

Meta-stereotypes are More Negative than Other-stereotypes: Accuracy of Meta-stereotypes Between the Japanese and Koreans

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This study examined the accuracy of meta-stereotypes (i.e., beliefs about how their ingroup is viewed by an outgroup), by comparing those with outgroup's other-stereotypes (i.e., outgroup's stereotype about ingroup). Korean and Japanese participants expressed their images of each other and predicted the outgroup members' view of ingroup according to 88 personality traits. Results indicated that perceptions about how they were viewed by the other were inaccurate; furthermore, both groups' predictions were identically more negative than their counterpart's actual evaluations about them. The fact that both groups denoted the same tendency suggests the negative nature of meta-stereotypes over outgroup's other-stereotypes. (99 words)

Key words : meta-stereotype, other-stereotype, intergroup relationship

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Meta-stereotypes refer to individuals' beliefs about how their ingroup is viewed by outgroup members, in contrast to their beliefs about the outgroup, i.e., *other-stereotype* (e.g., Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). People who tend to believe they are perceived negatively by outgroup members seem more likely to feel negatively about intergroup interactions out of concern about negative responses. Such negative feelings might cause interaction anxiety (Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biernat, & Brown, 1996; Finchilescu, 2005; Plant, 2004; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000; Vorauer et al., 1998). Further, feeling disliked and derogated by the outgroup will generally lead to a reciprocal response (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Vorauer, 2003). Finally, people will be motivated to avoid contact, which will effectively preclude the potential for positive outcomes to occur (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1992). Consequently, antipathy between the groups will be exacerbated (e.g., Plant & Devine, 2003).

Perceiving accurate meta-stereotypes can be one of the determinant factors for intergroup relations. However, the nature of meta-stereotypes seems to be more negative than the target group's other-stereotype. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) explains that people belonging to a group tend to favor the ingroup at the expense of the outgroup. Whereas people in reality may or may not

present this *ingroup favoritism*, they assume that other people would reveal the bias to all the target groups (Krueger, 1996; Vivian & Berkowitz, 1992). Because of this *projected ingroup favoritism*, people would expect that their own group is rated less favorably by the outgroup than is actually the case (Krueger, 1996). Literature on individuals' perceptions of what other people think of one another (i.e., metaperceptions) also has demonstrated that individuals tend to overestimate the negative appraisal they receive from others (for a review see Savitsky, Epley, & Gilovich, 2001). Moreover, compared to other-stereotypes, perceiving accurate meta-stereotypes seems more difficult. Studies have confirmed that people might reconsider an other-stereotype when provided with individuating information about the outgroup members (Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, & Hepburn, 1980). On the other hand, because we cannot easily obtain information about how we are viewed by others (Blumberg, 1972), inaccurate meta-stereotypes may persist.

Accuracy of meta-stereotypes can be determined in accordance with the other-stereotypes that outgroup members indeed have. If outgroups' other-stereotypes can be obtained correctly, we can measure the absolute accuracy of meta-stereotypes. However, methodological limitations hinder such measurements. Because social attitude measures are easily influenced by social desirability, the other-stereotype evaluations of outgroup members tend to reveal more

positive outcomes than they actually exist. Also, rating the magnitude of meta-stereotypes according to presented items may cause respondents to preclude that the target group already has such stereotypes, and thus exerting more extreme responses. These biases work in opposite directions especially for negative stereotypes, making it even more difficult to confirm the accuracy of meta-stereotypes (Sigelman & Tuch, 1997).

The amount of research on meta-stereotypes is small. Of the existing literature, few studies have examined the accuracy of meta-stereotypes in a systematic way. Sigelman and Tuch (1997) concluded that African Americans realized quite accurately how they were perceived by White Americans. However, the study compared the meta-stereotype data of the African Americans with the White Americans' stereotype from a general survey using different scales from those used by the researchers. Krueger (1996) assessed African and White Americans' ratings of overall favorability toward each other and predictions about the target group members' ratings using the same questionnaire for both groups. Both groups overestimated the negativity of the ratings of themselves by outgroup members. However, Krueger's assessment centered only on overall valence about each other and disregarded the content of meta-stereotypes based on the comparisons between the ingroup and the outgroup.

