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JEALOUSY AND NARCISSISM AS

PREDICTORS OF PREJUDICE

by

Shasha Camaj

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ABSTRACT

JEALOUSY AND NARCISSISM AS PREDICTORS OF PREJUDICE
By

Shasha Camaj

Psychodynamic interpretations of prejudice emphasize their irrational quality and implicate unconsciously motivated forces. Two general theoretical hypotheses were tested. First, displaced jealousy derived from early sibling rivalry has been proposed as a motivator of prejudice towards outgroups. Mixed results were obtained for this theory. A story completion task was used in a between-groups design to test this hypothesis among 345 undergraduate subjects. In addition, self-report data inquiring about perceived sibling rivalry and parental affection were gathered. These tests failed to support the hypothesis. However, the number of times an individual was displaced by the birth of siblings did directly affect racism scores, with eldest born having higher racism scores. This was supported in a regression analysis using 109 Caucasian subjects who were administered the Modern Racism Scale (MRS).

The second general hypothesis examined was that a positive relationship exists between narcissistic personality features in a non-clinical sample and racism. This hypothesis was supported in a correlational analysis amongst 538 subjects using the MRS and the O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory.

Implications pertaining to displaced feelings of jealousy from childhood onto outgroups is discussed as well as the theoretical link and implications of narcissistic personality features of prejudiced individuals.

Për babën tim.

Faleminers për mundimin, dashurina, dhe devocionin
që ke ba për mua
për me mi plotsue dëshirat e mija.

To my mother and father, whose "blood, sweat, and tears"
have made so much possible for me.

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INTRODUCTION

The history of mankind is replete with periods of intense brutality toward and/or subjugation of one group against another. It appears that, at times, prejudice and the need to oppress, dominate, exploit, segregate, and exterminate others based on differences in race, religion, or ethnicity seems almost insatiable. These activities are as commonplace as the emotional sources of hatred, greed, and envy from which they stem. While the word prejudice can, of course, mean simply a "pre-judging" or bias, the definition intended here is one that commonly connotes a hostility toward a group or member of a group. To be more precise, Allport's (1954) definition of prejudice will serve as the model.

> Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and
> inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It
> may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an
> individual because he [or she] is a member of that group
> (p. 9).

Currently, we are witnesses to some of the worst forms of prejudice. In Europe and Africa there has been a resurgence of fiercely prejudiced factions who sadly remind many of the horrors of Nazism. In the United States, racism and the resulting discrimination has produced much social and political upheaval. The negative psychological effects of racism and discrimination have been empirically documented (Fanon, 1967; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951; Karon, 1975; McDonald, 1970). Karon's

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(1975) study of anti-black discrimination, as was defined by the American caste system, demonstrates that its effects are harmful to both black and white members of society. Fortunately, there has been a considerable decline in the expression of outright rejection and discrimination of minority groups since the civil rights movement in the United States. However, some authors (e.g. Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986) cogently assert that there is a more insidious form of racism present in today's culture. They propose that prejudice continues to exist but in more subtle, less detectable forms. This form of racism, termed "aversive racism" by Gaertner and Dovidio, is the product of a compromise between the strong, socially appropriate egalitarian values of most white Americans negative feelings about blacks. They assert that most white Americans do not feel all good or all bad about blacks, but that they are always "ambivalent" in their views.

The ambivalence described by Gaertner and Dovidio becomes evident only when subjects are studied both inside and outside the pressure of social norms. That is, when social norms and expectations are clear and there is an opportunity for negative self or other evaluation, overt bias is unlikely to occur. However, when norms are unclear or expectations are mixed, prejudiced behavior is more often displayed. In other words, what these authors are suggesting is that the aversive racist is racist only when nobody is looking or when the discrimination can be rationalized to oneself.

