

Level of Prejudice in Relation to Knowledge of Cultural Stereotypes

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The major aim of the present research was to examine if knowledge of cultural stereotypes about minority groups within society is virtually universal (Devine, 1989) or whether such knowledge is influenced by the perceiver's level of prejudice (cf. Krueger, 1996). In three studies, in which multiple measures of racial prejudice were used, it was shown that level of prejudice does relate to perception of cultural stereotypes. High-prejudiced people believed that the cultural stereotypes of Moroccan and Surinamese people in The Netherlands are more negative and less positive in content than low-prejudiced people did. It is argued that previous research may have failed, at least in part, to detect clear differences between low- and high-prejudiced people because it relied on the relatively insensitive Modern Racism questionnaire in order to measure prejudice. © 2001 Academic Press

Is knowledge of cultural stereotypes about minority groups within society virtually universal, or is such knowledge dependent on the perceiver's own level of prejudice? This question is the concern of the present research.

According to Devine (1989) people do share knowledge of cultural stereotypes. She argued that stereotypes of social groups are well known by all members of society, regardless of the individual's level of prejudice concerning these groups. Through exposure and social learning stereotypes become strongly associated with their target group. As a consequence, stereotypes will be automatically activated upon encountering group members, independent of the level of prejudice of the individual. In order to test whether low- and high-prejudiced people have equal knowledge of the cultural stereotype, Devine (1989: Experiment 1) asked participants to freely list stereotypes toward African Americans, regardless of their personal beliefs. To measure their level of prejudice, participants also completed the Modern Racism questionnaire (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). In line with her model, Devine's conclusion was that "high- and low-prejudiced persons are indeed equally knowledgeable of the cultural stereotype" (p. 8).

Most researchers agree with Devine (1989) that stereo-

types of minority groups are well known by all members of society, regardless of the individual's own beliefs. For example, Lepore and Brown (1997) replicated her findings within the British context by examining whether low- and high-prejudiced people have similar knowledge about the cultural stereotype of Black people in the United Kingdom. Prejudice was measured with a scale that combined the Modern Racism questionnaire with a few items from the Subtle/blatant Racism questionnaire (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) and a few items from the Resistance to Affirmative Action questionnaire (Jacobson, 1985). In line with Devine's predictions concerning cultural stereotypes, it was shown that "high- and low-prejudice people substantially share the same knowledge of such stereotypes" (p. 278). Augustinos, Ahrens, and Innes (1994) replicated the findings of Devine within the Australian context. They measured prejudice with a version of the Modern Racism questionnaire that was adapted for use in the Australian context. On the basis of their findings they argued that "knowledge of the aboriginal stereotype is largely independent of prejudicial beliefs" (p. 129).

On the basis of these findings many researchers have concluded that low- and high-prejudiced people have relatively equal knowledge of cultural stereotypes of minority groups within their country. However, there is another perspective that predicts different outcomes, that is Krueger's (1996) model of social projection. According to this model, "people tend to believe that others feel, think, and act as they themselves do" (p. 536). Social perceivers are therefore likely to use their personal beliefs as a basis for their

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estimates about cultural stereotypes. In line with this model, Krueger showed that people's personal beliefs about group characteristics predicted what they believed to be the cultural stereotype of that group. They overestimated the extent to which others shared their personal beliefs. Thus, self-reported personal beliefs about stereotypes and perceived cultural stereotypes are related. When also considering the fact that level of prejudice is predictive of self-reported *personal* beliefs, as Devine (1989: Experiment 3) showed, it could be inferred that prejudice and perception of cultural stereotypes are associated as well. If so, why did Devine (1989), Lepore and Brown (1997), and Augustinos et al. (1994) not find such a relation?