In the present research, we investigated the

accuracy of meta-stereotypes by assessing two groups of participants with respect to both their meta- and other-stereotypes. In addition to Krueger's (1996) approach, which compared the predictions of the outgroup members' ratings of ingroup with the ratings of ingroup by the outgroup, to further examine the accuracy of the obtained meta-stereotypes, we included the items involving ingroup ratings, following the method used by Vorauer and her colleagues (1998). Vorauer et al. (1998) modified the diagnostic ratio method of stereotype assessment (McCauley & Stitt, 1978) to measure meta-stereotypes. The original diagnostic ratio by McCauley and Stitt asks participants to first estimate the percentage of people in general who possess each item in a list of traits (i.e., baseline rating) then they are asked to estimate the percentage of members in the group in question who possess the same traits (i.e., target rating). Items with a target rating significantly different from the baseline rating are included in the list of traits that characterize the consensual stereotype of the group in question. Vorauer et al.'s procedure replaced the baseline rating with the ingroup members' beliefs "about their ingroup" instead of those "about people in general." They pointed out that people would easily expect outgroup members to measure others by their own criteria, and that referring to the ratings about their ingroup would have greater psychological reality than referring to people in general.

By adopting Krueger's (1996) design of

assessing both groups with respect to meta- and other-stereotypes and Vorauer et al. (1998)'s meta-stereotype measurement method, the present study aimed at clarifying the accuracy of both content and valence of meta-stereotypes. The accuracy of the content of meta-stereotypes can be investigated by comparing the list of traits of a group's shared meta-stereotype of an outgroup with that of the outgroup members' other-stereotype. If a certain number of traits are common in both stereotypes, the content of the meta-stereotype can be regarded as accurate. In terms of valence, the overall negativity of ratings between meta- and other-stereotypes are compared to confirm the accuracy of the predictions. In this way, whether people overestimate or underestimate how much they are favored by outgroup members can be examined.

When judging accuracy, we adopted the meta-stereotypes between Koreans and the Japanese related to their long historical relationship. The relationship between Korea and Japan can be described as comparatively negative because of some unsolved issues stemming from the period of Japanese colonial rule over Korea. Topics such as geographic disputes, the Japanese Prime Minister's visits to Yasukuni Shrine, and history textbook controversies, in fact, are still strong issues today. Although there also have been positive developments, the prevailing atmosphere between the two countries seems quite problematic. Considering such a

relationship, it is highly possible that the other-stereotypes may be negatively valenced. However, we predict that the meta-stereotypes will be even more negatively skewed due to the nature of meta-stereotypes. This study examined such distortions of meta-stereotypes and specified their tendency by comparing them with the outgroup's actual other-stereotype of the ingroup.

Method

Participants

Participants were 394 Korean and Japanese undergraduate and graduate students. There were 195 Korean students (97 men and 98 women) attending universities in Seoul and Gyeonggi Province, Korea, and 199 Japanese students (91 men and 108 women) attending universities in Tokyo, Japan. Each group was randomly divided into the two conditions of meta- and other-stereotype: 122 Japanese participants answered meta-stereotype questions, of which the accuracy was measured against the corresponding other-stereotype responses of 104 Korean participants; the accuracy of 91 Koreans' meta-stereotype ratings was assessed by a comparison with 77 Japanese participants' responses about their other-stereotype of Koreans. The meta- and other-stereotype groups answered basically identical forms of the questionnaire, with the only difference being that for one group the

items were about meta-stereotypes, while for the other group the items were about other-stereotypes. Some participants were given a written debriefing sheet immediately after the survey, and others had a debriefing session in one of their classes on a subsequent day. The experimenters' nationalities were matched with those of the participants.

Questionnaire

We followed the applied version of the diagnostic ratio method tailored for meta-stereotype assessment by Vorauer et al. (1998). Specifically, Korean participants in Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans condition identified their perceptions about personality traits by choosing the percentage of people they thought had the traits for both Japanese and themselves (i.e., Target rating: According to Koreans' beliefs, about ___% of Japanese possess this trait; Baseline rating: According to Koreans' beliefs, about ___% of Koreans possess this trait). Japanese participants in the same condition rated the same questionnaire by meta-perceiving Koreans' perceptions. In Korean meta-stereotype of Japanese condition, both participant groups were given reversed items (i.e., Target rating: According to Japanese' beliefs, about ___% of Koreans possess this trait; Baseline rating: According to Japanese' beliefs, about ___% of Japanese possess this trait) and answered vice versa (Appendix A).

In total, 88 traits relevant to Korean, Japanese, both, or neither stereotype were used in the questionnaire. Traits were selected through preliminary test done by 6 Korean and 9 Japanese raters. The raters evaluated 120 traits (60 traits and their negatively valenced traits) according to how descriptive each trait is of Koreans and the Japanese respectively using a 5-point scale, where 1 = *not at all* and 5 = *very well*. Seventy-eight traits for which the mean rating was significantly higher than the scale mid-point (3) were selected for the present study. To minimize the influence of item wording, 10 traits that were irrelevant to the stereotypes were also included (*thoughtful, optimistic, pessimistic, persistent, tedious, impulsive, resentful, noisy, poor, courageous*). The questionnaire included 44 positive traits (e.g., *outgoing, impartial, and assertive*) and their negatively-valenced pairs (e.g., *closed-minded, prejudiced, and timid*). All 88 traits were rated using an 11-point scale at intervals of 10%, where 1 = 0% and 11 = 100%.

