**Ethnic Stereotypes of Filipino
Children and their Parents**

Renato Y. Pablo and Richard C. Gardner

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In 1933, Katz and Braly operationally defined the concept Ethnic Stereotype in terms of the consensus among members of one ethnic group concerning attributes which characterize another ethnic group.[1] Their assessment technique required subjects to select adjectives which characterized an ethnic group. The stereotype for a group in question was then defined by the adjectives chosen most frequently. An annotated bibliography of ethnic stereotype studies reveals that a majority of the assessments were conducted in North America.[2] Similar research, nonetheless, has progressed in Australia, Hawaii, India, Japan and Taiwan.[3] However, with the exception of one or two studies. there are no known

1. D. Katz and K.W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students," *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology* 28 (1933): 280-90.

2. R.C. Gardner and P.T. Savage, "Ethnic Stereotypes: An Annotated Bibliography," *Research Bulletin* (University of Western Ontario, 1970).

3. See J.W. Berry, "The Stereotypes of Australian States," *Australian Journal of Psychology* 21 (1969): 227-33; W.E. Vinacke, "Explorations in the Dynamic Processes of Stereotyping," *Journal of Social Psychology* 43 (1956): 105-32; S. Chandra, "Stereotypes of University Students Toward Different Ethnic Groups," *Journal of Social Psychology* 71 (1967): 87-94: U. Jain, "A Study of Stereotype of College Students and Teachers Toward Themselves and Seven Other National Groups," *Indian Psychol Rev* 3 (1967): 134-39; Abate and Verrien, "Validation of Stereotypes: Japanese vs. American Students," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 7 (1967): 435-38; J. Goldman Hicks and J, King, "Attitudes Toward Negroes and Stereotypes About Americans Among Chinese Students in Taiwan and the United States," *Journal of Social Psychology* 76 (1968): 139-41.

4. R.C. Gardner, D.M. Kirby, F.H. Gorospe and A.E. Villamin, "Ethnic Stereotypes: An Alternative Assessment Technique, the Stereotype Differential," *Journal of Social Psychology* 87 (1972): 259-67. See also Rodolfo A. Bulatao, *Ethnic Attitudes in Five Philippine Cities* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 1973).

studies reporting the stereotypes of various groups held by a Philippine sample.[4]

Although subsequent studies using the Katz and Braly technique have consistently demonstrated that subjects of different sexes, ages, and cultures tend to adopt stereotypes about various ethnic groups with a high degree of consensus, the nature and the process by which they are acquired and developed are as yet little understood. There is the contention that children acquire their first picture of ethnic groups from the immediate milieu, that is their parents.[5] Lambert and Klineberg for example, noted that parents were the most important source of information among young children on how they view foreign peoples.[6] Masangkay, Villorente, Sumcio, Reyes, and Taylor also reported a relationship between a mother's impressions of specific groups and those of her children.[7] Whereas parents may provide the basic impressions of people, the extent and direction in which the children subscribe to their stereotype still remain unclear. Do children in fact acquire the stereotype of the adult community? More specifically, do their stereotypes become more similar with those of their parents as they grow older? Two studies have attempted to answer these queries. An investigation of the stereotypes of children from the elementary grades to high school by Blake and Dennis led them to generalize that a gradual differentiation of stereotypes of the adult community takes place among the children.[8] They concluded that "with increasing age the child approaches the adult differentiation of racial traits."[9] Their data do not, however, substantiate this conclusion since an adult sample with which the children's stereotypes could be compared was not tested. In the second study, an actual comparison of the stereotype of children of increasing ages and an adult sample was conducted. Kirby and Gardner obtained the stereotypes about English-Canadians, French-

5. Mary E. Goodman, *Race Awareness in Young Children* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1952); R. Zeligs and G. Hendrickson, "Factors Regarded by Children as the Basis of Their Racial Attitudes," *Social Science Research* 19 (1935): 225-33.

6. W.E. Lambert and O. Klineberg, *Children's Views of Foreign Peoples* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967).

