on all dimensions EXCEPT for the race of the female interviewees. One interview tape condition involved an African American woman who was applying for a sales representative position. In the other, a

European American woman interviewed for the same job. The male interviewer, who remained off camera for the duration of the interview, conducted both interview scenarios. Participants only saw the interviewee on screen.

The African American and European American female confederates were trained in a scripted interview dialogue in order to achieve uniformity. In the exchange, confederates were seated at a table in front of the camera and the interviewee asked a series of job related questions and about her qualifications for the position of sales representative. She was also presented with a sample situation involving a customer dispute and asked to respond as an employee (see Appendix C for complete script).

In addition to the script, another feature of the tapes included ambiguous behaviors that may have been perceived as possibly sexual, possibly maternal and possibly defensive depending on each priming condition. Previous studies on nonconscious priming suggest that the strongest priming effects are obtained when participants evaluate ambiguous behaviors (Murphy, Monahan & Zajonc, 1995; Murphy & Zajonc, 1993; Power, Murphy & Coover, 1996). Confederates were trained to enact a series of ambiguous verbal and nonverbal behaviors in order to increase opportunities for application of the stereotypes. For instance, the statement: “you have to take care of your customers” can be perceived of as sexual (jezebel), maternal (mammy) or neither, depending on the construction participants put on the words. The interview script was adapted from selection interview scripts found in Interviewing in Context (Wilson & Goodall, 1991).

Dependent Variables

Words used for the response time measures include adjectives previously described as positive stereotypes of African Americans and negative stereotypes of African Americans. The reader should be aware that these items refer to positive and negative perceptions of African Americans rather than to positive and negative affect. These items were adapted from Devine (1989) and Bargh et al. (1996) whose data confirms the validity of the construct categories.

Words related to the mammy and jezebel stereotypes were developed by the primary researcher and adapted from descriptions of the stereotypes in previous critiques of the media (Bogle, 2001; Collins, 1991; Jones, 2000). Stereotypically positive association items, stereotypically negative association items, items related to the mammy stereotype and items related to the jezebel stereotype served as dependent measures in the present study.

Positive, negative and stereotypic adjective associations. Immediately after observing an interview tape, participants were presented with 52 adjectives. Of these adjectives, 8 were stereotypically positive (e.g., friendly), 9 were stereotypically negative (e.g., hostile), 8 were related to the mammy stereotype (e.g., maternal) and 9 were related to the jezebel stereotype (e.g., alluring). These words were adapted from previous studies on aversive racism and prejudice (Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al., 1997, Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). The remaining adjectives were included as filler terms (e.g., fun) and practice items (e.g., boring). These terms were not considered in the final data analysis.

Participants were instructed to determine whether the terms presented “fit” the person they observed on the interview tape or not. The speed at which participants associated the woman they observed on the interview tape with each adjective was timed and recorded in milliseconds. The experimental items participants were asked to consider are listed below:

<u>Mammy</u>	<u>Jezebel</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Filler</u>
Maternal	Sexual	Sincere	Aggressive	Shy
Loyal	Alluring	Friendly	Hostile	Fun
Devoted	Erotic	Intelligent	Lazy	Organized
Nurturing	Calculating	Honest	Passive	Hyper
Tender	Exotic	Gentle	Pushy	Boring
Stubborn	Vain	Kind	Mean	Independent
Protective	Seductive	Trustworthy	Dim-witted	Interesting
Patient	Forward	Energetic	Rude	Stable
	Sensual		Dangerous	Flexible

Unobtrusive measures such as this have successfully assessed the effects of racial identity on social perceptions while avoiding social demand effects such as aversive racism (Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1999; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 1997). Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) describe aversive racism as a form of modern prejudice that: “is hypothesized to characterize the racial attitudes of many whites who endorse egalitarian values, who regard themselves as nonprejudiced, but who discriminate in subtle, rationalizable ways” (p. 315). They argue that this particular form of prejudice is as “pernicious” as overt acts of racial discrimination because it is

expressed indirectly. For the aversive racist, this more oblique vocalization allows them to maintain a nonprejudiced self-image. For the purposes of this investigation, it was important to consider the perceptions of overtly racist individuals and aversive racists because the consequences of both are equally significant for selection decisions such as employment (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Eberhardt & Fiske, 1998).

Job suitability statements. After responding to the adjective items, participants were asked to respond to 40 items indicating how suitable the African American or European American female was for the position of sales representative. These statements were developed by the primary researcher. These items were presented on a paper and pencil survey including 10 positive and 10 negative statements regarding the female interviewee's ability to fulfill the requirements of the position. In addition, 15 statements appeared that required participants to indicate types of employment for which the interviewee would be most appropriate. Five of these positions were consistent with the Mammy stereotype and 5 were relevant to the jezebel stereotype. The remaining job items served as fillers. A total of 10 filler items were randomly dispersed throughout the instrument. The measure included the following statements:

Positive items

She seems outgoing enough to be a sales representative.
 She seems kind, she would do well in sales.
 She seems persuasive enough for the job.
 She seems patient enough to deal with customers.
 She seems friendly enough for sales.
 She seems intelligent enough to work in sales.
 She seems honest enough to persuade potential customers.
 She seems gentle, she would do well in sales.
 She is energetic, she would be good in sales.
 She seems nice enough to be in sales.

Negative items

She seems a little too hostile to have a sales job.
 She seems a little too defensive to have a sales rep job.
 She seems a little too lazy to have a position in sales.
 She seems a little too mean for the position.
 She seems a little too aggressive to work with people.
 She seems a little too pushy to persuade customers.
 She seems a little too untrustworthy for sales.
 She seems a little too dishonest for the job.
 She seems too grouchy to work with people.

Mammy items

She would do well as a cook.
 She seems more appropriate as a nursery school teacher.
 She seems more appropriate as a nurse.
 She seems to make a better nanny.
 She seems more suited for a job as a housekeeper.

Jezebel items

She would make a better swimsuit model.
 She seems to make a better cocktail waitress.
 She would make a better exotic dancer.
 She seems more appropriate as a personal trainer.
 She seems more appropriate as a department store cosmetic clerk.

Filler items

She seems to be more suited for a job as a lawyer.
 She would make a better personal trainer.
 She seems a little too sophisticated for sales.
 She seems a little too calm for a job in customer service.
 She would make a better taxi driver.
 She seems more appropriate as a news anchor.
 She seems organized enough to be a sales rep.
 She seems a little too passive to be a sales representative.
 She seems a little too introverted to work with people.
 She seems independent enough to do well in the job.

The statements were accompanied by Likert scales ranging from 1 (Strongly Agree) to 7 (Strongly Disagree). Participants were instructed to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling the number on the scale that best reflects their perceptions of the African American or European American female interviewee.

Demographics The final page of the survey asked participants to supply some demographic information to describe the population such as age, race and gender.

Procedures

Upon arrival to the laboratory, participants were greeted by one of five research confederates and asked to give their consent to participate in two unrelated studies. The first study was the priming procedure. The second study was viewing the job interview. Participants were provided with a copy of the consent form outlining the experimental procedures and informed them that their responses would remain confidential. After consent was obtained, they were randomly assigned to one of the six prime x target race conditions. After assignment, participants were told the following as the purpose for the first study:

In this study you will help us choose a movie clip. We are currently trying to develop a visual aide library for introductory communication course instructors to utilize in classes. So please view a segment of a movie and be prepared to answer a few short questions about it afterward.

Following their viewing of a priming tape, participants were instructed to answer three questions: (1) Have you ever seen this movie before? (2) What was happening in the scene(s) you just observed? (3) On a scale of one (not at all) to five (very), how sure are you about the events? These questions served to bolster the cover story for why they were viewing the clips.

After completion of the priming manipulation, participants were told that the second study was about interview techniques and that they would be asked to give their impressions of a candidate involved in a videotaped employment interview. They were

also instructed to give advice about how he/she could improve their skills. The interviews were approximately 3 minutes in length and involved a female candidate with a male interviewer. The researcher on duty gave the following instructions before starting the interview tape:

You are going to view a videotape of Irene. She is applying for a job as a sales representative. You will be asked to judge whether she is suitable for the position, what she is like, and offer her some advice on her interviewing skills. Please view the tapes carefully and be prepared to give us your “gut” reactions to her.

The researcher remained seated in the observation room while participants viewed the tapes. After watching an interview tape, participants were escorted to another room by the researcher to complete the adjective association task. First, participants saw three trial adjectives. These were intended to allow them time to become familiar with the procedures of the task and increase their reaction speed. The researcher observed responses to these items. If participants did not respond to the practice items within two-second intervals, they were instructed to increase their response time to provide us with their “gut” reactions to the words. After the trial items were completed and participants were clear about the task, they were instructed to determine whether the terms presented “fit” the person they observed on the interview tape or not and the research confederate left the room. The adjectives were presented via the Micro-Experimental Lab (MEL) program. The same adjectives were presented to all participants. However, they were counterbalanced in order such that participants viewed them in order 1 or order 2. Participants responded to the adjectives individually by touching a “YES” or “NO” keyboard key indicating whether the terms reflected their immediate impressions of the

interviewee they saw in the employment interview. Only the two computer keyboard keys marked with the words “YES” and “NO” were visible to the participants. A keyboard cover masked the remaining keys. Also, the “YES” and “NO” keys were counterbalanced to reduce any effects due to the dominant hand always associated with one key (e.g., “yes” always being the right hand key). Instructions for this stage were delivered verbally by the researcher and on a computer screen. They read:

Now you will see a series of adjectives on this screen. You have to decide whether each adjective DESCRIBES the interviewee you’ve just seen or not. For example, you will see the word:

FRIENDLY

you will respond:

Yes or No

using the keys marked “Yes” and “No” on the keyboard in front of you.