Results

Twenty-one items were excluded because 10 traits were originally irrelevant to the two groups, while 11 traits had subtly different meanings in the two languages (*cold, emotional, stringent, gossipy, patriotic, unpatriotic, assertive, generous, defiant, tactful, orderly*). The final analyses

included 67 (34 positive and 33 negative) traits (Appendix B).

Accuracy of content

Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans

We first computed a diagnostic ratio by dividing individual participants' target rating by his or her baseline rating. Then, we analyzed each of the 67 traits with a 1-sample *t* test across participants to identify whether the ratio was significantly different from 1.

Of the 67 personality traits, 37 traits were identified as being the content of Japanese participants' perceptions about how they were seen by Koreans (i.e., Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans), and 21 traits were evaluated as being descriptive of Japanese rather than Koreans from Korean participants' point of view (i.e., Korean other-stereotype of Japanese). The traits constituting the stereotypes are shown in Table 1(a). The 21 other-stereotype traits rated by Koreans included 14 positive and 7 negative items, showing that the Koreans had more positive than negative views about the Japanese, whereas there were no more than 4 positive traits and 33 negative traits among the 37 meta-stereotype traits rated by the Japanese. Eleven traits were included in the content of the Korean other-stereotype of the Japanese as well as in that of the Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans. There were 8 positive traits in the Korean other-stereotype for which the oppositely

valenced traits were included in the Japanese meta-stereotype, revealing that the Japanese participants misunderstood the valence of how Koreans thought about the Japanese. The other 2 traits, found only in the Korean other-stereotype, were 'rational' and 'sympathetic,' both of which are positive. In contrast, the rest of the traits, included only in the meta-stereotype content, were all negatively valenced.

Chi-square analyses were conducted to statistically investigate the accuracy of the meta-stereotype. For each meta- and other-stereotype, on the basis of the significance of 1-sample *t* test, the items were coded as "1" if they were included in the stereotype, or "0" if they were excluded. If a trait was distinguished as belonging to both the content of the meta-stereotype and the outgroup's other-stereotype, then the trait was coded as "1", "1". In the case of a trait belonging to neither stereotype, it was coded as "0", "0". Analyses were executed respectively for positive and negative traits. A significant result was yielded from an analysis of the 34 positive items ($X^2(1, n = 34) = 6.48, p < .05$), revealing that ratings on the positive traits concerning meta-stereotype by Japanese participants and ratings on the same traits concerning other-stereotype by Korean participants were significantly related. As can be seen from the cross table for Chi-square analysis in Table 2, among the 34 positive traits, there were 20 traits that were found to be the content of neither Japanese meta-stereotype nor Korean

Table 1. *Traits Constituting the Meta- and Other-stereotypes*

(a) *Japanese Meta-stereotype condition*

	Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans (37 traits)	Korean other-stereotype of the Japanese (21 traits)
Traits included in both stereotypes	Careful, Closed-minded, Cowardly, Disagreeable, Dishonest, Lusterless, Reserved, Reticent, Shy, Timid, Wealthy	
Traits with opposite meanings were included in each stereotype	Rebellious, Impatient, Sloppy, Ill-mannered, Disrespectful, Prejudiced, Wasteful, Passive	Cooperative, Patient, Calm, Well-mannered, Respectful, Impartial, Thrift, Independent
Traits included in either stereotype	Aggressive, Arrogant, Unruly, Careless, Clumsy, Frivolous, Conservative, Dissatisfied, Egocentric, Ignorant, Rigid, Incapable, Insincere, Selfish, Irresponsible, Unconfident, Unmotivated, Unreliable	Rational, Sympathetic

(b) *Korean Meta-stereotype condition*

	Korean meta-stereotype of Japanese (20 traits)	Japanese other-stereotype of Koreans (17 traits)
Traits included in both stereotypes	Aggressive, Arrogant, Confident, Dissatisfied, Disagreeable, Prejudiced, Rigid	
Traits with opposite meanings were included in each stereotype	Wasteful	Thrift
Traits included in either stereotype	Irresponsible, Careless, Sloppy, Passive, Frivolous, Ill-mannered, Ignorant, Conservative, Disrespectful, Insincere, Unruly, Humorous	Egocentric, Unreliable, Incapable, Active, Aspiring, Rebellious, Independent, Outgoing, Family-oriented

Table 2. *Cross Table for Chi-square Analysis on 34-item Positive traits between Japanese Meta-stereotype of Koreans and Korean Other-stereotype of the Japanese*

		Korean other-stereotype		
		Not included (0)	Included (1)	Total
Japanese meta-stereotype	Not included (0)	20	10	30
	Included (1)	0	4	4
Total		20	14	34

other-stereotype. Only 4 traits are included as both meta- and other-stereotypes. Also, there were 10 traits that are included as the other-stereotype but not as the meta-stereotype, and no trait was included not as the other-stereotype but as the meta-stereotype. Thus, it can be interpreted that the Japanese accurately perceived the content of how they were not viewed positively by the Koreans. On the other hand, the two groups' ratings on negative items did not correspond significantly, indicating that the Japanese overestimated the Koreans' negative evaluations of the Japanese.