7. Masangkay, R. Reyes, Sumcio, D. Taylor, and Z. Villorente, *The Development of Ethnic Group Perception* (Manila: Language Study Center, Philippine Normal College, 1969).

8. R. Blake and W. Dennis, "The Development of Stereotypes Concerning the Negro," *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology* 38 (1943): 525-31

9. Ibid., p. 531.

Canadians, and Canadian-Indians in three age levels of school children as well as their parents, with the use of the Stereotype Differential Technique.[10] Stereotypes, as defined by this technique consist of the ten scales which are most polarized, i.e., most closely

associated with each of the three ethnic group labels. Two comparisons were made. First, the number of overlapping stereotypes between the three groups of children and their parents, and second, the comparison of D-Scores between children's and parents' ratings on the ten scales defining the adult stereotype of each ethnic group.[11] In both comparisons, only partial support for the above hypothesis was obtained. An increasing overlap with age was evident only with respect to two concepts, French-Canadians, and English-Canadians. For the group Canadian-Indians, there was less overlap in stereotype traits between the parents and the children with increasing age. In the second comparison, the analysis of variance using age as the treatment factor resulted in only one significant finding. With increasing age, the children became more similar to their parents only with respect to their stereotype of the French-Canadian.

This study was designed to obtain information regarding the stereotypes held of a Philippine sample about four national groups and two ethnic groups of the country. A descriptive analysis of the content and the degree of agreement in assigning traits to the above groups is presented. The study also sought to obtain cross-cultural support for the generalization that parents constitute a significant source of stereotypic information and that with increasing age, children assimilate their parents' stereotypes.

## METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Subjects in the study were 120 school children and their parents who resided in an industrial district within the suburbs of the City

10. For the stereotypes obtained, see D.M. Kirby and R.D. Gardner, "Ethnic Stereotypes: Determinants in Children and Their Parents," *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 27 (1973); for the technique used, see R.C. Gardner, et al, "Ethnic Stereotypes: An Alternative Assessment Technique," pp. 259-67.

11. The D-Score or distance score is a measure of profile similarity developed by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) and is described in their book Measurement of Meaning. The D-Score is often used to index the distance between (and hence similarity among) concepts as judged by an individual or group.

of Manila. The subjects were Tagalogs. The children varied in age from nine to sixteen and in grade placement from Grade 4 to Fourth Year High School. The school children were equally distributed from Grade IV (nine to ten years), Grade VI (twelve to thirteen), and Fourth Year High School (fifteen to sixteen years).

The original Katz and Braly checklist of traits applicable to different national and ethnic groups was adapted with minor modifications and translated into Pilipino, the National Language, by a panel of National Language instructors. The instrument assessed the stereotype for the following ethnic groups, Ilocanos and Tagalogs, and for the following national groups, Chinese, Japanese, Americans, and Russians.

The subjects completed the Katz and Braly checklist in their classrooms. They were asked to read through the list of trait adjectives and to select ten which were most typical of each of the six national and ethnic groups. They then were asked to mark off five out of the ten selected traits which were the most typical of groups in question. The entire task took about forty-five minutes to complete.

The parents responded to the checklist in their homes. The teacher of each of the classes distributed the instrument to her students and gave instructions that it was to be accomplished by their mothers. The completed checklists were then handed in the following day. Although the subjects were not required to give their names, a coding system allowed for a systematic comparison of the children's and parents' responses.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The adjectives presented in Table 1 are the ten most frequently assigned to the stimulus groups by the children. The percentage frequencies represent the five key traits chosen by each subject as most characteristic of the group in question.