Now, a series of adjectives will appear on the screen one at a time. As QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE decide whether the adjective fits the person you observed interviewing for the job or not. DO NOT SLOW DOWN. Answer as soon as you see the word, if you wait to respond you may be asked to redo this stage for a second time. We are interested in your instant judgments of the interviewee.

After participants completed the experimental adjectives they were instructed via computer screen to proceed to the next task.

Finally, participants judged the interviewee they observed on her suitability for a range of positions using a (1) strongly agree to (7) strongly disagree Likert scale system.

After reading each of the 40 statements (e.g., She seems to make a better cocktail waitress) and judging how applicable they were to the woman they saw on the interview tape, participants filled out the demographic items and were thanked for their participation. Participants were later debriefed in their classes once data collection was complete.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Preliminary Results

Sample Demographics The sample for this study was comprised of 182 undergraduate students from basic communication courses. The majority of participants (72.5%) were between 18–21 years of age. The sample was split almost evenly between male (n = 93) and female (n = 89) participants. Approximately 87% of the sample was European American (n = 158), 7% was African American (n = 13), and the remaining 6% was of Asian (n = 8) or Latin (n = 3) descent.

Pilot Study: Prime Manipulation Check. A group of forty-four participants served as the pilot sample for manipulation checks of the mammy and jezebel prime scenes. Participants were run in their speech classes, thus each class saw only one film clip. Participants were told that the purpose of the investigation was to produce a collection of visual aides to be used in basic speech communication courses. Pilot participants were instructed to observe a film clip (either the mammy, taken from Imitation of Life) or jezebel (taken from Introducing Dorothy Dandridge) and respond to a series of judgments afterward. Immediately after viewing one of the movie clips, participants were asked to report whether they had seen the movie clip before or not, to describe what they saw in writing, and to indicate how sure they were of their description on a Likert type scale with responses ranging from 1 (not at all sure) to 5 (very sure). To test the operation of the priming manipulations, participants also completed three Likert type items that asked, “Was the central character in the movie clip nice/nurturing/sexual”?

Scholars argue that these terms are associated with the mammy (nice/nurturing) and jezebel (sexual) stereotypes (Bogle, 1980; 2001; Collins, 1991; Jones, 2000, Turner, 1994). Responses on these items also ranged from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very).

Independent sample t-tests were conducted to examine differences by prime (mammy vs. jezebel) on each of these measures. As expected, participants judged the mammy character to be significantly nicer and more nurturing than the jezebel character (Nice $\bar{m}$ (mammy)=4.81, sd =.54, $\bar{m}$ (jezebel)=3.21, sd =1.03, $t(42)=5.74$, $p<.001$; Nurturing $\bar{m}$ (mammy)=4.63, sd =.72, $\bar{m}$ (jezebel)=1.93, sd =1.02, $t(42)=9.35$, $p<.001$). Also as expected, the jezebel character was perceived to be significantly more sexual than the mammy character (Sexual $\bar{m}$ (mammy)=1.63, sd =.89, $\bar{m}$ (jezebel)=4.96, sd =.19, $t(42)=19.37$, $p<.001$). These pilot data suggest that the manipulation of African American female stereotypes was successful in this study.

In further support of the manipulation check data, an independent coder read each of the hand written descriptions of the movie scenes provided by the participants. The coder was given a description of the mammy and jezebel stereotypes and instructed to determine the degree to which each description characterized the images on a 1-7 likert type scale ranging from 1 (not clear) to 7 (all about mammy/jezebel). The means for each movie clip were high (mammy $\bar{m}$ = 4.69, jezebel $\bar{m}$ = 6.14). This analysis suggests that participants described the movies scenes highly consistent with their schematic qualities.

Data reduction The final factors and loadings for the job suitability items were determined by conducting exploratory factor analyses with varimax rotation. All of the final factors have an eigenvalue greater than one. As shown in Table 1, all retained items have factor loadings of .60 or higher on one item and .40 or lower on all other factors.

Calculating the sum of retained items for each subscale and dividing by the total number of items created the factors.

The twenty-seven stereotypic association items adapted from previous research on social cognition and media effects were analyzed. Five items were eliminated because they were complex across multiple factors (she was too mean for sales, too dishonest, too lazy, she seems patient enough for sales, she would make a better waitress). Four factors emerged, accounting for 62.8% of the variance in the data. The first factor was comprised of 7 items associated with negative perceptions of the interviewee (e.g., she was too defensive, aggressive, pushy for the position; $\alpha=.90$). A second factor consisting of 7 positive association items (e.g., she was kind, gentle, nice enough for the position; $\alpha=.85$). The third factor was a jezebel component composed of 4 items associated with the Jezebel stereotype (she would be better as a swimsuit model, exotic dancer, personal trainer and escort; $\alpha=.81$). The mammy factor was the fourth to emerge, it also had 4 stereotypic association items (she would be better as a nurse, nanny, nursery school teacher and housekeeper $\alpha=.80$).

Data reduction for the response time measures. The forty experimental response time measures were clustered into four factors. The factors were obtained by collapsing the items for each response time category (e.g., mammy = maternal, protective, etc.) and dividing the sum by the number of items in each category.

Examination of response key placement and adjective sequence effects Prior to testing the hypotheses, it was important to determine whether participant response times varied as a function of the order in which the “Yes” and “No” keys appeared on the keyboard (e.g., Yes/No or No/Yes). Another significant concern was potential order

effects for the adjective sequences. In order to investigate the influence of response key placement and adjective sequence on participants' response speed, the response time data was entered into a 3 (prime) x 2 (race of interviewee) x 2 (yes/no order) x 2 (adjective sequence) analysis of variance. Results of the analysis indicate that the response time data did not change as a function of which hand was used to make "Yes" and "No" judgments nor for the two sequences¹. No main or interaction effects were observed. Thus the data for response key placement and adjective sequence order was not used in the analyses below.

Tests of Hypotheses.

Hypotheses 1a and 1b Hypothesis 1a predicts that participants will respond more quickly to negative and more slowly to positive words when the interviewee is African American. Hypothesis 1b states that when the interviewee is European American, participants will respond more quickly to positive words and more slowly to negative adjectives. A 3 (prime) x 2 (race of interviewee) x 2 (positive/negative adjectives) repeated measures analysis of variance was utilized with the first two variables between subjects and the last variable within subjects. To support H1, a race of interviewee x favorability of adjectives interaction effect would be required.

There were no significant main effects. However, a significant race of interviewee x positive/negative judgments interaction was observed ($\lambda = .955$, $F(1, 176) = 8.35$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .045$). As shown in Figure 1, participants who viewed the African American female interviewee responded significantly quicker to negative adjectives than positive ones ($t(90) = 2.11$, $p = .04$). In addition, participants who viewed the European American

female interviewee responded significantly quicker to positive adjectives than negative ones ($t(90) = 2.0, p = .05$). These results support H1a and H1b.

As also shown in Figure 1, it is interesting to note that the mean response times between those who saw the African-American interviewee and those who saw the European-American interviewee were significantly different for the negative terms ($t(180) = 2.35, p = .02$), but not for the positive ones ($t(180) = .63, p = .50$).

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 states that participants primed with an African American woman will respond quicker to negative words when judging another African American woman than will participants who were not primed with an African American woman. In other words, receiving two exposures of an AA woman (priming and interview) should result in faster negativity judgments than just one exposure (interview only). To test this hypothesis, one-way analyses of variance were conducted with only participants who viewed the AA interviewee. For these one-way ANOVA tests, the independent variable was stereotype prime condition and the response times associated with the negative and positive adjectives were the dependent measures. If H2 is correct, response times for participants in either prime condition (mammy or jezebel) should be quicker for the negative words than response times to negative words for participants in the control conditions. As shown in Table 2, no significant differences were observed for responses to negative adjectives as a function of stereotype prime condition ($F(2, 88) = 1.67$). In addition, no significant differences were observed between response times on any of the four factors (e.g., positive, negative, mammy, jezebel) for the control and prime conditions. In summary, H2 was not supported by the response time data for negative judgments of the African American interviewee.

Hypotheses 3a and 3b Hypothesis 3a states that exposure to stereotypical images of an African American woman will result in stereotype consistent judgments of another African American woman. To test this hypothesis, a 2 (prime: mammy vs. jezebel) x 2 (mammy related jobs vs. jezebel related jobs) mixed design with the first factor between subjects and the second factor within subjects was utilized. An interaction effect was expected such that participants who were primed with the mammy stereotype ($N = 63$) should judge the African American female interviewee as more suitable for domestic and caregiver jobs (e.g., nursery school teacher) and less suitable for jezebel related positions (e.g., cocktail waitress). Inversely, participants primed with the Jezebel stereotype ($N = 59$) should view the African American female interviewee as more suitable for the jezebel type positions than the mammy type positions. As shown in Table 3, no significant differences were observed by priming condition for the type of jobs participants saw the interviewees to be best suited for ($\lambda = .251$, $F(1, 120) = 1.68$). Thus, H3a was not supported by the job suitability data.