Korean meta-stereotype of Japanese

The accuracy of Koreans' perceptions of the views the Japanese have about Koreans was investigated in the same manner as described above. Of the 67 traits included in the analyses, 20 were classified as the Korean meta-stereotype of the Japanese, and 17 traits were identified as the actual views of the Japanese about Koreans (i.e., Japanese other-stereotype of Koreans). The contents of both stereotypes are presented in Table 1(b). Among the 20 meta-stereotype traits, there were 2 positive and 18 negative traits, demonstrating that Koreans thought that they were viewed negatively by the Japanese. In reality, the Japanese characterized the Koreans as having 10 negative and 7 positive traits. There were 7 traits included in both stereotypes, of which only 1 was positively valenced. Chi-square analyses of the correspondence of inclusions in

the two stereotypes for each positive and negative trait items revealed no significance, showing that the content of the two stereotypes cannot be regarded as being related; thus, the content of the Korean meta-stereotype of the Japanese is not accurate.

Whereas the traits not included in the Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans but in the Korean other-stereotype of Japanese were all positively valenced, the list of traits found to only describe the Japanese other-stereotype of Koreans had equal numbers of positive and negative traits. However, its corresponding meta-stereotype had a larger number of negative traits.

Accuracy of valence

Analyses on the accuracy of the meta-stereotypes were performed on the basis of the mean ratings for each positive and negative trait items separately for each Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans and Korean meta-stereotype of the Japanese condition. The reliability scores of the target and baseline ratings by both Korean and the Japanese groups were substantially high (all Cronbach's alphas > .82).

For each Japanese meta-stereotype and Korean meta-stereotype condition, we performed a 2 (Target rating vs. Baseline rating) × 2 (Japanese rater vs. Korean rater) mixed two-way ANOVA, with repeated measures on the first variable, on

the participants' mean ratings of the list of traits separately for positive and negative items. For the Japanese meta-stereotype condition, the Japanese rater condition corresponded with the meta-stereotype ratings, and the Korean rater condition corresponded with the other-stereotype ratings. Likewise, for the Korean meta-stereotype condition, Korean raters responded to the meta-stereotype ratings and Japanese raters responded to the other-stereotype ratings. If the meta-stereotype was accurate, there would be a main effect of rating type. That is, any significant interaction or main effect of rater condition would be the evidence of inaccuracy.

The ANOVA results are presented in Figure 1. Black bars represent meta-stereotype ratings for both meta-stereotype conditions, and white bars represent the corresponding other-stereotype ratings. Specifically in Figure 1(a), the black bar in the target rating indicates Japanese participants' predictions about Koreans' evaluations about the Japanese, and the white bar represents Koreans' actual evaluations about the Japanese. Also, the black bar in the baseline rating is about Japanese participants' predictions about Koreans' evaluations about Koreans themselves, and the neighboring white bar is about Koreans' actual evaluations about themselves. The black and white bars in Figure 1(b) represents vice versa.

Analyses of the responses to the positive trait items for both the Japanese and Korean meta-stereotype conditions revealed significant

interactions, indicating that both meta-stereotypes were inaccurate ($F(1, 224) = 62.36, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .22$; $F(1, 166) = 3.97, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, respectively). As can be seen in the left half of Figure 1, the target ratings of both the meta- and other-stereotype group participants do not differ across the meta-stereotype conditions ($F(1, 224) = .06, ns$; $F(1, 166) = 2.53, ns$, for the Japanese and Korean meta-stereotype conditions, respectively). In other words, both the Japanese and Korean participants accurately perceived how they were viewed by their counterparts concerning positive traits. However, the baseline ratings in both conditions revealed that the participants' speculations about how positively their outgroup people rated themselves significantly exceeded the ratings actually made by the outgroup ($F(1, 224) = 67.73, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .23$; $F(1, 166) = 16.44, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$, for the Japanese and Korean meta-stereotype conditions, respectively). Considering that stereotypes can be better clarified when comparing against baseline ratings at the average level (e.g., Judd & Park, 1993; Martin, 1987; Nelson, Biernat, & Manis, 1990), we cannot simply conclude that the meta-stereotype ratings of positive traits were accurate just because there was no difference between the target ratings of the two groups. Rather, differences between the baseline ratings of the two groups in both meta-stereotype conditions present us with the evidence of