### ETHNIC STEREOTYPE OF CHILDREN

The stereotype of Tagalog by the children consists of relatively positive evaluative traits. For the young Grade IV children, Tagalogs are viewed as courteous, kind, industrious, patriotic, clean, religious, and generous. Even with increasing age, a large number of the

traits ascribed remain favorable. A few exceptions, such as the characteristics treacherous and revengeful, are attributed by older grade VI children. However, these appear to "fade out" by the time the children reach their tenth year of schooling. The large and uniform consensus on the traits courteous, superstitious, industrious and religious in all the grade levels suggests that these traits may be considered as "core" stereotypes of Tagalog. Other traits held by at least two of the age groups are patriotic, liberal, generous, democratic, ambitious and kind. It is evident that for the Tagalog children, their "autostereotype," i.e. the stereotype held of one's own group tends to be positive in content.[12]

The children's characterizations of the Ilocanos are consistent with the group's popular image as presented in school textbooks, magazines, newspapers and the media. Ilocanos are perceived as thrifty, hardworking, industrious, stingy, patient, courteous, and dark-skinned with a high degree of consensus. The higher agreement regarding the trait attributions for the Ilocanos would suggest a greater clarity of what Ilocanos are perceived to be like among the children. The children's stereotypic views of their own group in contrast to the Ilocano group merits some discussion. The degree of agreement in the stereotype of their own group as opposed to the Ilocanos in general tends to be less. In all of the grade levels, children demonstrated a generally higher consensus and more trait overlap on the Ilocano traits as opposed to the Tagalog traits. The differentiation in the degree of consensus along with the content in the stereotype is interesting, as it would suggest the salience of an "ingroup versus outgroup" comparison process among the children. The keen perception of such differences can have consequences for ethnic identification and group interaction processes.

For the national group Chinese, the children indicated a high consensus on the traits businesslike, slit-eyed, and short. Their perception of the group's prominence in the business world compares favorably with how the group is pictured in other studies.[13] The children's stereotype, however, carries the evaluative

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12. H. Triandis and V. Vassilou, "Frequency of Contact and Stereotyping," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 7 (1967): 316-28.

13. See for example M. Karlins, T.L. Coffman and G. Walters, "On Fading of Social Stereotypes: Studies in Three Generations of College Students," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 13 (1969): 1-16.

# TABLE 1

## Stereotypes of the Six Groups Obtained on Each Sample

| GRADE IV | % | GRADE VI | % | FOURTH YR | % | PARENTS | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TAGALOGS** | | | | | | | |
| Courteous | 55 | Superstitious | 44 | Courteous | 53 | Courteous | 42 |
| Kind | 33 | Courteous | 40 | Easy Going | 33 | Religious | 36 |
| Industrious | 33 | Clean | 36 | Superstitious | 33 | Clean | 35 |
| Patriotic | 25 | Religious | 32 | Ambitious | 30 | Superstitious | 27 |
| Clean | 20 | Revengeful | 20 | Religious | 30 | Sensitive | 22 |
| Religious | 18 | Humorous | 20 | Lightskinned | 23 | Friendly | 18 |
| Liberal | 18 | Worrisome | 20 | Kind | 20 | Generous | 15 |
| Superstitious | 18 | Democratic | 20 | Shy | 18 | Talkative | 14 |
| Ambitious | 15 | Extravagant | 20 | Friendly | 15 | Extravagant | 13 |
| Generous | 15 | Patriotic | 20 | Industrious | 15 | Industrious | 13 |
| | | | | Educated | 15 | | |
| **ILOCANOS** | | | | | | | |
| Thrifty | 90 | Thrifty | 66 | Stingy | 68 | Thrifty | 76 |
| Hardworking | 50 | Hardworking | 52 | Thrifty | 60 | Hardworking | 74 |
| Industrious | 38 | Stingy | 48 | Hardworking | 53 | Stingy | 55 |
| Stingy | 28 | Industrious | 45 | Industrious | 40 | Industrious | 49 |
| Patient | 21 | Dark | 30 | Patient | 23 | Patient | 25 |
| Courteous | 20 | Successful | 24 | Talkative | 21 | Adventurous | 24 |
| Liberal | 18 | Patient | 21 | Noisy | 20 | Ambitious | 23 |
| Brave | 15 | Religious | 16 | Dark | 15 | Selfish | 20 |
| Selfish | 15 | Generous | 16 | Sensitive | 13 | Dark | 18 |
| Dark | 13 | Courteous | 16 | Easy-going | 13 | Easy-going | 18 |
| **CHINESE** | | | | | | | |
| Slit-eyed | 90 | Slit-eyed | 80 | Slit-eyed | 85 | Businesslike | 82 |
| Businesslike | 42 | Businesslike | 52 | Businesslike | 60 | Slit-eyed | 80 |
| Mean | 38 | Persistent | 45 | Selfish | 35 | Persistent | 39 |
| Quarrelsome | 35 | Short | 24 | Dirty | 35 | Hardworking | 33 |
| Rich | 32 | Hardworking | 24 | Short | 28 | Noisy | 28 |
| Cruel | 20 | Patient | 24 | Hardworking | 28 | Adventurous | 21 |
| Short | 20 | Noisy | 20 | Progressive | 28 | Dirty | 20 |
| Progressive | 18 | Rich | 20 | Rich | 27 | Rich | 14 |
| Talkative | 15 | Progressive | 20 | Lightskinned | 23 | Active | 13 |
| Noisy | 15 | Kind | 16 | Persistent | 23 | Talkative | 10 |
| | | | | | | Lightskinned | 10 |