Dovidio and Gaertner (1991) and McConahay (1986) review several studies which seem to support their assumptions. For example, in one study subjects showed much less evidence of personal concern, as measured by both physiological response and helping behavior, for black victims than for white victims (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). This was true

when the subjects were in the presence of other bystanders (and their responsibility became more diffuse), but not true when they were the only witnesses to the distress of the victim. In a study examining the potential factors of resistance to affirmative action, Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) found that, regardless of subjects' degree of prejudice, whites exhibit a relatively negative response to a black supervisor as compared to a black subordinate, despite actual qualifications of each.

McConahay (1986) delineates the tenets of this modern form of racism as follows:

1. discrimination is a thing of the past

2. (because) blacks now have the freedom to compete in the marketplace and to enjoy those things they can afford

3. blacks are pushing too hard, too fast and into places where they are not wanted

4. these tactics and demands are unfair

5. therefore, recent gains are undeserved and the prestige granting institutions of society are giving blacks more attention and the concomitant status than they deserve

6. racism is bad and the other [above] beliefs do not constitute racism because these beliefs are empirical facts

7. racism, as defined by modern racists, is consistent only with the tenets and practices of old-fashioned racism: beliefs about black intelligence, ambition, honesty, and other stereotyped characteristics, as well as support for segregation and support for acts of open discrimination (pp. 92-93).

While the foregoing discussion focuses on White racism, the point is that any form of prejudice can be more or less hidden from view, but nevertheless harmful.

Understanding the causes of prejudice

In general, what are the reasons motivating antipathy toward any minority groups? Most investigators of prejudice would agree that its dynamics involve complex and multi-determined features (e.g. Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). These features of prejudice include both cognitive and emotional components on an individual level, in addition to socio-cultural, economic, and political elements. This investigation will focus on the psychological motivations of prejudice viewing prejudice is a dynamic rooted in an individual's personality.

Some consider stereotypic thinking to be the cause of prejudicial feelings and beliefs. This is one point of view, possibly best describing only one form of prejudice. Stereotypic thinking, since it is objectively measurable, seems to be the simplest means of assessing prejudice. Representing this form of investigation are the cognitive researchers of stereotypic thinking (e.g. Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). They argue that stereotypic thinking is a natural consequence of the way in which human beings manage an overwhelming amount of stimuli using a limited amount of conscious "workspace." They say that shortcut cognitive solutions, including stereotypic thinking, are the result of coping with the very complex stimuli of everyday life (or what William James referred to as this "blooming and buzzing confusion"). One could certainly see the evolutionary benefit of reducing the complexity of cognitive process, such as making generalizations from very little information.

However, since it seems often to be the case that stereotypic thinking can stubbornly persist in *defiance* of evidence or experience (Allport, 1954), these purely cognitive models fail to consider the motivational or affective components to stereotyping. Recognizing this,

Taylor (1981) states that the future of the most complex research in stereotyping should move toward "elucidating the nature of the cognitive-motivation interface" (p. 112). Similarly, Frosh (1989) states that "much of the active research into prejudice by psychologists has failed to deal with the intensity of the racist imagination: that the affective dimension is omitted in favor of accounts of the irrational structure of prejudiced cognitions" (p. 217).

Insofar as stereotypic thinking is the cause of prejudice, it seems a worthwhile avenue of study. However, it would be false to assume that this is always the case, though it may be important in some forms of prejudice. Very recent studies by Esses et al. (1993) and Jackson et al. (1993) suggest that, in general, stereotypic thinking is *not* a good predictor of prejudice. In short, affect plays a more primary role in the prediction of group prejudice (Stangor et al., 1991; Jackson, 1993). More often, stereotypic thinking can be construed as a way of defending one's irrational feelings associated with prejudice (Allport, 1954; Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964; Reiser, 1961). Allport (1954) asserts that the stereotype "acts both as a justificatory devise for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking" (p. 192). He adds that few people are aware of the real reasons for their hatred of minority groups and that the reasons they invent are "merely rationalizations." Levin and Levin (1982) describe instances in which prejudices develop as a way to justify actual discriminatory behavior already in operation. A recent study by Stangor et al. (1991) found that affective reactions to national, ethnic, and religious groups were better predictors of prejudice than were cognitions.