Perhaps no influence of prejudice level has been found due to the way it was measured. That is, all these studies relied on the Modern Racism questionnaire in order to measure level of prejudice. Although this questionnaire is the most widely used measure of self-reported prejudice, it has also been criticized with respect to its validity (Guglielmi, 1999; see also Kunda, 1999). For example, Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, and Williams (1995; see also Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986) argued that prejudice and political conservatism are confounded in the questionnaire. As a result, individuals who are not prejudiced will appear to be so because they have conservative views. Moreover, Fazio et al. (1995) showed that the scale is reactive, as it is subject to social desirability concerns. One reason for this might be that the Modern Racism questionnaire is outdated (see also Biernat & Crandall, 1999; Kunda, 1999; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995).

Taking these considerations into account, the aim of the current research was to test again whether knowledge of cultural stereotypes is dependent on one's level of prejudice. However, in comparison to former studies that have tested this relationship by measuring prejudice with the Modern Racism questionnaire, we also measured prejudice using other recently developed racism questionnaires. For example, we included the Subtle/Blatant Racism questionnaire by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995), who developed this questionnaire in order to combine different aspects of prejudice. The more covert aspects of prejudice are (1) the defense of traditional values, (2) the exaggeration of cultural differences, and (3) the denial of positive emotions. The more blatant aspects of prejudice are perceived threat from and rejection of the out-group and the opposition of intimate contact with the out-group.

We also included a recently published questionnaire that was developed in order to measure prejudice-related discrepancies (Monteith & Voils, 1998). This questionnaire comprises of two separate scales, which measure two different aspects of prejudice: The Prejudiced Standard scale assesses the individuals' personal standards with respect to how one should feel and behave towards the minority group within different situations. The Prejudiced Behavior scale

assesses the individuals' self-reported actual behavior and feelings with respect to the minority group within different situations. Instead of looking at discrepancies, we used these two scales as independent measures of prejudice, and examined their predictive power with respect to the perception of cultural stereotypes.

In Study 1, we replicated Devine's study (1989: Experiment 1) within the Dutch context by examining whether low- and high-prejudiced people have similar knowledge about the cultural stereotype of Moroccan people in The Netherlands. In Studies 2 and 3, it was examined whether low- and high-prejudiced people have similar knowledge about the cultural stereotype of Surinamese people in The Netherlands. We chose these two minority groups because we expect that the content of cultural stereotypes about them will be quite distinct (cf. Dijker, Koomen, van den Heuvel, & Frijda, 1996). Dijker et al. (1996) argued that this might be the consequence of the different position Moroccans and Surinamese have in Dutch society. Moroccans were originally recruited as guest workers in The Netherlands in the 1970s for low-wage jobs that Dutch people did not want to do. However, many of them settled down with their families, especially in bigger cities such as Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Moroccans form a quite isolated but salient Islamic minority, of which many do not speak Dutch. Surinamese people, of which the most salient group is Black, are a more integrated minority within Dutch society. Surinam is a former colony of The Netherlands. Therefore, Surinamese people speak Dutch and share to a large extent the same culture, although their skin color and social economical background is different. Showing a similar influence of prejudice on the perception of cultural stereotypes for such different minority groups will strengthen our findings.

STUDY 1

Method

Fifty Dutch students of the University of Amsterdam (18 males and 32 females; mean age = 20.88, *SD* = 2.60) participated in the study, for which they received 15 guilders (about \$U.S. 7.5). Participants were invited to the laboratory, where they were seated in front of personal computers in separate rooms. Because the experiment was carried out via the computer, all instructions, experimental information and questions appeared on the screen. Answers were given via the keyboard. First, instructions were given about using the computer and participants were asked to type their age and their gender. For the first task, Devine's instructions (1989: Experiment 1) were translated and made relevant to the Dutch context: Participants were told that the purpose was to better understand stereotypes. They were asked to list the content of the cultural stereotypes of Moroccan people. It was emphasized that the researchers were

TABLE 1
Findings of Study 1 ($N = 50$)

	Correlations between prejudice scales			Correlations between prejudice scales and listed stereotypes***		
	Subtle/Blatant	Prejudiced Standard	Prejudiced Behavior	Positive Stereotype	Negative Stereotype	Negative-Positive
Modern Racism	.48**	.38**	.43**	-.25	.04	.25
Subtle/Blatant		.75**	.78**	-.26	.22	.35*
Prejudiced Standard			.78**	-.16	.32*	.32*
Prejudiced Behavior				-.15	.32*	.31*

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** A positive correlation implies that higher prejudiced participants are more likely to believe that these categories are part of the cultural stereotype than lower prejudiced people.

not interested in their personal views, but in the views they think Dutch people have of Moroccan people.