## JAPANESE

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lightskinned | 100 | Businesslike | 52 | Cruel | 38 | Lightskinned | 54 |
| Slit-eyed | 90 | Brave | 36 | Inventive | 35 | Inventive | 43 |
| Warmongering | 55 | Cruel | 31 | Progressive | 35 | Slit-eyed | 31 |
| Cruel | 41 | Quarrelsome | 31 | Slit-eyed | 35 | Businesslike | 24 |
| Mean | 38 | Warmongering | 31 | Sportsminded | 20 | Progressive | 23 |
| Quarrelsome | 35 | Inventive | 21 | Proud | 20 | Short | 23 |
| Brave | 30 | Short | 21 | Successful | 18 | Warmongering | 15 |
| Progressive | 28 | Alert | 20 | Warmongering | 15 | Industrious | 15 |
| Short | 20 | Slit-eyed | 17 | Adventurous | 15 | Cruel | 13 |
| Revengeful | 20 | Industrious | 16 | Industrious | 15 | Hardworking | 13 |
| | | | | | | Clean | 12 |
| | | | | | | Artistic | 12 |
| | | | | | | Intelligent | 12 |

## AMERICANS

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lightskinned | 100 | Lightskinned | 58 | Lightskinned | 68 | Lightskinned | 56 |
| Educated | 42 | Rich | 38 | Progressive | 50 | Democratic | 51 |
| Rich | 42 | Educated | 31 | Democratic | 43 | Inventive | 34 |
| Democratic | 20 | Intelligent | 31 | Inventive | 30 | Rich | 34 |
| Businesslike | 20 | Inventive | 31 | Scientific Minded | 25 | Progressive | 33 |
| Intelligent | 25 | Democratic | 30 | Practical | 25 | Successful | 25 |
| Progressive | 23 | Strong | 24 | Educated | 20 | Scientific Minded | 24 |
| Sportsminded | 18 | Successful | 20 | Sportsminded | 20 | Sportsminded | 23 |
| Liberal | 15 | Friendly | 20 | Rich | 20 | Friendly | 16 |
| Reliable | 15 | Brave | 20 | Friendly | 20 | Intelligent | 13 |
| | | | | | | Persistent | 13 |
| | | | | | | Educated | 13 |

## RUSSIANS

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Inventive | 38 | Inventive | 32 | Warmongering | 55 | Warmongering | 57 |
| Educated | 23 | Warmongering | 30 | Inventive | 45 | Inventive | 27 |
| Clean | 22 | Treacherous | 28 | Scientific Minded | 45 | Disciplined | 22 |
| Warmongering | 18 | Intelligent | 24 | Brave | 25 | Cruel | 20 |
| Ambitious | 18 | Industrious | 24 | Intelligent | 25 | Progressive | 16 |
| Successful | 20 | Cruel | 20 | Cruel | 23 | Intelligent | 16 |
| Husky | 18 | Rich | 20 | Efficient | 23 | Brave | 15 |
| Brave | 10 | Colonial Minded | 20 | Progressive | 23 | Alert | 14 |
| Adventurous | 10 | Successful | 20 | Colonial Minded | 20 | Religious | 14 |
| Practical | 10 | Artistic | 20 | Quarrelsome | 18 | Ambitious | 13 |
| | | | | | | Sportsminded | 13 |

traits dirty, noisy, selfish, deceitful and stupid. The traits result from the "Chinatown" image in the metropolitan district of the city of Manila from where the subjects' and their parents' residences were in close geographic proximity. The more common image of the group as the Chinese National residing in the country rather than the ideological image of the Chinese as "Communist" or "Red" Chinese is notable as the "Chinese Communist" image is a prominent feature of Filipino adults' stereotype of this group.[14]