The above is consistent with the psychodynamic view of prejudice: that prejudice is motivated, by largely unconscious reasons, to serve an individual's psychic needs. In other words, people do not hate minorities because their stereotypic views dictate such feelings or attitudes; instead, they hold stereotypic views because they hate minority groups. Zajonc' (1980, 1984) study of the relationship between feelings and cognitions is germane to this discussion. He concludes that feelings are primary and that cognitions follow. This insight becomes apparent upon consideration of the many ways in which people selectively attend to those perceptions that conform to their beliefs and ignore those that do not. In Bettelheim and Janowitz' (1964) study of war veterans, they provide an example of the flexibility of how stereotypes are used in the service of rationalizing hostility toward Jews.

> Confronted with the fact that in his own experience Jews behaved like other soldiers--namely that some tried to avoid the danger of combat, while others were courageous, another strongly biased man was still able to protect his stereotype from being denied. The average Jewish soldier, he implied, was incompetent, and the others, bloodthirsty (p. 139).

Another example of the irrationality commonly associated with prejudice, Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) present a statement by Lueger, a Viennese lord mayor and leader of the first modern party based primarily on political anti-Semitism. When he was questioned about his private and professional affiliations with certain Jews, he stated, "I decide who is a Jew and who is not."

To further refute the view that stereotypes *lead* to prejudice, Allport (1954) noted that prejudicial feelings and beliefs can certainly exist without

any stereotypic beliefs. Several researchers have proposed that cognition and affect are independent aspects of group perception (Bodenhausen, 1993; Esses et al., 1993; Stangor et al., 1991).

Allport (1954) records several responses of students writing essays on "My Experience with, and Attitudes toward, Minority Groups in America." Allport comments that the following statements, demonstrating repulsive feelings without any distinct reasons, are typical among the 100 essays.

Every rational voice within me says the Negro is as good, as decent, sincere, and manly as the white, but I cannot help noticing a split between my reason and prejudice.

Although prejudice is unethical, I know I shall always have prejudices. I believe in goodwill toward the Negro, but I shall never invite him to my house for dinner. Yes, I know I'm a hypocrite.

Intellectually, I am firmly convinced that this prejudice against Italians is unjustified. And in my present behavior to Italian friends I try to lean over backwards to counteract the attitude. But it is remarkable how strong a hold it has on me.

These prejudices make me feel narrow-minded and intolerant and therefore I try to be as pleasant as possible. I get so angry with myself for having such feelings, but somehow I do not seem to be able to quench them.

The more I try to treat Jews as individuals, the more conscious I seem to become of them as a group. My compulsive prejudice is putting up a fight against its own elimination (p. 327).

Allport might suggest that these people are less defended against their prejudices because they have not marshaled rigid stereotypes as a way to rationalize their otherwise irrational feelings. It is this irrational quality of prejudice, which seems to make its presence so toxic and resistant to change, to which this discussion turns in consideration of some psychodynamic interpretations.

Psychodynamic interpretations of prejudice: A review

Many psychoanalytic authors have emphasized that prejudice occurs through the process of defense mechanisms--particularly projection, scapegoating, displacement, or some combination of these (Adorno, et al., 1950/1964; Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964; Bird, 1957; Butts, 1971; Frenkel-Brunswick & Sanford, 1947; Freud, 1939/1965; Kris, 1949; Loewenstein, 1947; Mohan, 1991, Money-Kyrle, 1960; Reiser, 1961, Schick, 1971; Schoenfeld, 1966; Silverman, 1985) .