After this task, participants filled in several prejudice questionnaires that were presented in random order. The questionnaires were Dutch translations of the Modern Racism questionnaire (McConahay, 1986: reported in Jones, 1997),¹ the Subtle/Blatant Racism questionnaire (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), and the Prejudiced Standard and Prejudiced Behavior questionnaires (Monteith & Voils, 1998). Of course, all questionnaires concerned Moroccans in the Netherlands. All answers were given on 9-point Likert scales (1 = *absolutely disagree* to 9 = *absolutely agree*).

Results

All prejudice questionnaires were reliable (Modern Racism questionnaire: $\alpha = .72$; Subtle/Blatant Racism questionnaire: $\alpha = .85$; Prejudiced Standard questionnaire: $\alpha = .87$; Prejudiced Behavior questionnaire: $\alpha = .88$). As shown in Table 1, all scales significantly correlate with each other. However, the correlations between the Modern Racism questionnaire and the other questionnaires are somewhat lower than the correlations between the other three questionnaires.

Two independent judges coded individual responses in relevant categories. Multiple responses in one category were counted only once. If the same concept was mentioned using different words, it was coded only once in that cate-

gory. The judges agreed on 83% of their responses; disagreement was solved through discussion. Because the focus of the current research was to study the shared perception of cultural stereotypes, it was decided to carry out analyses on categories that were mentioned by at least 20% of the participants (i.e., criminal, 70%; unadjusted, 52%; lazy, 42%; sexist, 32%; hardworking, 25%; family-oriented, 24%; aggressive, 20%).

To examine the relation between the mentioned categories and the prejudice questionnaires, categories which were positive (measured on 9-point Likert scales; 1 = *negative* to 9 = *positive*) according to a post hoc test with 60 other participants (family-oriented, $M = 6.78$, and hardworking, $M = 6.43$) were combined into a positive cultural stereotype scale. The negative categories (criminal, $M = 1.68$; unadjusted, $M = 3.52$; lazy, $M = 3.08$; sexist, $M = 1.62$; and aggressive, $M = 2.27$) were combined into a negative cultural stereotype scale. Correlational analyses were carried out to examine whether higher prejudiced participants have a different conception of the Moroccan cultural stereotype with respect to valence compared to lower prejudiced participants. Results revealed positive correlations for all prejudice questionnaires between level of prejudice and the difference between negative and positive stereotypic categories indicating that higher prejudiced participants reported more negative than positive stereotypic categories compared to lower prejudiced participants (see Table 1). However, this correlation was not significantly different from zero when level of prejudice was measured by the Modern Racism questionnaire.

Discussion

Study 1 showed that higher prejudiced persons mentioned more negative and less positive categories than lower prejudiced persons did. This indicates that knowledge of cul-

¹ Devine (1989: Exp. 1), Augustinos et al. (1994), and Lepore and Brown (1996) used an earlier version of the Modern Racism questionnaire (i.e., McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981), which included a seventh item concerning school desegregation. However, we used a later version of the Modern Racism questionnaire (McConahay, 1986, as reported in Jones, 1997), which does not include this item. This item was not used in the translation because it is not relevant to the Dutch context and also because it has been argued that this item is outdated (Biernat & Crandall, 1999).