H3b states that exposure to stereotypic images of an African American woman will result in participants making faster associations to stereotype consistent adjectives (e.g., mammy prime to mammy adjectives) of another African American women than to stereotype inconsistent adjectives (e.g., mammy prime to jezebel adjectives). In order to test this hypothesis, a 2 (stereotype prime: jezebel or mammy) x 2 (stereotype associated with adjectives: jezebel or mammy) mixed factor analysis of variance with prime as a between subjects factor and adjectives as a within subject factor was conducted. To support H3b, a 2 x 2 interaction effect would be expected such that participants primed with the mammy video should respond more quickly to adjectives associated with the

mammy stereotype than adjectives associated with the jezebel stereotype. Conversely, those who observed the jezebel video should make faster associations with the jezebel adjectives than participants exposed to the mammy video.

No significant main effects were obtained. However, the hypothesized interaction was obtained ($\lambda = .839$, $F(1, 59) = 11.36$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$). As shown in Figure 2, participants who viewed the mammy tape did respond faster to mammy related terms than to jezebel related terms however, the difference was not significant ($t(31) = 1.12$, $p = .27$). Conversely, participants who viewed the jezebel tape responded significantly faster to jezebel related terms than to mammy terms ($t(28) = 3.99$, $p < .001$). Thus, partial support was obtained for H3b.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this investigation was to examine whether perceptions of an African American woman would be associated with global (angry) or specific (nurturing vs. sensual) constructs after exposure to a stereotypic image of another African American woman. This study adds to the current literature on stereotypes because it focuses on specific African American female schemas that are commonly presented on television. This study is also unique in that it centers on the influence of exposure to stereotypic imagery on realistic social judgments and decisions. Furthermore, the present study compares direct (self-report) and indirect (response time) measures of stereotyping in order to test two contrasting predictions about how stereotypes shape perceptions of African American women. The hypotheses guiding this research were derived from Devine's Dual-Process Model (1989) and Hansen and Hansen's (1988) Activation-Recency Hypothesis. The findings from social cognition comparing general perceptions of African Americans versus European Americans were replicated. However, the most interesting dimension of these results was the support found for perceptual differences between the African American female stereotype conditions. In the remainder of this chapter, I first discuss how these results relate to stereotype activation and visual media. I then discuss the importance of direct and indirect measures of stereotype activation. Finally, I discuss the limitations of this study and make suggestions for future research.

General stereotyping effects

Devine and others (Devine, 1989; Dovidio, et al., 1997; Fazio, et al., 1995; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991) describe the process of stereotyping as one involving both automatic and controlled components. According to these authors, African American racial-ethnic identity is always negative.

Results of this experiment replicate findings from the social cognitive literature. The response time data indicate that participants associated the African American woman interviewee more quickly with negative words while the European American interviewee was more quickly associated with positive ones. This result was consistent throughout the response time measures and across all stereotype prime conditions. As shown in Figure 1, negative associations (e.g., hostile) were significantly faster than positive associations (e.g., kind) for people who saw an African American woman applying for the sales job. Conversely, when a European American woman was observed applying for the same position, participants made positive associations more quickly than negative ones. These data suggest that simply observing an African American woman interviewing for employment was a necessary and sufficient cue of negative stereotyping in this sample. In light of the fact that the interviewees were trained together, followed the same script and dressed similarly, this evidence is especially compelling.

This dissertation also suggests that activation of African American female stereotypes can significantly influence social judgments and behaviors toward African American woman as they attempt to navigate through life. These results also offer support for the preliminary findings in Ford's (1997) work on television priming. In this case, simple manipulation of the target's first name (e.g., Tyrone vs. Todd) was sufficient

to activate negative stereotypes. So what does the response time data tell us about stereotyping?

According to previous research, two explanations can be drawn from the response time data. On one hand, Devine (1989) and others suggest that faster associations to negative words for the African American interviewee exhibit respondents awareness of the negative stereotypes associated with African Americans. They argue that because negative stereotypes of African Americans are universal, these associations will become active for participants in the presence of an African American despite all other factors. Thus the response time data reflect participants' strong awareness of negative stereotypes for African Americans. However, another explanation found in the literature would suggest that faster associations to positive words for the European American interviewee and to negative words for the African American interviewee signify aversive racism.

Greenwald and Banaji (1995) and others contend that the speed of association to negative words for African American targets does not simply demonstrate knowledge of negative stereotypes. In fact, they argue that the response variance to these words allow researchers to detect the relevant associations of participants and predict how they would behave in social situations. Under this perspective, these data seem to suggest that the participants in this study made more relevant associations of African Americans with negative constructs than positive ones. In this way, African American equals "bad" while European American equals "good." The dichotomy exhibited by the response time data reflects the implicit prejudice participants harbor toward African Americans and would explain the positive associations of the European American interviewee.

It is easy to see then how two similar individuals applying for the same employment position could be so easily differentiated by their racial identities. The argument herein is that the associations illustrated by the response time data can also influence selection decisions. If one's implicit category system associates African Americans with negativity and European Americans with positive qualities then it seems natural to harbor a preference for European Americans in one's personal and professional life. Because these associations are not overtly racist, they are easier to rationalize and allow the holder of these views to maintain an egalitarian social image. However, the connections exhibited by the response time data indicate that these categories involve general constructs and are applied indiscriminately. Thus Devine's (1989) model has received full support from the data.

If the presence of an African American female can trigger negative associations, why would not two exposures African American women produce even faster associations to negative words than a single exposure? Hypothesis 2 was designed to test the additive qualities of Devine's (1989) model. That is, could the negative associations produced from seeing an African American woman in a social situation be boosted if participants observe another African American woman beforehand? The data from this investigation say no.

One potential explanation for the lack of findings involves the priming tapes. It could be argued that the mammy and jezebel primes simply were not valid images of the respective stereotypes. Maybe the priming did not work as hoped. Particularly in the case of the mammy prime, the student sample employed here may not have been familiar with the type of mammy played by Juanita Moore in 1959. It does seem probable that a more

current mammy image could provide a stronger visceral image for college-aged respondents. For instance, a single African American woman who works for a living (i.e., such as a school teacher) yet seems to care for others as her own children might have activated the image of the mammy more successfully. This leads to an important consideration for scholars interested in examining social stereotypes on television, particularly those of African American women. Are there multiple ways to tap into these images using visual media? It might also be the case that the character “Annie Johnson” would have resulted in stronger activation for an older sample. In light of the mean differences observed from the pilot data, it seems worthwhile to consider the reconceptualized mammy images that appear on contemporary television when using college student samples.

Another explanation for the null results comes from the theoretical bases of the model. A logical extension of Devine’s (1989) framework would acknowledge the additive potential of the model. If seeing an African American woman stimulates negativity, then seeing two African American women should increase negative perceptions twofold. If it is the case that the images produce an additive effect, then it seems likely that no positive associations could exist for African American women because negative plus more negative will always be exponentially negative. In addition, it would be even more difficult to reject the associations once they have been activated because they are ever increasing in strength. Fortunately, results of this study suggest that the negative effect is not additive, rather it is either active or inactive – on or off. This line of Devine’s (1989) model is an area for continued research.

In summary, this dissertation provides support for previous work on stereotypes in social cognition. An initial analysis of the response time data indicated that perceptions of African American women are associated with general concepts that involve negative constructs. Thus when we come into contact with an African American woman, we do not see her as anything other than hostile, dangerous and aggressive. However, further examination of the response time data revealed more complexity in perceptions of African American women than previously described.

Schema effects

In addition to examining the data for global stereotypic associations, I was also interested the effects of specific African American female schemas on perceptions. Hansen and Hansen (1988) have shown that stereotypes do not function as simply as previously noted. For instance, specific characterizations of African American women on television could encourage viewers to perceive “real-life” African American women as mummies, jezebels, matriarchs and welfare queens. Under this view, African American female schemas contain gender and racial cues that may interact significantly to influence the way in which African American women are perceived in social situations. Thus, an African American woman who is perceived as jezebel-like should be seen as sexual and consequently more appropriate for a job as a cocktail waitress or exotic dancer. Conversely, an African American woman perceived as mammy-like should be thought of as nurturing and thus appropriate for a job as a day care provider or housekeeper.

The data presented in this dissertation offer partial support for the perspective of several media scholars. It seems that participants made the clearest associations with jezebel terms and imagery. That is, they recognized the jezebel schema more consistently

than the mammy one from the priming tapes. Participant responses seem to suggest that they simply knew a jezebel when they observed one more impressionably than a mammy. Rather than identifying the mammy schema as separate, it was evaluated as the antithesis of the jezebel schema. This pattern supports the work of some media scholars because it suggests that a dominant schema (e.g., jezebel) was operant for participants. This finding is directly opposed of the generalized conclusion (e.g., one schema being activated for all) posited by Devine (1989) and others.

Additional support for Hansen and Hansen's (1988) paradigm was obtained through further examination of the response time data within the African American interviewee conditions. As shown in Figure 2, participants who viewed the jezebel movie clip and observed an African American woman interviewing for the sales job responded more quickly to jezebel adjectives than to mammy adjectives. In other words, participants judged the African American interviewee as jezebel-like when primed with the jezebel stereotype. However, no significant differences were observed for the mammy prime. As the movie clips were similar in duration, one might conclude that the jezebel clip was a stronger visual image.

However, it should be noted when considering this data that the jezebel and mammy movie clips were edited differently. In order to produce an equally visceral image, the mammy tape was spliced using three different scenes from "Imitation of Life." These scenes played a combined duration of three minutes. Only one scene from "Introducing Dorothy Dandridge" was used to produce the jezebel tape. This scene also lasted three minutes. Thus, one could argue that the jezebel image was stronger because it was a single continuous scene rather than a compilation of three. In fact, this argument

seems to be quite plausible considering the stronger jezebel effect previously described. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that mammy and jezebel images indeed involve different schemas. Although the influence of priming did not occur as hypothesized, it is important to mention that when priming did occur, it happened in the hypothesized direction.