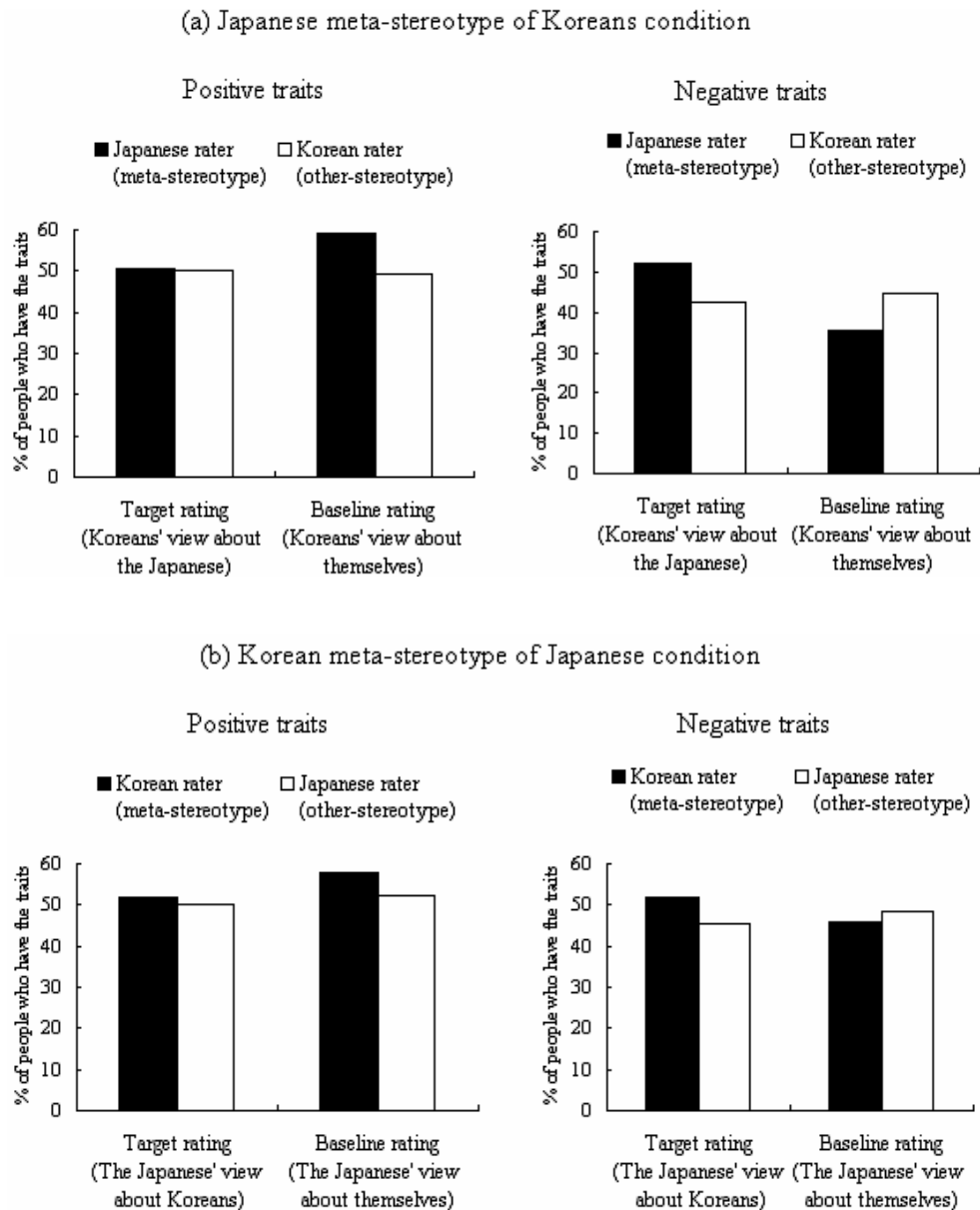


Figure 1. Mean ratings of the percentage of people who possess the traits, by nationality of the raters, separately for the target and baseline ratings

meta-stereotype inaccuracy.