TABLE 2
Findings of Study 2 ($N = 58$)

	Correlations between prejudice scales			Correlations between prejudice scales and listed stereotypes***		
	Subtle/ Blatant	Prejudiced Standard	Prejudiced Behavior	Positive Stereotype	Negative Stereotype	Negative- Positive
Modern Racism	.44**	.38**	.38**	.04	.10	.11
Subtle/ Blatant		.63**	.72**	-.11	.36*	.36*
Prejudiced Standard			.87**	-.16	.33*	.37*
Prejudiced Behavior				-.24	.33*	.42*

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** A positive correlation implies that higher prejudiced participants are more likely to believe that these categories are part of the cultural stereotype than lower prejudiced people.

tural stereotypes is dependent on one's level of prejudice. This conclusion is not in line with previous research by Devine (1989), Augustinos et al. (1994), as well as Lepore and Brown (1997), who showed that high- and low-prejudiced persons appeared to be relatively equally knowledgeable of the cultural stereotype of minority groups within society.

Perhaps former research was not able to detect differences between low- and high-prejudiced people with respect to their knowledge of stereotypes because the Modern Racism questionnaire was used. In the current research, this questionnaire did not reveal significant differences in knowledge of cultural stereotypes, while the other questionnaires did. This may suggest that the Modern Racism questionnaire is a less sensitive prejudice measure. Still, some people might argue that the Modern Racism questionnaire fails to discriminate solely because its items are not applicable to the Moroccan situation in The Netherlands. However, the correlations between the Modern Racism questionnaire and the Prejudiced Standard and Prejudiced Behavior questionnaires (.38 and .43, respectively) are almost equal to correlations that were found between these questionnaires (.38 and .41, respectively) by Monteith (1996) in the United States. Moreover, the Prejudiced Standard and Prejudiced Behavior questionnaires are strongly correlated with the Subtle/Blatant questionnaire (.75 and .78, respectively) that was developed in The Netherlands by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). Together, this suggests that the Modern Racism questionnaire is as appropriate for the Dutch context as it is for the American context.

In order to find more evidence for the conclusions of Study 1 regarding knowledge of cultural stereotypes and level of prejudice, Study 2 was carried out to seek to replicate these results with respect to the cultural stereotype of Surinamese people.

STUDY 2

Method

Fifty-eight Dutch students of the University of Amsterdam (21 males and 37 females; mean age = 21.14, $SD = 2.37$) participated in the study, for which they received 15 guilders (about \$U.S. 7.5). Procedures were similar to Study 1. However, this time participants were asked to list the content of the cultural stereotypes of Surinamese people. As in Study 1, it was emphasized that the researchers were not interested in the personal views of participants, but in the views they think Dutch people have of Surinamese people.

Results

All prejudice questionnaires were reliable (Modern Racism questionnaire, $\alpha = .62$; Subtle/Blatant Racism questionnaire, $\alpha = .81$; Prejudiced Standard questionnaire, $\alpha = .89$; Prejudiced Behavior questionnaire, $\alpha = .89$). As shown in Table 2, and in line with Study 1, all scales significantly correlate with each other. However, also in line with Study 1, the correlations between the Modern Racism questionnaire and the other questionnaires are somewhat lower than the correlations between the other three questionnaires.

The same coding procedure was carried out as in Study 1. The two independent judges agreed on 89% of their responses; disagreement was solved through discussion. Correlational analyses were carried out on categories that were mentioned by at least 20% of all participants (i.e., lazy, 59%; criminal, 43%; happy, 43%; good food, 38%; loud, 31%; "gezellig,"² 31%; family-oriented, 24%; hospitable, 21%).