Significant priming effects were obtained for the African American interviewee. As previously noted, the influence of the mammy and jezebel imagery was moderate yet distinguishable. These findings, combined with the results of the manipulation check data indicate that the attentionless priming procedures were successful in this experiment. Future studies of African American stereotypes should consider the influence of social schemas on perception.

In sum, results of this experiment support Devine's (1989) model, which suggests that mere exposure to an African American woman (regardless of the priming video) will act as a priming stimulus for negative stereotyping of another African American woman. As compared to the European American interviewee, participants in this study made significantly faster associations with negative terms than positive ones for the African American interviewee. While participants saw the priming videos (mammy, jezebel) as schematically distinct, the difference in priming imagery had no influence on how the European American interviewee was judged. Neither the stereotypic adjective outcomes nor the job suitability outcomes reflect significant differences for participants who observed the mammy video prime and the jezebel prime when the interviewee was European American. Yet for the African American interviewee, the priming manipulation

was a successful influence on how she was judged. Thus, Hansen and Hansen's model (1988) was also partially supported by this data.

As hypothesized, priming of the mammy and jezebel stereotypes mattered when an African American woman was judged. If the jezebel imagery was observed before viewing the African American woman interviewee, she was associated with terms relating to sexuality and aggression more quickly than terms associated with nurturance and care giving. Although the mammy imagery was not as successful in facilitating stereotype application, overall these results suggest that specific schemas are worthy of consideration in future studies of implicit racial stereotyping.

Direct vs. indirect measurement of racial stereotyping

Another interesting outcome of this research relates to the assessment of stereotypic judgments and beliefs. It is important to note here that the obtained outcome for priming was detected only through the indirect measures (e.g., response times for terms associations). This finding supports several social cognitive scholars who argue that explicit measures (e.g., self report surveys) of prejudice and racial attitudes are not effective measures of people's social views because they rely on participant awareness and willingness to express sometimes socially undesirable attitudes. In a society "sensitive to societal norms of nondiscrimination and equality" (Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997, p. 262), explicit measures simply do not allow for introspection free of social demand and participant biases (Devine, 1989; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

Previous studies using direct measurement of racial prejudice suggest that European American attitudes toward African Americans are becoming increasingly more

positive over the years (for a review see Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). Conversely, studies employing indirect measurement suggest the anti-African American beliefs among European Americans remain very prevalent (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995). Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) coined the phrase Aversive Racism to describe the views of individuals “who endorse egalitarian values, who regard themselves as nonprejudiced, but who discriminate in subtle, rationalizable ways.” (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000, p. 315). Thus the aversive racist expresses his/her racial bias in ways that do not threaten his/her egalitarian self-image. Under the aversive racism framework, individuals may reply to scaled items and open-ended questions with nonprejudiced responses, yet willingly discriminate against racial/ethnic minorities in employment, housing and other social opportunities. These investigations show a clear dissociation between direct and indirect measures of prejudice.

Aversive racism poses a strong threat to researchers interested in investigating racial prejudice. A major consequence of relying solely on direct measurement is failure to attain data confirming participant prejudices in cases where they may exist. The importance of indirect measures rests in their ability to accurately assess individual's personal beliefs beyond their awareness. Devine (1989) was the first to interrogate the dissociation between explicit and implicit measures of stereotypes. By using an explicit measure (Modern Racism Scale scores) as grouping data, she was able to assess group differences (e.g., high vs. low prejudice) in the application of African American stereotypes.

This dissertation offers additional support for the contention that individuals may not be willing or able to express their personal prejudices openly. In this study,

participants responded to two types of measurement. The indirect measures (e.g., positive, negative, mammy and jezebel adjectives) were designed to allow participants to respond freely in an unobtrusive manner. These measures were much more useful in detecting variance between perceptions of the European American and African American interviewees as well as within the African American interviewee conditions. In fact the hypothesis (H3a) that predicted stereotype consistency from the self-report measures (e.g., job suitability items) was not supported while the one predicting stereotype consistency from the response time measures received partial support (H3b). This finding suggests that by avoiding social demand characteristics, indirect measures provide more valid and reliable measures of personal prejudice and stereotypic beliefs.

All in all, these findings confirm the existence of automatic (implicit) and controlled (explicit) processes in the application of racial stereotypes. They also suggest that neither implicit nor explicit measures alone capture the nature of their application in social situations. It is evident from this literature that explicit and implicit measures of racial attitudes assess conceptually distinct perceptions, thus they are uncorrelated. Future investigations of racial prejudice and discrimination should include both forms of measurement.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of this study is the composition of the priming videos. The movie clips used in this experiment were approximately three minutes in duration. The brief exposures may not have been long enough for participants to receive a full range of imagery for the mammy and jezebel schemas. An extended viewing experience, between 5 and 7 minutes in length, could significantly boost stereotype activation and hence the

priming effects illustrated in this research. In addition, one of the videos was produced from a series of spliced scenes while the other was continuous. This difference may have contributed to the lack of significance for stereotype consistent judgments in the mammy prime condition. As previously mentioned, the jezebel prime appeared to be a stronger image according to the data. Because the jezebel scene provided only one context for participants to observe, they may have been more able to process the behavioral components of the video. Participants who viewed the mammy video were presented with three different behavioral contexts (a beach, living room, and kitchen scene) and thus were not able to concentrate on an extended situation. Future research might benefit from longer, repetitive scenes as priming stimuli. For instance, Hansen and Hansen (1990) obtained significant female stereotype effects on impressions of a female research confederate using 4-5 minute rock music videos. Participants viewed a series of three videos before observing an audition tape of the female job candidate.

Ford (1997) used a continuous sequence of five comedy skits ranging from one to four minutes in duration each to activate African American stereotypes. In both cases, the authors obtained a significant relationship between the priming stimulus and subsequent judgements in the hypothesized directions. Utilizing longer and repetitive primes might allow participants to make stronger associations to the prevalent schemas and thus stronger associations to stereotype consistent terms. Obviously, such an agenda would require extensive selection and piloting procedures as well as characterizations from multiple genres (e.g., clips from sit-coms, dramas, music videos) to attain stronger visceral images.

Not only would the stereotyping literature benefit from stronger stereotype application effects, a closer examination of the type(s) of visual media that enhance priming application could offer clarity to this area of research. Rather than exhausting scarce participant feedback on priming exposures that grant marginal effects, it would be advantageous to determine the most reliable form(s) of television programming for priming research. At present, Hansen and Hansen's (1988) paradigm is the only one that has consistently produced significant schema effects using rock music videos. Future lines of research should consider rigorous piloting across television genres and exposure times.

An additional concern with the priming videos is the fact that they were produced during different eras in American social consciousness. Although the style of dress, speech patterns and mannerisms were similar between the two movies, they are separated by forty years of growth in the television and film industry. Needless to say, a film released in the early 1960's is more reflective of 60's values and beliefs than one in which the set is designed to simply capture the 1960's. For instance, the post-civil rights theme of responding to racial antagonism with overt action was clearly illustrated in Introducing Dorothy Dandridge. However, due to the power structures and social norms of the time, this theme was not present in box office films of the early 1960's (Bogle, 2001). Furthermore, the historic mammy image is not often seen on contemporary television. Rather, she has been replaced by a more subtle, mammy-type woman of the 90's who is employed yet continues to be asexualized (Bogle, 2001). In fact, it seems that as the blatant mammy image declined in appearance, her schematic counterpart, jezebel, was seen more frequently over the past twenty years. It is much more common these days

to see a scantily clad African American woman making sexual advances toward a man than an obese African American woman who would rather cook, clean, and care for his children. In other words, the female sexual aggression that was clear and applicable for participants from the Dandridge movie may have simply been more reflective of contemporary social values than the image of female submission and servitude in Imitation of Life (In fact, 99% of participants reported never viewing the film). Thus the variance observed for the jezebel prime could have been due more to production aspects of the movie than the schematic imagery itself. To decrease the threat of participant demand, future studies should consider movies from the same decade and/or social era thus equally assessable to college student samples.

As with most experimental research, external validity was also a problematic area of this dissertation. As Devine (1989) and her colleagues have illustrated, implicit measures of stereotyping often lack internal consistency. Reliability is difficult to establish with indirect measures because they are extremely sensitive to several forms of stimulus information (Merikle & Reingold, 1992). Consequently, perceptions of one stimulus may “float” onto another and hence influence measurement results. Implicit associations can be easily “masked” by priming techniques or other nonconscious influences (Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). They can also be inhibited under certain conditions (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Thus isolation of key concepts can not be guaranteed, even under the most highly controlled conditions, when implicit measures are utilized. Although outcomes of the direct measures were clearly dissociated from those of the indirect measures, it is unclear from these results whether the variance in participant judgements was due solely to the influence of stereotype priming.