The ANOVAs performed on the negative traits for both the Japanese and Korean

meta-stereotype conditions also yielded significant interactions ($F(1, 224) = 203.3, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .48$; $F(1, 166) = 34.28, p <$

.001, partial $\eta^2 = .17$, respectively), demonstrating that participants in the meta-stereotype rating groups presumed that the outgroup members would score higher about participants' ingroup than about their self-ratings on the percentage of people that had the negative traits ($F(1, 224) = 247.75, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .53$; $F(1, 166) = 28.35, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$, for the Japanese and Korean meta-stereotype conditions, respectively). Meanwhile, the counterpart group participants actually rated themselves higher ($F(1, 224) = 9.53, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$; $F(1, 166) = 8.83, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$, for the Japanese and Korean meta-stereotype conditions, respectively). As for the target ratings in the Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans condition, Japanese' predictions were higher than the Koreans' evaluations of the percentage of Japanese who had the negative traits ($F(1, 224) = 43.13, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .16$), whereas the Japanese rated lower than Koreans with respect to the Korean self-image ratings related to the negative traits ($F(1, 224) = 55.23, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .2$). In other words, the Koreans' actual ratings about the Japanese for the negative traits were lower than their ratings about themselves; however, the Japanese predictions about the Koreans' ratings were in the opposite direction, demonstrating that the Japanese thought Koreans would attribute the negative traits more to the Japanese than to Koreans. A similar pattern

emerged for the Korean meta-stereotype of Japanese condition. Korean participants rated higher for the target rating ($F(1, 166) = 20.32, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$), but at the same time they rated lower for the baseline rating than the Japanese participants ($F(1, 166) = 5.26, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$). In sum, across the two meta-stereotype conditions, the hypothesized inaccuracy was confirmed, proving that the meta-stereotype ratings were consistently more negative than the outgroup's other-stereotype ratings.

Discussion

The perception of group membership of an outgroup partner influences one's interaction with that partner (Robinson, Keltner, Ward, & Ross, 1995). Moreover, the expectations about how outgroup members think about the ingroup have implications on intergroup contact (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Vorauer et al., 1998, 2000). In this sense, realizing how members of a group are viewed by outgroup members is one of the important issues in intergroup relations. This study investigated two groups of participants using a questionnaire to assess their mutual meta- and other-stereotypes to examine the accuracy of meta-stereotypes. Further, by adopting the method of diagnostic ratio tailored for meta-stereotype assessment by Vorauer et al. (1998), we sought to more accurately measure

stereotypes by subsuming baseline ratings. The accuracy was compared in the two aspects of content and valence.

The results first demonstrated the existence of meta-stereotypes commonly held by the Japanese and Koreans concerning how they are viewed by members of the other group. Japanese participants agreed on 37 traits and Koreans agreed on 20. Shared other-stereotypes were also investigated to compare them with the respective meta-stereotypes. Twenty-one traits were found as forming the Korean other-stereotype of the Japanese and 17 traits were found as forming the Japanese other-stereotype of Koreans. Not many personality traits were included in both the meta- and corresponding other-stereotype across the two meta-stereotype conditions. Specifically, the Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans and the Korean other-stereotype of the Japanese shared only 11 traits out of 37 meta- and 21 other-stereotype traits, while the Korean meta-stereotype of the Japanese and the Japanese other-stereotype of Koreans had 7 traits in common from the list of 20 meta- and 17 other-stereotype traits. Furthermore, the numbers of negative traits among the meta-stereotype traits were greater than those among the other-stereotype traits. Finally, both other-stereotypes included higher numbers of positive traits than their corresponding meta-stereotypes. Therefore, it can be concluded from the traits of each stereotype that the content of the predictions of how outgroup members think

about ingroup members is more negative than that of the outgroup members' actual views.

The accuracy of the overall valence of the meta-stereotypes was confirmed separately for the positive and negative traits. The two types of traits revealed different results, showing an identical pattern in both meta-stereotype conditions. Regarding the positive traits, the meta- and other-stereotype ratings matched with respect to the target ratings. However, a discrepancy in the ratings about how favorably group members evaluate themselves rendered the meta-stereotype inaccurate. Both meta-stereotype raters overestimated the outgroup members' ratings of themselves concerning the positive traits, whereas the actual ratings by the outgroup participants were significantly lower than the estimations. People think others will show ingroup favoritism even though they themselves do not. Indeed, this projected ingroup bias has also been found in other national and racial stereotype studies (e.g., Krueger, 1996).

Analyses on the negative traits indicated no consistency among their ratings. Meta-stereotype raters overestimated the level of the outgroup's ratings about the ingroup while underestimating the outgroup's self-ratings. Further, whereas other-stereotype raters evaluated the negative traits as being more characteristic of their ingroup than the outgroup, meta-stereotype raters inferred that they were viewed more negatively compared to their outgroup. Ingroup favoritism might have been projected on the

baseline ratings in the meta-stereotype condition, resulting in the lower level of mean ratings. Conceivably, other-stereotype raters with egalitarian self-concepts might have withheld their negative feelings about the outgroup (e.g., Bodenhausen, Mussweiler, Gabriel, & Moreno, 2001), resulting in a lowering of their ratings on negative traits.