² *Gezellig* is a Dutch word that has no direct translation in English, although "cozy" captures part of the meaning. This word refers to (being

To examine the relation between the mentioned categories and the prejudice questionnaires, categories which are positive (measured on 9-point Likert scales; 1 = *negative* to 9 = *positive*) according to a post hoc test with 60 other participants (happy, $M = 7.50$; good food, $M = 6.35$; "gezellig" (see footnote 2), $M = 7.40$; family-oriented, $M = 6.78$; and hospitable, $M = 7.38$) are combined into a positive cultural stereotype scale. The negative categories (criminal, $M = 1.68$; loud, $M = 3.92$; and lazy, $M = 3.08$) are combined into a negative cultural stereotype scale. Correlational analyses were carried out to examine whether higher prejudiced participants have a different conception of the Surinamese cultural stereotype with respect to valence compared to lower prejudiced participants. Results revealed that higher prejudiced participants reported more negative and less positive stereotypic categories compared to lower prejudiced participants (see Table 2). However, this appeared not to be true when the Modern Racism questionnaire was used to measure prejudice. In this case, no significant correlations were found between level of prejudice and valence of the categories. Moreover, t tests for examining the differences between dependent correlations (see Steiger, 1980) revealed that the correlation between level of prejudice and the valence of the mentioned categories obtained with the Modern Racism questionnaire is significantly lower than the correlations obtained with the Subtle/Blatant questionnaire [$t(58) = 1.86$; $p < .05$], the Prejudiced Standard questionnaire [$t(58) = 1.82$; $p < .05$], or the Prejudiced Behavior questionnaire [$t(58) = 2.23$; $p < .05$].

Discussion

In line with Study 1, it was shown that most prejudice questionnaires do show differences in knowledge of the cultural stereotype between low- and high-prejudiced people. That is, higher prejudiced people think that the cultural stereotype of Surinamese people is more negative than positive in content compared to lower prejudiced people. This finding disconfirms again earlier findings that knowledge of cultural stereotypes is not dependent on one's level of prejudice (e.g., Devine, 1989; Augustinos et al., 1994; Lepore & Brown, 1997). Moreover, it appears that the Modern Racism questionnaire is a less sensitive measure of prejudice than the other questionnaires we used because it is less able to detect differences between low- and high-prejudiced people.

One important feature of the first two studies is that, in line with research by Devine (1989), Augustinos et al. (1994), and Lepore and Brown (1997), they used a free response task in order to assess knowledge of cultural

stereotypes. According to Devine (1989), this can be seen as a rather sensitive way of assessing stereotypes because no cues, such as a list of possible characteristics, are provided. As a result, people may be less likely to control their beliefs regarding stereotypes. On the other hand, people may be more hesitant to reveal their thoughts when they are specifically asked to list the content of the cultural stereotype. If people are indeed motivated to respond in a less prejudiced manner, it will be more difficult to find differences as a function of level of prejudice with the Modern Racism questionnaire, which has been shown to be a reactive measure (Fazio et al., 1995).

In Study 3 it is therefore examined whether it is possible to detect differences in knowledge of the cultural stereotype as a function of prejudice level when the categories, which were listed in Study 2, are presented as items.

STUDY 3

Method

Fifty-seven Dutch students of the University of Amsterdam (24 males and 33 females; mean age = 21.84, $SD = 3.27$) participated in the study, for which they received 15 guilders (about \$U.S. 7.5). Procedures were largely similar to those used in Studies 1 and 2. However, this time participants were asked to judge to what extent they think that Dutch people associate several traits with Surinamese people on 9-point Likert scales (1 = *Dutch people absolutely do not associate this trait with Surinamese people* to 9 = *Dutch people absolutely do associate this trait with Surinamese people*). As in Studies 1 and 2, it was emphasized that the researchers were not interested in the personal views of participants, but in the views they think Dutch people have of Surinamese people. Participants had to judge the five positive and three negative categories that were mentioned in Study 2 as well as 28 filler categories.

Results

All prejudice questionnaires were reliable (Modern Racism questionnaire, $\alpha = .71$; Subtle/Blatant Racism questionnaire, $\alpha = .81$; Prejudiced Standard questionnaire, $\alpha = .83$; Prejudiced Behavior questionnaire, $\alpha = .86$). As shown in Table 3, and in line with Studies 1 and 2, all questionnaires significantly correlate with each other. However, also in line with Studies 1 and 2, the correlations between the Modern Racism questionnaire and the other questionnaires are somewhat lower than the correlations between the other three questionnaires.