Studies of implicit stereotyping suggest that expressions of implicit attitudes (e.g., on indirect measures) may include unintended influences such as halo effects and mere exposure effects. Participants have been shown to report more favorable ratings to stimuli they find more physically attractive than those they do not. In addition, multiple exposures to a stimulus promote greater preferences for that stimulus among participants than novel primes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). To this extent, the construct validity of these measures continues to be challenged. This challenge should continue to be addressed in future research. A productive validity study should compare the responses of African American and European American participants to a stimulus known to activate strong negative stereotypes (e.g., images of an African American male). Outcome measures in this type of study should include the implicit assessments used herein and a measure of implicit behaviors (e.g., nonverbal displays). If indeed the response time data do measure implicit prejudice and not simple common knowledge, one would expect for participant response times to be similar across all experimental groups. However, the behavioral measures should reveal significant differences for the African American and European American sub-samples because one would not expect for the African American sub-sample to BEHAVE prejudicially toward another African American. While theoretically, European American participants may.

Finally, the lack of age, race and gender diversity within the sample poses a problem for generalizing these findings to wider populations. Given that the majority of the sample was 18-19 years of age, European American, and male, it is difficult to say that the same stereotyping effects would occur with an older, ethnically diverse, male / female mixed sample of individuals. Devine's (1989) work suggests that as all

individuals within a culture share a common set of associations for certain racial and gendered groups, these results should be universal. However, to my knowledge this contention has not been fully tested using such a population sample. Clearly, more research is needed to assess the influence of such participant characteristics on stereotype activation.

Practical Implications

So what does this all mean? One implication of this research concerns the opportunities African Americans have for becoming socially and economically mobile. Despite contemporary efforts to promote equal opportunities in the workforce for women and racial/ethnic minorities, results of this investigation seem to show that racial discrimination continues to be a driving force in the American workplace. The fact that participants responded more quickly to negative terms after viewing the African American job candidate than to positive terms and when compared to the European American candidate clearly implies that African Americans must endure negative stereotyping in interview situations. As evidenced in this dissertation, these perceptions can be activated within three minutes of interaction. It appears then that African Americans must not only compete with other job candidates during the interview process, they must also compete with negative perceptions that become active the moment they enter the interview setting. In fact, European Americans seem to be at an enormous social advantage because they can reduce competition with African American candidates “at first sight.”

Research conducted by Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) corroborates the finding that interviewee race may be associated with perceived employee qualifications and candidate

selection decisions. When participants were asked to evaluate a job candidate whose qualifications included either membership in the Black Student Union or a predominately European American fraternity, they recommended candidates perceived to be African American (indicted by BSU membership) significantly less strongly than those they perceived to be European American (fraternity membership). Furthermore, they reported the African American candidates with “ambiguous” qualifications as significantly less qualified for the position. This finding was obtained only for candidates perceived to be African American. While this research examined the application of stereotypic perceptions during an employment interview rather than selection outcomes, it seems likely that a positively perceived candidate would have more opportunities for selection than a negatively stereotyped one. Understanding how stereotypic perceptions influence selection decisions is an area of further study.

Another possibility involves situations when simple distinctions (e.g., good vs. bad) become subjugated to more complex cognitive associations (e.g., mammy vs. jezebel). As evidenced in this dissertation, African American women face the dual challenge of battling racial and sexual stereotypes when proceeding into their careers. In this study, an African American female jezebel was clearly and consistently distinguishable from a mammy. It seems then that different types of African American women exist within our society, all of whom can be characterized by her sexual utility (Collins, 1990). An African American woman entering the workforce is subject to be perceived under a full range of degrading images when compared to other African American woman. In this way African American women are particularly disadvantaged in the job market because they experience employment discrimination based on a set of

expectations that meet them at the door. According to this data, they can be similar to European American women in dress, behavior and qualifications yet still face undue stereotyping from potential employers. Furthermore, it appears that television enables us to make certain behavioral predictions about African American women by supplying specific African American female schemas to viewers. Future research should seek to further investigate the full range of African American female schemas and their influence on perceptions and judgments.

Thus, two potential explanations for these results appear in the literature. On one hand, Social Learning Theory (Berkowitz & Rogers, 1986) would predict that television viewers create mental models of specific character groups over repeated exposures to a typecast image. Under this view, televised imagery also serves to reinforce existing negative social stereotypes, thus viewers come to understand the stereotypes as realistic character traits rather than constructed character types. Here, social learning would explain the findings derived from Devine (1989) and her colleagues as well as those found herein when comparing perceptions of the African American interviewee and European American interviewee.

However, another process seems to be at play not explained by social learning. Specifically, cognitive priming theory would explain the subtle effects obtained from the brief stereotype exposures experienced by participants. This perspective also provides a more parsimonious explanation of the results found in media effects research that television exposure produces a simple activation–recency effect (Hansen & Hansen, 1988). Under this perspective, one might predict that momentary exposure to the stereotypes was sufficient for participants to spontaneously pick up detailed schemas

about African American woman. These schemas were thereafter used to interpret the African American woman they saw in the subsequent interview context.

It seems then that a full understanding of the effects of media stereotypes on social judgments and behaviors cannot be accomplished from a single theoretical framework. The results of this dissertation research evidence the need for further research on the effects of stereotype activation and televised schemas on social judgment. Such research would provide valuable insights about how concerned we should be with the frequent activation of negative stereotypes from society's most popular form of entertainment.

How can we socially address the influence of media priming? One possibility would be to focus our media literacy efforts on making viewers aware of the applications we often make from mediated imagery. Since the production of visual media is not likely to change in the near future, we must concentrate our attention on viewer education. As Devine's (1989) model indicates, viewers may control application of the schemas they observe on television onto others. They simply need to be made aware and encouraged to reject the images on their screens.

Lastly, this study illustrates the need for researchers interested in racial prejudice to consider the importance of implicit outcome assessment. The findings herein imply that self-report measures are insufficient tools for obtaining information about how individuals view others in racialized contexts. People may not be fully aware of their prejudicial views, which would make asking about these issues in a direct manner fruitless. Consider the person who invests a great deal of their social identity into an egalitarian worldview. This person is likely to report seeing the African American and

European American interviewees as equally qualified for the sales position. Yet in the decision-making context, they may rationalize undue preference for the European American interviewee as consistent with the Aversive Racism framework (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). One consequence of this behavior is that its underlying component (automatic activation) is uncontrollable unless acknowledged by the individual, and undetectable when conducting questionnaire research. Even more importantly, this form of racial prejudice may carry significant consequences for the upward mobility of negatively stereotyped group members. It is clear here that many of us behave in unintentionally prejudicial ways. Future research should employ both implicit and explicit forms of measurement in order to gain a clearer understanding of automatic components of racial stereotyping.

Final Conclusions

This dissertation makes three important contributions to the stereotyping literature. First, the literature acknowledges that while we routinely use very simple and general categories to distinguish between groups of people and make predictions about their behavior, this dissertation shows that we may also employ complex and specific categories to classify within social groups. This contribution is important because it supports the work of cultural critics who contend that we should be extremely mindful of how latent social views become unintended acts of racial discrimination and prejudice. In addition, it highlights televisions' potential role in the dissemination of prejudicial information. Although the direct effects of media portrayals are not as straightforward as many researchers would hope, this study evidences the importance of continued efforts to explore stereotypic perceptions that may become active from television exposures.

Second, analyses of the data in this study found differences by African American female schemas. Previous research on stereotypes has not detected such variance within a single racialized group. Not only were categorical differences found between the African American and European American interviewee, differences in perception were also obtained by African American female archetypes. This is an important contribution because it illustrates the homogeneity of our current race models. Future research on racial schemas should consider a model more inclusive of various types of racialized people.

These results advance the point that researchers must expand the boundaries previously established in stereotype research. By limiting research designs to simple Black/White comparisons, researchers have also limited our full understanding of the complexity of social stereotypes and their function in social settings. Previous research has neglected to study racial stereotypes within social groups, thus short sights our knowledge of them. These studies have only been able to explain situations where targets belong to categorically different social groups, yet what knowledge could be learned from data collected in situations where all the interviewees are African American? This question is yet to be answered and should certainly be addressed in future research.

It is extremely unfortunate that African American woman could be denied much deserved chances for success due to degrading age-old stereotypes heavily rooted in racism and sexism. In addition, it is even more unfortunate to think that an African American woman perceived as a certain type could be judged differently than one perceived as another type. The need for more research in this area is evident when the cost of these attentionless acts is social mobility.

Finally, this dissertation illustrates indicates that contemporary racism goes frequently undetected in research relying solely on direct measurement. Overt expressions of racial intolerance are no longer widely accepted in American society. Thus it is unreasonable to assume that participants will forgo the restraints of social demand and report their blatantly racist personal beliefs. In fact, those individuals who are openly racist are often not the individuals an African American woman might encounter during a job interview. Rather, they are more likely to be seated across the table from someone who is committed to an egalitarian worldview and equal opportunity yet perhaps nonconsciously behaves in discriminatory ways. Thus, this study allows us a richer understanding of how unchecked stereotypic perceptions, television viewing and behavioral schemas interact to influence judgments and behaviors.

ENDNOTES

1. I examined the response selected for each of the response time variables (yes vs. no) to see whether or not there was a pattern associated with which interviewee (African-American or European-American) participants were evaluating. For all responses selected the patterns were similar across the two interviewees. In most cases the yes/no responses were split within 10% of each other (e.g., most were less than a 60/40 split).