In conclusion, both the Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans and the Korean meta-stereotype of the Japanese were inaccurate in their content and valence, showing a tendency to predict unfavorable evaluations by their outgroups. The possibility that the outgroup's other-stereotype was truly as negative as the meta-stereotype, that is, that we failed to measure it correctly, still remains. However, although the methodological difficulties of assessing meta-stereotype accuracy are still considerable, the fact that the mutual meta-stereotypes of the two groups revealed the same pattern can be interpreted as substantially demonstrating the overall negative nature of the meta-stereotypes under the same context.

Further research on various pairs of groups is needed to generalize this tendency. Results may vary according to the favorability of the underlying relationship between two groups. Still, as far as general intergroup relationships are concerned, and on which in general personal interests weigh heavily, the negativity of meta-stereotypes over other-stereotypes might well be able to be generalized. If this is the

case, then the accurate perception of meta-stereotypes can function to better the relationship, in that knowing that one is actually not viewed as negatively by outgroup members as one thinks can raise the potential for a more favorable relationship. Frey and Tropp (2006) suggested that merely expecting to be viewed in terms of group membership is a potential source of negative responses to intergroup interactions. However, reducing the negativity of people's meta-stereotypes may be an initial step to the right direction.

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한국인과 일본인이 인지하는 메타스테레오타입의 정확성에 관한 연구

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본 연구에서는 다른 집단에 속한 사람들이 자신이 속한 집단에 대하여 어떻게 생각하는지에 관한 인지를 의미하는 메타스테레오타입의 정확성에 관하여, 상대방 집단이 실제로 지니고 있는 스테레오타입과의 비교를 통하여 검토하였다. 다른 집단의 구성원이 자신의 집단에 대해 어떤 스테레오타입을 지니고 있으며 그 내용이 어느 정도 긍정적 또는 부정적인가를 인식하는 것은 집단간 상호작용에 감정적, 인지적, 그리고 행동적 영향을 끼치므로 메타스테레오타입을 정확히 인지하는 것은 집단간 관계에 있어서 중요한 역할을 하는 것으로 여겨지고 있다. 각각 195명의 한국인과 199명의 일본인 대학생 및 대학원생이 88개의 성격특성을 대상으로 서로에 대한 이미지와 상대방이 자신의 집단에 대해 지니고 있을 것으로 예상되는 이미지에 관련된 문항에 응답하였다. 답변을 분석한 결과, 두 집단 모두 상대방이 실제로 답한 스테레오타입 보다 상대 집단원들이 자신의 집단을 더 부정적으로 인지하고 있다고 평가하는 경향을 보이며 부정확한 메타스테레오타입을 나타내었다. 연구에 포함된 두개의 집단 참가자들이 같은 경향을 보인 것은 일반적으로 메타스테레오타입이 상대방이 실제로 인지하는 스테레오타입보다 부정적인 특성을 지닐 수 있다는 증거가 될 수 있으며, 메타스테레오타입을 보다 정확히 인식하는 것으로 인하여 집단간 관계가 한층 발전 될 수 있는 여지를 제시하고 있다고 해석할 수 있다. 본 연구의 결과는 집단간 관계의 특성에 따라서 일반화 가능성이 제한 될 수 있다는 문제점을 안고 있으나, 최근 연구가 시작된 분야이므로 앞으로 여러 다양한 관계의 집단간에 걸친 실증적인 연구를 통하여 메타스테레오타입의 일반적인 특성을 확인할 필요성을 제시하고 있다는 점에 본 연구의 의의가 있다고 볼 수 있다.

주요어 : 메타스테레오타입, 스테레오타입, 집단간 관계

Appendix A. Sample items of meta- and other-stereotypes

Meta-stereotype questionnaire for Japanese participants in Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans condition (presented in Japanese language)

당신은 한국인들이 일본인과 한국인 자신들에 대해 각각 어떤 인상을 가지고 있다고 생각하십니까?
한국인들이, 일본인 및 한국인 자기 자신들이 각 항목에 제시된 특성을 어느 정도 지니고 있다고 생각하고 있을지에 대한 당신의 생각을 0%에서 100%사이에서 선택해 그 숫자에 동그라미를 표해주시기 바랍니다.

- 한국인들은, 일본인의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하고 있을까요?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%
- 한국인들은, 한국인 자신들의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하고 있을까요?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%

Other-stereotype questionnaire for Korean participants in Japanese meta-stereotype of Koreans condition

당신은 일본인과 한국인에 대해 각각 어떤 인상을 가지고 있습니까?
일본인과 한국인의 몇 퍼센트 정도가 각 항목에 제시된 특성을 지니고 있는지에 대한 당신의 생각을 0%에서 100%사이에서 선택해 그 숫자에 동그라미를 표해주시기 바랍니다.