Comparable to Study 2 a positive cultural stereotype scale and a negative cultural stereotype scale were computed. Correlational analyses were carried out to examine whether higher prejudiced participants have a different conception of the Surinamese cultural stereotype with respect to

able to create) a good atmosphere between people. Both people and situations or places can be *gezellig*.

TABLE 3
Findings of Study 3 ($N = 57$)

	Correlations between prejudice scales			Correlations between prejudice scales and listed stereotypes***		
	Subtle/ Blatant	Prejudiced Standard	Prejudiced Behavior	Positive Stereotype	Negative Stereotype	Negative- Positive
Modern Racism	.39**	.28**	.33**	-.34	.07	.37*
Subtle/ Blatant		.60**	.64**	-.04	.38*	.43*
Prejudiced Standard			.77**	-.26*	.06	.28*
Prejudiced Behavior				-.22	.07	.26*

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** A positive correlation implies that higher prejudiced participants are more likely to believe that these categories are part of the cultural stereotype than lower prejudiced people.

valence compared to lower prejudiced participants. Results, which are reported in Table 3, revealed that higher prejudiced participants compared to lower prejudiced participants believed that negative cultural stereotypic categories are more strongly associated with Surinamese people than positive cultural stereotypic categories. Interestingly, this pattern of results was obtained for all prejudice questionnaires, including the Modern Racism questionnaire.

Discussion

Findings of Study 3 largely replicated the results of the former studies. Higher prejudiced people believe that negative cultural stereotypes compared to positive cultural stereotypes are more strongly associated with Surinamese people than do lower prejudiced people. In contrast to the first two studies, this pattern of apparent influence of prejudice level on knowledge of cultural stereotypes was also clearly found with the Modern Racism questionnaire. The main difference between the first two studies and Study 3 is that in Study 3 the cultural stereotypic categories were presented to the participants rather than having them spontaneously list the stereotypic attributes. This method of assessing cultural stereotypes may have accounted for the fact that the Modern Racism questionnaire was capable of detecting significant differences between lower and higher prejudiced people. For any case, this finding strengthens our conclusion that the perception of cultural stereotypes is dependent on the perceiver's own level of prejudice.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The major aim of the present research was to examine to what extent knowledge of cultural stereotypes about minor-

ity groups within society is virtually universal. It was tested whether people who are prejudiced with respect to a certain minority group perceive the cultural stereotype about this group in a different way than people who are less prejudiced. In contrast to findings by Devine (1989), Augustinos et al. (1994), and Lepore and Brown (1997), we argued that prejudice might have an influence on one's knowledge of cultural stereotypes. We based this argument on several considerations. For one, Krueger (1996) has shown that personal beliefs are predictive of beliefs regarding cultural stereotypes. When also considering the fact that level of prejudice predicts one's personal beliefs concerning the stereotyped group (Devine, 1989: Experiment 3), it seems likely that prejudice level and knowledge of cultural stereotypes are also related to some extent. In line with this reasoning, the three current studies showed that high-prejudiced people believed that the cultural stereotypes of Moroccan and Surinamese people in The Netherlands are more negative and less positive in content than low-prejudiced people did. These findings were obtained both with a free response method (Study 1 and Study 2) and with closed-ended questions (Study 3).

Importantly, these findings do contradict the argument that there should be no influence of one's prejudices with respect to knowledge of cultural stereotypes because they are well known by all members of society due to exposure and social learning (Devine, 1989). In line with this argument, Devine found no effects of prejudice level on knowledge of cultural stereotypes, nor did several other researchers testing this hypothesis (Augustinos et al., 1994; Lepore & Brown, 1997). What may have accounted for these divergent findings? One possible explanation could be that the Dutch situation is different from that in other countries. That is, one may argue that Americans are more aware of the

cultural stereotype of African Americans, and Australians are more aware of the cultural stereotype of Aboriginals, than the Dutch are with respect to the cultural stereotypes of Moroccans and Surinamese. There has been a long history of intergroup relations between European Americans and African Americans in the United States and between Aboriginals and European immigrants in Australia. However, Surinamese and Moroccan people only immigrated to The Netherlands after World War II, and therefore, knowledge of cultural stereotypes may be similar to a lesser extent by the members of society.