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table I

Rotated Component Matrix for Perceptions of Interviewee Job Suitability Measures

Scale	Neg	Pos	Mammy	Jezebel
Too hostile	.83			
Too pushy	.79			.20
Too aggressive	.79			.13
Too defensive	.71		.10	
Too angry	.70			.21
Too grouchy	.70			.17
Too untrustworthy	.69		.11	.17
Kind		.75		
Independent		.75		
Honest		.71		
Outgoing		.70		
Gentle		.70	.14	
Nice		.69		
Intelligent		.67		

Scale	Neg	Pos	Mammy	Jezebel
Better nurse			.82	
Better nanny			.80	.17
Better teacher			.78	
Better h.keeper	.18		.64	.19
Better exotic dancer	.19			.84
Better trainer	.13			.81
Better model	.13			.80
Better escort	.30		.22	.64
Means	2.32	5.11	3.05	2.33
Standard Deviations	.93	.97	1.22	1.11

Note: Neg=Mean assessment of the interviewee for negative job suitability, Pos=positive, h.keeper=she would make a better housekeeper item. Factor loadings less than .00 are not reported. Items measured on 7-point scales.

Table II

Means for Response Time Measures as a Function of Prime Condition for the African American Interviewee

	<u>Prime Condition</u>		
	Control	Mammy	Jezebel
<u>Response Time Measures</u>			
Negative adjectives	1124.48 _a	1078.62 _a	1187.86 _a
	(256.84)	(271.32)	(226.11)
Positive adjectives	1228.90 _a	1137.57 _a	1261.50 _a
	(382.49)	(317.72)	(370.75)
Mammy adjectives	1303.67 _a	1185.38 _a	1460.13 _a
	(290.26)	(310.84)	(377.42)
Jezebel adjectives	1170.99 _a	1294.36 _a	1136.64 _a
	(251.25)	(548.01)	(256.26)

Note: All response time factors were measured in milliseconds. Within each factor, shared subscripts indicate means that are not significantly different ($p \geq .05$). Standard deviations are presented in parentheses.

Table III

Means for Mammy and Jezebel Job Suitability Clusters as a Function of Prime Condition for the African American Interviewee

	<u>Type of Job</u>	
	Mammy	Jezebel
<u>Prime Condition</u>		
Mammy	2.97 _a (1.22)	3.07 _a (1.07)
Jezebel	2.48 _a (1.10)	2.25 _a (1.10)

Note: All variables were measured on a 7-point scale. Within each variable, shared subscripts indicate means that are not significantly different ($p \geq .05$). Standard deviations are presented in parentheses.

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

Figure I

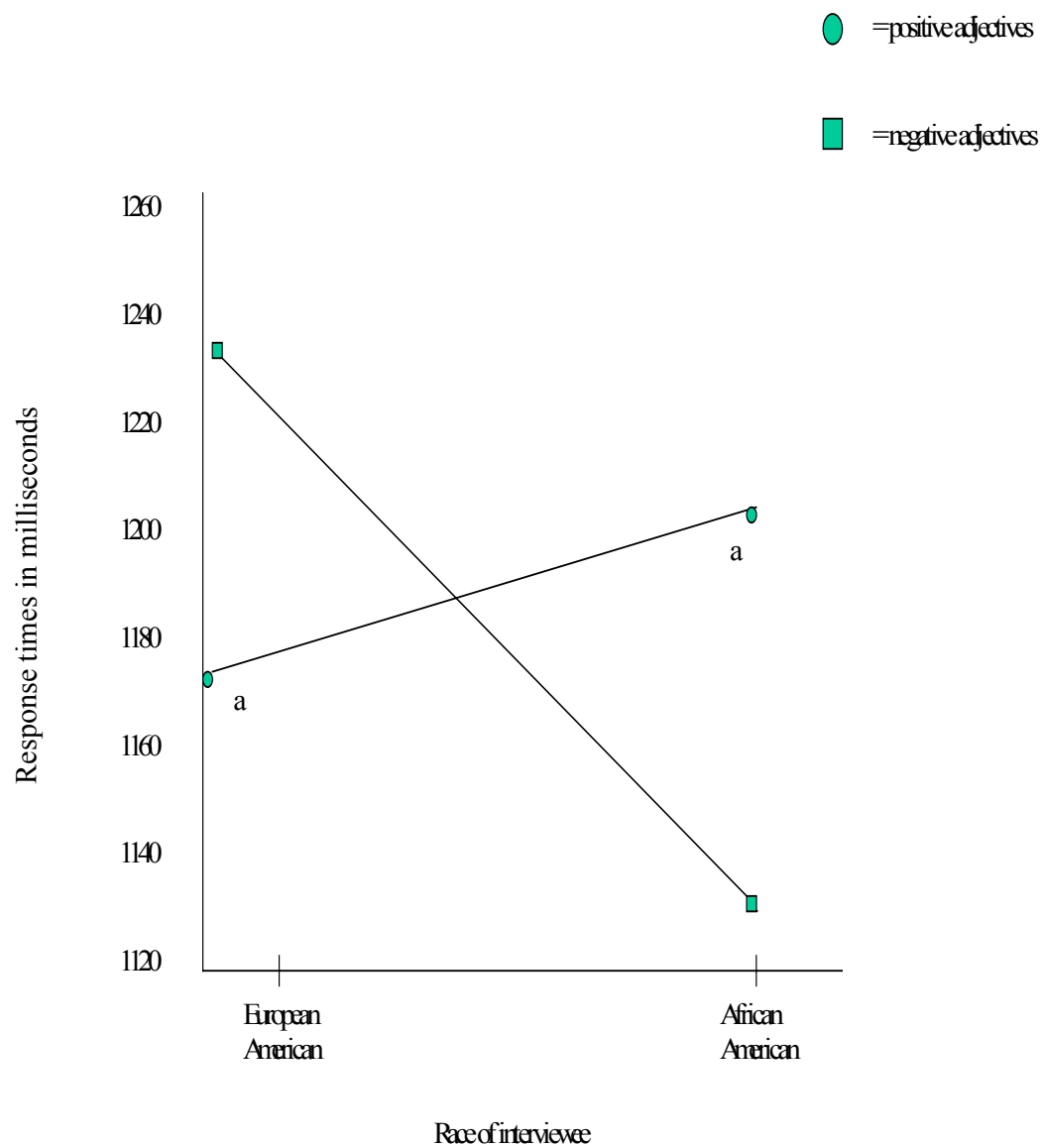
Response Times to Positive and Negative Adjectives as a Function of Interviewee Race.

Note: Higher numbers indicate slower response times. Shared subscripts indicate means that are not significantly different using Independent sample t -tests.

Figure II

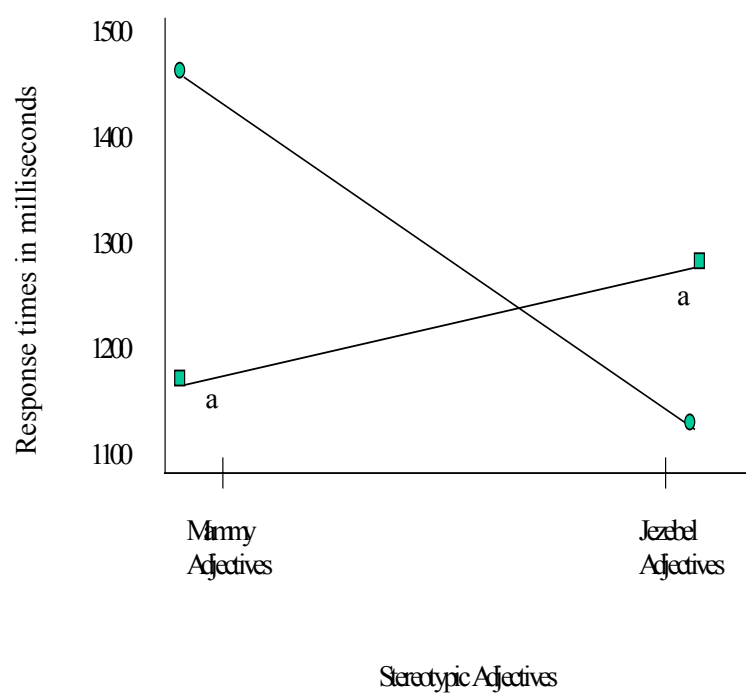
Response Times to Mammy and Jezebel Adjectives as a Function of Stereotype Prime Exposure.

Note: Higher numbers indicate slower response times. Shared subscripts indicate means that are not significantly different using Independent sample t -tests.



● = Jezebel prime condition

■ = Mimmy prime condition



APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW SCRIPT

Interview Script

Note: Underlined items indicate ambiguous statements and behaviors.
Recording will began with the interviewee knocking on a door.

Interviewer: Come in please.

Irene (Interviewee): Hi, I'm Irene Smith.

Interviewer: Hi Irene, how are you?

Irene: Fine thanks. How are you?

Interviewer: I'm fine. Please have a seat.

Irene: Walks toward an empty chair seated in front of a round table, seats herself and crosses her legs.

Interviewer: Thanks for coming in today. I see from your resume that you are applying for the position of sales representative.

Irene: That's right.

Interviewer: So, why do you want to be a sales rep.?

Irene: Well, working with people is what I do best. I enjoy taking care of the customers.

Interviewer: I'm sure you are aware that as a sales representative, you spend a lot of time alone, how would you deal with that?

Irene: What do you mean?

Interviewer: Sometimes you would be required to travel very far distances. In many cases, across the country. How would you deal with that?

Irene: Well, as I said, I'm a people person but I'm also content on my own. I feel confident that I would be able to make connections wherever this position would take me.

I make new relationships pretty easily.

Interviewer: How do you get clients to identify with you?

Irene: Well, I try to find something we both have in common and talk about how much we either like or dislike it. That usually breaks the ice.

Interviewer: OK, besides being personable. What qualifications do you have that make you think you'd be successful in this business?