The general stereotype for the group Japanese is not as clear cut. The children's stereotype appears to be more evaluative than the other groups with the traits warmongering, cruel and quarrelsome attributed by two or more of the age groups. These characterizations are clearly artifacts of the last world war. The caricature of the Japanese in television shows and movies also contributes to their views of the group as short, slit-eyed, and yellow. With the other children, however, a differentiation that incorporates an awareness of the industrial capability of Japanese is observable with the traits inventive, progressive, industrious, and successful. Their competitiveness in business to the same extent as the Chinese can be inferred from the traits. The increasing exposure to the media of the Japanese's prominence and the prevalence of Japanese produced goods, utilities and products that flood the markets of the country are primarily responsible for the evolving stereotype leading to diminishing attribution of negatively evaluative traits.

The Americans were viewed as lightskinned, educated, rich, and democratic by all three age groups while the traits intelligent, progressive, and sportsminded were shared by at least two of the groups. The group seems to be  held in high esteem by the subjects. The 100 percent consensus obtained on the trait lightskinned, provides some indication of the importance of physical qualities as a basis for the discrimination of group characteristics during an early age. This finding has been noted in an earlier study of ethnic identification in Filipino children.[15]

14. R. C. Gardner, et al., "Ethnic Stereotypes: An Alternative Assessment Technique," pp. 259-67.

15. F. Jamins, R. Pablo and D. Taylor, "Ethnic Awareness in Filipino Children," *Journal of Social Psychology* 83 (1971): 157-64.

At a young age Filipino children see Russians as inventive. The adoption of this stereotype is due to the technological feats obtained by this group in the field of space exploration. The high consensus on the trait scientific-minded supports this. Only two traits were shared in common by all the age groups, inventive and warmongering. This suggests that the children of different ages have a differentiated image of what Russians are. The stereotype is notably laden with negatively evaluative traits such as revengeful, treacherous, quarrelsome and barbaric. To some extent this is a result of the implicit process of comparison between the "aggressor" group, Russians, on one end and the "friendly" Americans on the other. One notes the lack of the connotation of a communist-noncommunist ideological differentiation among the chidren. It is also notable that the Americans, unlike in the original Katz and Braly study, are not viewed as "materialistic."

In the original Katz and Braly study, the authors derived a "uniformity index" to describe the consensus in the stereotype for each ethnic group. This index is obtained by computing the smallest number of traits required to include one-half of all possible designations. Hence, the smaller the number of traits, the more uniform the stereotype for a particular group is. Since there were forty subjects for each grade, choosing five traits per group, the uniformity scores represent the smallest number of traits required to total 100 selections per ethnic group. The uniformity scores for the two regional groups Ilocanos and Tagalogs do not indicate a greater homogeneity of stereotypes as a function of increasing age (see Table 2). What is evident is the smaller uniformity score for all the children with respect to the outgroup Ilocano. The lower uniformity score supports the earlier observation made about the greater consensus on fewer traits ascribed to Ilocanos. The children seemed to be highly "attuned" to these Ilocano characteristics.