- 당신은, 일본인의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하십니까?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%
- 당신은, 한국인의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하십니까?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%

Meta-stereotype questionnaire for Korean participants in Korean meta-stereotype of Japanese condition

당신은 일본인들이 한국인과 일본인 자신들에 대해 각각 어떤 인상을 가지고 있다고 생각하십니까?
일본인들이, 한국인 및 일본인 자기 자신들이 각 항목에 제시된 특성을 어느 정도 지니고 있다고 생각하고 있을지에 대한 당신의 생각을 0%에서 100%사이에서 선택해 그 숫자에 동그라미를 표해주시기 바랍니다.

- 일본인들은, 한국인의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하고 있을까요?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%
- 일본인들은, 일본인 자신들의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하고 있을까요?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%

Other-stereotype questionnaire for Japanese participants in Korean meta-stereotype of Japanese condition (presented in Japanese language)

당신은 일본인과 한국인에 대해 각각 어떤 인상을 가지고 있습니까?
일본인과 한국인의 몇 퍼센트 정도가 각 항목에 제시된 특성을 지니고 있는지에 대한 당신의 생각을 0%에서 100%사이에서 선택해 그 숫자에 동그라미를 표해주시기 바랍니다.

- 당신은, 한국인의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하십니까?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%
- 당신은, 일본인의 몇 퍼센트가 공격적이라고 생각하십니까?
0% - 10% - 20% - 30% - 40% - 50% - 60% - 70% - 80% - 90% - 100%

Appendix B. T values for traits constituting the meta- and other-stereotypes

	JPN (KOR→JPN)	KOR→JPN	KOR (JPN→KOR)	JPN→KOR
Aggressive	6.97***	-	5.87***	10.71***
Rigid	5.79***	-	4.70***	5.92***
Incapable	6.49***	-	-	3.13**
Egocentric	6.85***	-	-	4.00***
Irresponsible	8.69***	-	4.23***	-
Arrogant	8.66***	-	5.48***	5.79***
Wasteful	7.19***	-	4.65***	-
Unreliable	8.89***	-	-	2.07*
Careless	6.81***	-	4.55***	-
Clumsy	2.88**	-	-	-
Dissatisfied	3.92***	-	4.2***	7.29***
Dishonest	8.46***	2.98**	-	-
Sloppy	5.58***	-	3.77***	-
Prejudiced	7.06***	-	3.80***	2.51*
Rebellious	4.79***	-	-	9.54***
Unruly	4.29***	-	6.39***	-
Frivolous	7.07***	-	5.05***	-
Ill-mannered	4.89***	-	4.42***	-
Passive	8.88***	-	3.9***	-
Disrespectful	6.87***	-	5.85***	-
Insincere	7.26***	-	4.14***	-
Selfish	6.18***	-	-	-
Ignorant	5.73***	-	3.77***	-
Cowardly	8.66***	5.01***	-	-
Disagreeable	8.11***	5.15***	4.87***	4.24***
Lusterless	8.70***	3.89***	-	-
Unmotivated	8.26***	-	-	-
Conservative	5.62***	-	3.30**	-
Timid	4.82***	4.71***	-	-
Closed-minded	7.19***	4.61***	-	-
Unconfident	6.86***	-	-	-
Impatient	6.90***	-	-	-
Shy	6.87***	2.62*	-	-
Active	-	-	-	10.03***
Competent	-	-	-	-
Aspiring	-	-	-	8.24***

Friendly	-	-	-	-
Humorous	-	-	3.08**	-
Independent	-	3.21**	-	6.84***
Outgoing	-	-	-	3.68***
Patient	-	3.2**	-	-
Confident	-	-	2.96**	8.45***
Serious	-	-	-	-
Altruistic	-	-	-	-
Intelligent	-	-	-	-
Flexible	-	-	-	-
Likable	-	-	-	-
Responsible	-	-	-	-
Wealthy	6.26***	7.09***	-	-
Well-mannered	-	3.84***	-	-
Sympathetic	-	3.25**	-	-
Progressive	-	-	-	-
Rational	-	3.20**	-	-
Family-oriented	-	-	-	6.67***
Thrift	-	5.93***	-	3.77***
Reliable	-	-	-	-
Skilled	-	-	-	-
Favorable	-	-	-	-
Honest	-	-	-	-
Impartial	-	2.81**	-	-
Cooperative	-	6.33***	-	-
Respectful	-	3.52**	-	-
Calm	-	5.28***	-	-
Modest	-	-	-	-
Careful	3.02**	4.05***	-	-
Reticent	6.97***	4.20***	-	-
Reserved	6.67***	5.12***	-	-

Note. JPN (KOR→JPN) represents Japanese participants' predictions about how Koreans view the Japanese; KOR→JPN represents Korean participants' actual ratings about how they view the Japanese; KOR (JPN→KOR) represents Korean participants' predictions about how the Japanese view Koreans; JPN→KOR represents Japanese participants' actual ratings about how they view Koreans.

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.