Irene: [strokes hair] I have a lot of energy and ambition. You know, when I get an opportunity to travel and meet new people it's just really exciting. I just want to go and conquer new territory. In the world of sales, you have to be a go-getter. These are the qualities you learn about from working well with people – the key to a successful sales career. And I feel I have these qualities.

Interviewer: Good. So what do you see would be your greatest weakness as a sales representative?

Irene: Well I can be unorganized sometimes and I guess that could cause a problem.

Interviewer: How has this caused a problem for you in the past?

Irene: Ahh, I have missed a few meetings before because I forgot to write them in my planner, but I'm working on being more organized.

Interviewer: I see. Do you have any problem dealing with customer complaints?

Irene: No, not at all.

Interviewer: Well what kind of people do you find it easiest to sell to?

Irene: It's easier for me to persuade men than women. Women just seem to take more time. They want to weigh the costs and benefits of buying a product while men are pretty eager to place an order after a little conversation [laughs]. Maybe it's my charming personality [smiles].

Interviewer: OK. Well suppose one of your customers feels that your firm is overcharging him for an order. How would you handle this situation?

Irene: I would apologize and itemize the order until he was satisfied. Pleasing the customers is my highest priority.

Interviewer: Good. Well that about does it for me. Do you have any questions you would like to ask?

Irene: Just one. When can I expect to hear from you?

Interviewer: I have several applications to go over, so I would say in about two weeks.

Irene: Great, I look forward to hearing from you.

Interviewer: Any other questions?

Irene: No. Not at this time.

Interviewer: Thank you for coming.

Irene: Thank you for giving me the time.

Interviewer: Have a good day.

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaires

Stereotypic Association Items

Note: These following items were delivered via the Micro-experimental Lab (MEL) program.

Instructions for this stage were presented on a computer screen and read:

Now you will see a series of adjectives on this screen. You have to decide whether each adjective DESCRIBES the interviewee you've just seen or not. For example, you will see the word:

FRIENDLY

you will respond:

Yes or No

using the keys marked "Yes" and "No" on the keyboard in front of you.

Now, a series of adjectives will appear on the screen one at a time. As QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE decide whether the adjective fits the person you observed interviewing for the job or not. DO NOT SLOW DOWN. Answer as soon as you see the word, if you wait to respond you may be asked to redo this stage a second time. We are interested in your instant judgments of the interviewee.

<u>Mammy</u>	<u>Jezebel</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Filler</u>
Maternal	Sexual	Sincere	Aggressive	Shy
Loyal	Alluring	Friendly	Hostile	Fun
Devoted	Erotic	Intelligent	Lazy	Organized
Nurturing	Calculating	Honest	Passive	Hyper
Tender	Exotic	Gentle	Pushy	Boring
Stubborn	Vain	Kind	Mean	Independent
Protective	Seductive	Trustworthy	Dim-witted	Interesting
Patient	Forward	Energetic	Rude	Stable
	Sensual		Dangerous	Flexible

Job Suitability Items

Note: These items will be delivered as a paper and pencil survey and will be scaled on Likert scales ranging from 1 (Strongly Agree) to 7 (Strongly Disagree).

Positive items

She seems outgoing enough to be a sales representative.
She seems kind, she would do well in sales.
She seems persuasive enough for the job.
She seems patient enough to deal with customers.
She seems friendly enough for sales.
She seems intelligent enough to work in sales.
She seems honest enough to persuade potential customers.
She seems gentle, she would do well in sales.
She is energetic, she would be good in sales.
She seems nice enough to be in sales.

Negative items

She seems a little too hostile to have a sales job.
She seems a little too defensive to have a sales rep job.
She seems a little too lazy to have a position in sales.
She seems a little too mean for the position.
She seems a little too aggressive to work with people.
She seems a little too pushy to persuade customers.
She seems a little too untrustworthy for sales.
She seems a little too dishonest for the job.
She seems too grouchy to work with people.

Mammy items

She would do well as a cook.
She seems more appropriate as a nursery school teacher.
She seems more appropriate as a nurse.
She seems to make a better restaurant hostess.
She seems more suited for a job as a housekeeper.

Jezebel items

She would make a better swimsuit model.
She seems to make a better cocktail waitress.
She would make a better exotic dancer.
She seems more appropriate as a flight attendant.
She seems more appropriate as a cheerleader.

Filler items

She seems to be more suited for a job as a lawyer.

She would make a better personal trainer.

She seems a little too sophisticated for sales.

She seems a little too calm for a job in customer service.

She would make a better taxi driver.

She seems more appropriate as a news anchor.

She seems organized enough to be a sales rep.

She seems a little too passive to be a sales representative.

She seems a little too introverted to work with people.

She seems independent enough to do well in the job.

Consent Form

I _____ agree to participate in the research entitled "Communication through humor" and "Successful organizational communication" which is being conducted by Ms. Sonja Brown Givens and Dr. Jennifer L. Monahan of the Department of Speech Communication. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any time without penalty. I also understand that I may have the results of my participation, to the extent that they can be identified as mine, returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The following points have been explained to me:

- (1) The reason for this research is to evaluate a television comedy show and analyze a practice employment interview. I will give my "gut" reactions to each of these items. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers here, I will simply be instructed to give my opinions.
- (2) I understand that I will view two videotapes and answer questions about each over the course of this research.
- (3) In order to make this study a valid one, some information about my participation will be withheld until after the study.
- (4) No discomforts are foreseen.
- (5) No risks are foreseen.
- (6) The results of my participation will be confidential and will not be released in any individually verifiable form without my prior consent, unless required by law.
- (7) The investigator will answer any questions I may have about the research, now or during the course of the project.

PLEASE SIGN BOTH COPIES OF THIS FORM. KEEP ONE COPY FOR YOUR RECORDS AND RETURN THE OTHER TO THE INVESTIGATOR.

Signature of Investigator

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Investigator

Research at the University of Georgia which involves human participants is overseen by the Institutional Review Board. Questions or problems regarding you rights as a participant should be addressed to Julia D. Alexander, M. A. Institutional Review Board; Office of the V. P. for Research, The University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411. Telephone: (706) 542-6514. Email: JDA@ovpr.uga.edu.

Debriefing Statement

Note: Course instructors delivered this statement to students. They received it after final data collection was completed.

Thank you for your help in our research. Our study tries to bring together and investigate two topics that you may have heard a lot about: Stereotypes and Media Effects. You may think that these two topics do not have much in common, but we hope to show in our research that certain images shown to you on television can influence your judgments of people in "real-life" situations.

There has been some debate about how stereotypes work to shape our perceptions of people. Particularly for African Americans, a great deal of psychological research suggests that no matter what some people do (e.g., behave in a friendly manner), they are consistently perceived of as hostile and aggressive because the primary stereotypes for African Americans relate to danger, hostility and anger. However, another group of researchers who look at media effects have found that some stereotypes (e.g., like those for African American women) are more complicated than previously thought and they result in distinguishable evaluations of people. For instance, a "Mammy" stereotype can be perceived as positive because it relates to nurturance. On the other hand, someone who is perceived as a "Jezebel" may be viewed negatively because the stereotype relates to strong sexuality. Thus, we sought to test these perspectives against one another to determine whether stereotypes for African American women result in complex or simple judgments.

In this study you observed two videos. We planned the study so that the scenes in first video might influence your judgments of the person in the second video. For example, if you saw the video of an African American woman who was nurturing and maternal we predicted that you would judge the woman in the second video as more maternal and nurturing than people who saw another video. Conversely, if you saw an African American woman who was alluring and sexual, we predicted that you would judge the woman in the second video as more sexual than people who saw another video. However, previous research suggests that this effect will only occur if the woman in the second video was from the same racial group as the woman shown in the first. We predicted that people who saw an African American woman in the movie scenes would judge the African American woman in the interview more negatively than those who did not see the comedy skits and those who saw a European American woman in the interview.

This plan called for us to keep some information about the research from you until you completed the entire study. We know from previous research that individuals often make subconscious impressions about people they meet for the first time. In many cases, we are not aware of these impressions or the effects they have on our behaviors. Some studies even suggest that our subconscious impressions could conflict with our conscious thinking. For instance, non-prejudice individuals could behave in prejudicial ways toward others without becoming aware that they are doing so. Of course, your conscious mind can override and control such "unconscious" reactions to people. But often, we do not

really put much conscious reasoning into our actions (think about meeting someone for the first time, you just "know" whether you like them or not but can not explain why). This research agenda sought to tap into this subconscious domain of attitudes and behavior, thus it was important for us to withhold the true purpose of the study in order to allow you to make immediate decisions about the person in the interview tape rather than prepared ones. We wanted to see if the television images would affect your judgments of the interviewee in the second video. If we told you we were looking for that, you would have likely given more thought to your judgments, thus they would have changed from the "gut" reactions you reported today.

We appreciate your help with this project. We should have our final results within the next few months and would be happy to share these results with you. If you are interested, please stop by Sonja Brown Givens' office (room 226) and she will share more of the findings as they become available. We hope you understand why it was necessary for us to withhold the true nature of the study until the very end. If your conscious mind was aware of what was going on, we probably would never know what your unconscious mind "thought" of the person in the interview tape. If you would like to read more on this topic, please consult the readings listed below. Thanks again.

Sonja Brown Givens (smb1@arches.uga.edu)
Dr. Jennifer Monahan

References

- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 5-18.
- Dovidio, J., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., and Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and Controlled processes. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33, 510-540.