For the other national groups there is a suggestion that the children's perceptions become more uniform with increasing age for the groups, Chinese and Russians. The increasing consensus that comes with age is indicated by the fourth year subjects' uniformity scores of 6 and 8 for the Chinese and Japanese. This tendency for the children to become more consensual for selected ethnic groups is in line with the observations of Kirby and

## TABLE 2

### Index of Uniformity for Ethnic Stereotypes

| Ethnic Group | Grade IV | Grade VI | Fourth Year | Parents |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tagalogs | 11 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Ilocanos | 7 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| Chinese | 11 | 13 | 6 | 4 |
| Japanese | 4 | 9 | 10 | 12 |
| Americans | 7 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Russians | 17 | 11 | 8 | 14 |

The uniformity index describes the consensus in the stereotype for each of the ethnic groups and for each of the subject groups. It represents the smallest number of traits required to include one-half of all the stereotypical designations by each of the subject groups. Hence, the smaller the number of traits the more uniform the stereotype is for a particular ethnic group. In the table, Grade IV children had the most uniform stereotype for the concept Japanese and the least uniform for the concept Russians. Similarly, parents were equally uniform in their stereotype of Ilocanos and Japanese and least uniform for the Russians.

Gardner in their study of the determinants of ethnic stereotypes in children and their parents.[16]

The increasing differentiation and lack of uniformity demonstrated by the children for the group Japanese is also notable. The uniform score rose from 4 among the grade IV children to 10 in the Fourth Year children. This is partly explained by the younger children's use of highly evaluative and physiognomic characteristics to describe the group, but with increasing use of less evaluative traits in the higher grades. It appears that for certain groups such as the Japanese, there is a tendency to be less evaluative, an observation noted in other studies as well.[17]

In general, there appears to be a generalized trend towards greater uniformity and consensus with increasing age. The tendency seems to be a function of the concept being stereotyped and age of the subject.

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16. Kirby and Gardner, "Ethnic Stereotypes: Determinants in Children and Their Parents."
17. Ibid.

ETHNIC STEREOTYPE OF PARENTS

The parents' ethnic stereotypes of the different groups are presented in the last column of Table 1. The stereotypes represent the combined responses of the grade IV, VI and Fourth Year students' parents. A careful scrutiny of the parents' separate stereotype revealed very little differentiation and thus they were combined for this article.

For the Tagalogs, the parents concurred and viewed them as courteous, rash, clean and superstitious. Some consensus was obtained for the other traits sensitive, friendly, generous, talkative, extravagant, and industrious. It will be noted that the consensus was fairly low in most of these traits.

In contrast, the outgroup Ilocanos were described as thrifty, hardworking, stingy, and industrious with a high degree of consensus. Other traits such as patient, adventurous, ambitious, selfish, dark, and easy-going were also part of the stereotype. The parents' high agreement on many Ilocano traits is notable as the same tendency among their children was evident. The children appear to be similar not only in the content of their stereotypes with their parents but also with the consensus and the clarity with which the Ilocanos were stereotyped. Similarly, with the perception of their own group Tagalogs, the children and the parents were not as consensual, as indicated by the low percentages in their attributions of what Tagalogs were like.

The Chinese were viewed by the parents as primarily businesslike and slit-eyed. Other clusters of traits relating to their commercial activities such as persistent, hardworking, noisy and adventurous were also attributed by the parents to a slighter degree.

The parents were quite differentiated in their stereotype of the Japanese. They were perceived as lightskinned, inventive, slit-eyed, businesslike, progressive and short. Unlike the children's stereotype, however, the parents were not as evaluative in their perceptions of the group. The traits cruel and warmongering that constituted the ranking attribution of the children were not as highly ascribed to by the parents.

The Americans are stereotyped positively by the parents. More than 50 percent of them perceived Americans as lightskinned and democratic. They were also stereotyped as inventive, rich, progressive, successful, scientific-minded, and sportsminded.

The image parents have of Russians reflects the belligerent and warmongering nature of the Russians. Nevertheless, they are seen as very inventive and disciplined. The parents' consensus on most of the attributions was, however, low. It is also notable that the ideological differentiation of communistic and noncommunistic did not form part of the parents' imagery of the group.