There are, however, at least two arguments against this line of reasoning. First, Lepore and Brown (1997) obtained similar results as Devine (1989) regarding the knowledge of cultural stereotypes of West Indians in the United Kingdom. The position of West Indians in Britain is quite similar to the position of Surinamese people in The Netherlands. The Netherlands and the United Kingdom both had colonies in South and Central America, and they both used African people as slaves in these colonies during the 19th century. After World War II, many people who lived in these former colonies emigrated to the countries that had colonized their countries. The history of intergroup relations between immigrants from the former colonies and the inhabitants of The Netherlands and the United Kingdom is therefore likely to be quite similar, and consequently, also the development of cultural stereotypes with respect to the immigrants. As such, it is difficult to maintain that different findings are the result of different kinds of stereotypes. Second, it should be noted that the current research showed a similar pattern of results with respect to knowledge of cultural stereotypes of two very different minority groups in The Netherlands. Although the history of intergroup relations with Dutch people is very different for these two groups, as well as the content of the cultural stereotypes, influence of prejudice level on knowledge of these stereotypes is quite similar.

Another explanation for the divergent research findings may be found in the way in which prejudice is measured. Previous research which showed that prejudice does not moderate knowledge of cultural stereotypes questionnaire (Devine, 1989; Augustinos et al., 1994; Lepore & Brown, 1997) has measured prejudice with the Modern Racism questionnaire. However, in the current research prejudice is measured with several questionnaires. In addition to the Modern Racism questionnaire, the Subtle/Blatant Racism questionnaire by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) and the Prejudiced Behavior and Prejudiced Standard questionnaires by Monteith and Voils (1998) also were included. In line with former research, the first two studies, which were replications of Study 1 by Devine (1989), showed no significant influence of level of prejudice with respect to knowledge of the cultural stereotype when prejudice was measured with the Modern Racism questionnaire. However, when the other prejudice questionnaires were used a signif-

icant moderating effect of prejudice was found. Moreover, in Study 2 the correlation between level of prejudice and valence of the cultural stereotype was significantly lower for the Modern Racism questionnaire than for the other questionnaires. Only when positive and negative words had to be rated with respect to the extent that people believed that they were part of the cultural stereotype did the Modern Racism questionnaire show a significant relation between level of prejudice and knowledge of cultural stereotypes.

When considering the fact that the Modern Racism questionnaire has been criticized with respect to its validity (Fazio et al., 1995; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986), it could be argued that this questionnaire may not be sensitive enough to detect clear differences in knowledge of cultural stereotypes as a function of level of prejudice when the free response method is used. Only when knowledge of cultural stereotypes was measured by presenting people a list of possible characteristics was the Modern Racism questionnaire clearly capable of detecting differences between lower and higher prejudiced people. Perhaps in this case the Modern Racism questionnaire is able to clearly differentiate as a function of prejudice because this rating method is a less reactive method than the free response method. The free response method may be a rather reactive method of assessing knowledge of cultural stereotypes, as people may be hesitant to spontaneously (without being prompted by specific traits such as "lazy" or "criminal") reveal their thoughts. In this latter case, it could be more difficult to find differences as a function of level of prejudice with a questionnaire that is subject to social desirability effects, such as the Modern Racism questionnaire (cf. Fazio et al., 1995). Future research could further examine this issue.

For now, the most important conclusion of this research is that level of prejudice does relate to people's perceptions of cultural stereotypes about minority groups within society. This has been shown by assessing knowledge of two different cultural stereotypes both via open-ended responses and rating scales and by including multiple racial prejudice measures.

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