REFERENCES

- Banaji, M. R., Hardin, C. D., & Rothman, A. J. (1993). Implicit stereotyping in person judgment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65(2), 272-281.
- Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (1994). Implicit stereotyping and unconscious prejudice. In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olsen (Eds.), The Psychology of Prejudice: The Ontario Symposium. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (1995). Implicit stereotyping in judgments of fame. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68, 311-325.
- Bargh, J. A. (1997). The automaticity of everyday life. In Wyer, Robert S. Jr. (Ed.), (1997). The Automaticity of Everyday Life: Advances in Social Cognition. Vol. 10 (pp. 1-61). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.
- Bargh, J. A., Chen, M. & Burrows, L. (1996). The automatic evaluation effect: Unconditional automatic attitude activation with a pronunciation task. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 71 (2) 230-244.
- Bargh, J. A. & Chartrand, T. L. (2001). Studying the mind in the middle: A practical guide to priming and automaticity research. In H. Reis & C. Judd (Eds.), Handbook of Research Methods in Social Psychology. NY: Cambridge.
- Berkowitz, L., & Rogers, K. H. (1986). A priming effects analysis of media influences. In J. Bryant & D. Zillman (Eds.), Perspectives on media effects. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Blair, I.V., Banaji, M.R. (1996). Automatic and controlled processes in stereotype priming. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70(6), 1142-1163.

Bodenhausen, G., & Macrae, N. (1998). Social stereotypes and information processing strategies: The impact of task complexity. In R. S. Wyer (Ed.), Advances in Social Cognition Vol. 11. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Brewer, W. F. (2000). Bartlett's concept of the schema and its impact on theories of knowledge representation in contemporary cognitive psychology. In A. Saito (Ed.), Bartlett, Culture & Cognition, pp. 67-89. Cambridge, UK: Psychology Press.

Bogle, D. (1980). Blacks in American films and television: An encyclopedia. NY: Garland Publishing.

Bogle, D. (2001). Toms, coons, mulattoes, mammies & bucks: An interpretive history of Blacks in American films (4th ed.). NY: Continuum Publishing Group.

Chen, M., Bargh, J. A. (1997). Nonconscious behavioral confirmation processes: The self-fulfilling consequences of automatic stereotype activation. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33(5), 541-560.

Collins, P. H. (1991). Black feminist thought. NY: Routledge.

Dates, J. L., & Barlow, W. (1990). Split image: African Americans in the mass media. Washington DC: Howard University Press.

Devine, P.G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56(1), 5-18.

Dijksteruis, A., van Knippenberg, A. (1996). The knife that cuts both ways: Facilitated and inhibited access to traits as a result of stereotype activation. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 32(3), 271-288.

Dijksteruis, A., van Knippenberg, A. (1998). Judgment and memory of a criminal act: The effects of stereotypes and cognitive load. European Journal of Social Psychology, 29, 191-201.

Dines. G., Humez, J. M. (1995). Gender, Race and Class in the Media: A text-reader. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000). Race and the misrepresentation of victimization on local television news. Communication Research, 27(5), 547-573.

Dovidio, J. F., Evans, N., Tyler, R. B. (1986). Racial stereotypes: The contents of their cognitive representations. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 22(1), 22-37.

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. Psychological Science, 11(4), 315-319.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled processes. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33(5).

Dovidio, J. F., Bringham, J. C., Johnson, B. T. & Gaertner, C. (1996). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination: Another look. In Macrae C. N., Stangor C., & Miles Hewstone (Eds.) Stereotypes and stereotyping. NY: Guilford Press.

Fazio, R. H., Jackson, J. R., Dunton, B. C., & Williams, C. J. (1995). Variability in automatic activation as an unobtrusive measure of racial attitudes: A bona fide pipeline? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69(6), 1013-1027.

Ford, T. E. (1997). Effects of stereotypical television portrayals of African Americans on person perception. Social Psychology Quarterly, 60(3), 266-278.

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), Prejudice, discrimination and racism. CA: Academic Press.

Gilbert D., T., Hixon, J. G. (1991). The trouble of thinking: Activation and application of stereotypic beliefs. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60(4), 509-517.

Gray, H. (1991). Recodings: Possibilities and limitations in commercial television representations of African American culture. Quarterly Review of Film and Video, 13 (1-3), 117-130.

Gray, H. (1995). Black masculinity and visual culture. Callaloo, 18(2), 401-405.

Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. Psychological Review, 102(1), 4-27.

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74(3), 1464-1480.

Hamilton, D. L., & Sherman, J. W. (1994). Stereotypes. In Wyer, R. S. and Srull T. K. (Eds.) Handbook of Social Cognition Vol. 2: Applications. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. (1990).

Hansen, C. H. (1989). Priming sex-role stereotypic event schemas with rock music videos: Effects on impression favorability, trait inferences, and recall of a subsequent male-female interaction. Journal of Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 10, 371-391.

Hansen, C. H., & Hansen, R. D. (1988). Priming stereotypic appraisal of social interactions: How rock music videos can change what's seen when boy meets girl. Sex Roles, 19, 287-316.

Hansen, C. H. & Hansen, R. D. (1990). The influence of sex and violence on the appeal of rock music videos. Communication Research, 17(2), 212-234.

Hansen, C. H. & Hansen, R. D. (1990). Rock music videos and antisocial behavior. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 11(4), 357-369.

Hansen, C. H. & Hansen, R. D. (1991). Schematic information processing of heavy metal lyrics. Communication Research, 18, 373-411.

Hansen, C. H., & Krygowski, W. (1994). Arousal-augmented priming effects: Rock music videos and sex object schemas. Communication Research, 21(1), 24-47.

Harris, R. J. (1999). A cognitive psychology of mass communication. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

hooks, b. (1992). Black looks: Race and representation. Boston: South End Press.

Jhally, S., & Lewis, J. (1992). Enlightened racism: The Cosby Show, audiences and the myth of the American dream. CO: Westview Press.

Jones, J. (2000). African American women and the media: An overview. Boston: South End Press.

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. British Journal of Social Psychology, 33, 1-27.

Kellner, D. (1995). Cultural studies, muticulturalism and media culture. In Dines, G. and Humez, J. M. (Eds.), Gender, Race and Class in Media: A text-reader. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Mayall, A., Russell, D. E. H. (1990). Racism in pornography. In Russell, D. E. H. (Ed.), Making Violence Sexy. NY: Teachers College Press.

McKenzie-Mohr, D., & Zanna, M. P. (1990). Treating women as sexual objects: Look to the (gender schematic) male who has viewed pornography. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 16, 296-308.

Murphy, S. T., Monahan, J. L., & Zajonc, R. B. (1995). Additivity of nonconscious affect: Combined effects of priming and exposure. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69(4), 589-602.

Murphy, S. T. Zajonc, R. B. (1993). Affect, cognition, and awareness: Affective priming with optimal and suboptimal stimulus exposures. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64(5), 723-739.

Oliver, M. B. (1996). Influences of authoritarianism and portrayals of race on Caucasian viewers' responses to reality-based crime dramas. Communication Reports, 9(2), 141-149.

Omi, M., Winant, H. (1986). Racial formation in the United States from the 1960's to the 1980's. NY: Routledge.

Perdue, C. W., Dovidio, J. F., Gurtman, M. B., & Tyler, R. B. (1990). "Us" and "Them": Social categorization and the process of intergroup bias. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59, 475-486.

Power, J. G., Murphy, S. T., Coover, G. (1996). Priming prejudice: How stereotypes and counter-stereotypes influence attribution of responsibility and credibility among ingroups and outgroups. Human Communication Research, 23(1), 36-58.

Reid, P. T. (1979). Racial stereotyping on television: A comparison of the behavior of both black and white television characters. Journal of Applied Psychology, 64(5), 465-471.

Ruggiero, K. M., Mitchell, J. P., Krieger, N., Marx, D. M., & Lorenzo, M. L. (2000). Now you see it, now you do not: Explicit versus implicit measures of the personal/group discrimination discrepancy. Psychological Science, 11(6), 511-514.

Shohat, E., & Stam, R. (1997). Communication media and society. In C. C. Wilson & F. Gutierrez (Eds.) Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media. England: Routledge.

Spencer, S. J., Fein, S., Wolfe, C. T., Fong, C., Dunn, M. A. (1998). Automatic activation of stereotypes: The role of self-image threat. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 24(11), 1139-1152.

Turner, P. A. (1994). Ceramic uncles & celluloid mummies: Black images and their influence on culture. NJ: AnchorBooks.

Van Knippenberg, A., Dijksterhuis, A., & Vermeulen, D. (1999). Judgment and memory of a criminal act: The effects of stereotypes and cognitive load. European Journal of Social Psychology, 29, 191-201.

Weigel, R. H., Eleanor, K. L., & Frost, J. L. (1995). Race relations on prime time television reconsidered: Patterns of continuity and change. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 25, 223-236.

Wilson, G. L., & Goodall, H. L. (1991). Interviewing in context. NY: McGraw-Hill.

Wilson, C. C., & Gutierrez, F. (1996). Race, multiculturalism and the media: From mass to class communication. CA: Sage.

Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1997). Evidence for racial prejudice at the implicit level and its relationship with questionnaire measures. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72(2), 262-274.

Wyer, R. S. & Srull, T. K. (1994). Handbook of Social Cognition Volume 2: Applications. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Wyer, N. A., Sherman, J. W., & Stroessner, S. J. (1998). The spontaneous suppression of racial stereotypes. Social Cognition, 16(3), 340-352.

Zarate, M. A., & Smith, E. R. (1990). Person categorization and stereotyping. Social Cognition, 8, 161-185.