Table 3 presents the stereotype obtained by the Katz and Braly technique from the parents in this study and those obtained for a sample of Filipino teachers and future teachers by the Gardner study.[18] The comparison of stereotypes is of interest because of the paucity of information about these groups by an adult sample. It is also of interest since it presents a comparison of the consensual views held by a group of educators in an important center in South East Asia with those of the views held by parents. While the parents' stereotype of a national group was not elicited, certain traits attributed to the two regional groups Ilocanos and Tagalogs were shown to form part of the perception of Filipinos (e.g., friendly and courteous). It is of more interest that parents concurred with the teachers' group in many traits attributed to the other national groups. For example, both groups perceived the Chinese as businesslike, hardworking, dirty and adventurous. For the Japanese, five of the ten traits were common to both groups. Six of the leading traits for the Americans were shared by both parents and teachers, while the Russians were pictured as inventive, ambitious, intelligent, and progressive. There appears to be a high similarity among the parents and the teachers with respect to their stereotype of four national groups. The high similarity would suggest that parents and teachers' consensual beliefs share common information regarding other national groups from which children may acquire their own beliefs of the same groups. The similarity between the two groups is notable since the stereotype for each of the groups was obtained separately and at different times. The concurrence in a high number of traits provides some validation of the stereotype obtained for the differential rational groups but further provides an indication of the stability of the stereotypes over time.

18. Gardner et al., "Ethnic Stereotypes: An Alternative Assessment," pp. 259-67.

## TABLE 3

## Comparison of Stereotypes of Two Adult Groups: Parents vs. Teachers

| Group | Parents | % | | Katz & Braly |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TAGALOGS | Courteous | 42 | FILIPINOS | Hospitable |
| | Religious | 36 | | Imitative |
| | Clean | 35 | | Emotional |
| | Superstitious | 27 | | Friendly |
| | Sensitive | 22 | | Courteous |
| | Friendly | 18 | | Religious |
| | Generous | 15 | | Democratic |
| | Talkative | 14 | | Ambitious |
| | Extravagant | 13 | | Nationalistic |
| | Industrious | 13 | | Optimistic |
| ILOCANOS | Thrifty | 76 | | |
| | Hardworking | 74 | | |
| | Stingy | 55 | | |
| | Industrious | 49 | | |
| | Patient | 25 | | |
| | Adventurous | 24 | | |
| | Ambitious | 23 | | |
| | Selfish | 20 | | |
| | Dark | 18 | | |
| | Easy-going | 18 | | |
| CHINESE | Businesslike | 82 | | Businesslike |
| | Slit-eyed | 80 | | Hardworking |
| | Persistent | 39 | | Dirty |
| | Hardworking | 33 | | Communistic |
| | Noisy | 28 | | Nationalistic |
| | Adventurous | 21 | | Enterprising |
| | Dirty | 20 | | Adventurous |
| | Rich | 14 | | Patient |
| | Active | 13 | | Humble |
| | Talkative | 10 | | Traditionalistic |
| | Lightskinned | 10 | | |
| JAPANESE | Lightskinned | 54 | | Progressive |
| | Inventive | 43 | | Inventive |
| | Slit-eyed | 31 | | Hardworking |
| | Businesslike | 24 | | Courteous |
| | Progressive | 23 | | Nationalistic |
| | Short | 23 | | Athletic |

|  | Warmongering | 15 | Businesslike |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | Industrious | 15 | Clean |
|  | Cruel | 13 | Ambitious |
|  | Hardworking | 13 | Resourceful |
|  | Clean | 12 |  |
|  | Artistic | 12 |  |
|  | Intelligent | 12 |  |
| AMERICANS | Lightskinned | 56 | Democratic |
|  | Democratic | 51 | Adventurous |
|  | Inventive | 34 | Punctual |
|  | Rich | 34 | Modern |
|  | Progressive | 33 | Scientific |
|  | Successful | 25 | Athletic |
|  | Scientific Minded | 24 | Progressive |
|  | Sportsminded | 23 | Inventive |
|  | Friendly | 16 | Ambitious |
|  | Intelligent | 13 | Friendly |
|  | Persistent | 13 |  |
|  | Educated | 13 |  |
| RUSSIANS | Warmongering | 57 | Scientific |
|  | Inventive | 27 | Communistic |
|  | Disciplined | 22 | Inventive |
|  | Cruel | 20 | Warlike |
|  | Progressive | 16 | Agressive |
|  | Intelligent | 16 | Ambitious |
|  | Brave | 15 | Disciplined |
|  | Alert | 14 | Intelligent |
|  | Religious | 14 | Strong |
|  | Ambitious | 13 | Progressive |
|  | Sportsminded | 13 |  |

COMPARISON OF CHILDREN'S AND PARENTS' STEREO-TYPE

It has been suggested that parents constitute one of the signifi-cant sources of information regarding children's views of other people.[19] The traits most often attributed to the different groups in this study (see Table 1) do suggest that children share common

19. Blake and Dennis, "The Development of Stereotypes," pp. 525-31.

stereotypical information with their parents. Overlap in the stereo-
types for each age group and for each ethnic group ranged from
three to seven traits. For the Tagalogs for example, four traits
were shared in common by both children and parents. Seven of
the children's core traits for the Ilocanos were included in the
ranking for all three grade groups and their parents. Three-fourths
of all the top-ranked traits that children attributed to the Ameri-
cans were also included in the parents' stereotype attributions.
Similar overlaps of varying degrees were noted for the other
groups, Chinese, Japanese and Russians. While the common
traits shared by the children and the parents provide support to
the early hypothesis of Blake and Dennis that parents are a signi-
ficant source of beliefs, the question arises whether children in-
creasingly assimilate their parents' stereotype.[20] Do children's
consensual beliefs of other groups become increasingly like their
parents as they grow older? To test this hypothesis directly, a
Friedman two-way analysis of variance was performed using the
number of traits most frequently attributed to each of the groups
by the three grade groups and determining the number which were
common to those groups and their parents (see Table 4).[21] The
mean ranking reflected an increasing trend towards a greater
agreement and similarity between the children and the parents
although the obtained Chi Square ($X^2$ = 2.08) only approached
significance. Many aspects of children's stereotypes of specific
groups are obtained from parents. It appears, however, that
stereotypes can develop independently from those of their parents
and that there are other significant sources of information that
shape children's views of others. The findings of this study only
support in part the hypothesis that children become more like
their parents in the manner they view other groups with increas-
ing age. This finding is similar to the observations of the Kirby
and Gardner study which reported that children increasingly
adopted their parents' stereotype as they grew older only with
respect to the group French-Canadians.[22]

    20. Ibid.
    21. The Friedman two-way analysis of variance is a nonparametric procedure for
testing significance when the measurement of the variable is in at least an ordinal scale. It
tests whether the K related sampler could probably have come from the same population
with respect to mean ranks.
    22. Kirby and Gardner, "Ethnic Stereotypes: Determinants in Children and Their
Parents," pp. 208-19.

## TABLE 4

Table of Concurrence Between Parents and Children

| Group | Grade IV | Grade VI | Fourth Year |
|-------|----------|----------|-------------|
| Tagalogs | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Ilocanos | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| Chinese | 6 | 6 | 7 |
| Japanese | 4 | 4 | 7 |
| Americans | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| Russians | 5 | 4 | 9 |

Concurrence was determined by selecting the traits most frequently attributed to each of the groups and counting the number which were common to both children and their parents. The numbers for each row were then ranked and a Friedman Two-Way ANOVA was used to test the mean ranking, i.e., a test $X_r^2$ which approximates a Chi-Square test. The obtained value for the table only approached significance and the hypothesized greater agreement and similarity between the children and their parents was not fully supported.

## CONCLUSION

The study provides some insight into the nature of the relationships between children's and parents' stereotypes. The data suggest that children's stereotypes develop from those of their parents. Substantial overlap in traits was consistently noted for selected national and regional groups. It appears, however, that as the children grew older the increased similarity in parents' and children's beliefs as indicated by the overlap in traits was specific to certain groups. While it can be inferred that parents constitute one of the initial and primary source of ethnic group imagery, the process of socialization and communication contributes to an increasing differentiation between parents and their children with respect to how they view select groups. Increasing assimilation and differentiation of parents' beliefs by the children appear to operate dually  depending upon the particular ethnic and national groups in question.