Projection

Freud's (1913/1955, 1915/1956) classic definition of projection is the attribution to others those traits and impulses in oneself that cannot be recognized. This process is intended to protect the individual from the generation of anxiety, guilt, or other unwanted feelings. In the classical definition, projection results in a distorted view in others due to lack of insight regarding one's own feelings and beliefs. From the general definition sprung various permutations of projection as a defense mechanism (see Holmes, 1978). Rabin (1981) reminds us of the extended definition of projection which is that it is not merely a defensive dynamic, but something that occurs as a consequence of the more general tendency we all have to fill in our external perceptions with internal processes.

Projection, presumably defined in the pathological sense, has been linked extensively to psychodynamic theories of prejudice. Bettelheim and

Janowitz (1964) make the interesting observation from their extensive study of intolerance on W.W.II veterans that people will split off different parts of their personality functioning to project onto different groups. They observed that the Jews became the target of the envy and demands of their ego ideal, while Blacks became the target of projected repulsive, id impulses. "Id" impulses such as sexuality, and aggressiveness have been thought to be commonly targeted on Blacks, whereas the ego ideal features of pride, deceit, unsocialized egotism, grasping ambition, and so forth are projected onto the Jews (Bird, 1957).

Allport (1954) maintains that the need to project the malicious, dirty, and violent parts of ourselves onto outgroups seems universal. He notes that in Europe, for instance, the Jews were targeted with these projections because the Black was not as available. In America, however, the Blacks, are the bearers of these unacceptable features. Loewenstein (1947) remarks similarly that there are two types of minority groups: those who arouse contempt because they believe them inferior (id impulses) and those to whom the majority feels inferior, admires and imitates (ego ideal demands).

Hamilton's (1986) essay examines the anal components of white's hostility and aggression toward blacks as they are projected onto blacks. He argues that these traits are what underlies resistance against racially integrated housing. This type of projection of what is dirty could be said to contribute to the "ethnic cleansing" movements which have been underway in the past and continue into the present. In "ethnic cleansing," one is attempting to evacuate those feelings about oneself that may be associated with disgust and hatred.

To the extent that sexuality is regarded as "dirty" and "bad," sexual impulses are consequently also commonly projected features in prejudicial feelings toward outgroups. Of course, unwanted sexual impulses and the guilt and ambivalence associated with sexuality are commonly projected onto outgroups. The Black has been the general depository for inhibitory sexual responses. In the following citation, it is clear that this prejudiced attitude belies fears about the proper "place" for sexuality and a subsequent fear of losing control of sexual urges.

> I do not remember how or when, but by the time I had learned that God is love, that Jesus is His Son and came to give us more abundant life, that all men are brothers with a common Father, I also knew that I was better than a Negro, that all black folks have their place and must be kept in it, that sex has its place and must be kept in it, that a terrifying disaster would befall the South if ever I treated a Negro as my social equal...(Smith cited in Allport, 1954; p. 290).

Blacks came to be forbidden the same way that sex is forbidden. At the same time that individuals may project their unacceptable sexual impulses, they also seem to envy the Black for what they imagine to be unrestrained sexual indulgence. Bird (1957) has suggested that, in general, prejudiced people project not only their feelings of inferiority but also their envy, believing the outgroup to be anxious, ambitious and trying to rise above their situation.

In each case, prejudicial feelings are stimulated by depositing onto outgroups what traits in themselves cannot be fully recognized—a sort of disguised self-repulsion. Furthermore, Reiser (1961) astutely observes that the need for whites to maintain a superior position over blacks is

"analogous to the egos need to remain in control of the id" (p. 171). These mechanisms, as are all defense mechanisms, are designed to alleviate the shame and anxiety which might otherwise confront the individual.

What is the evidence that prejudice is, at least in part, a consequence of projection? There are a few correlation studies which suggest a relationship between prejudice and the use of projection (Adorno, et al., 1950; Kelley & Stahelski, 1970) as well as one experimentally designed study (Peak, 1060). The evidence for classical projection in general, when empirical tests of it are attempted in the laboratory, is not convincing (Holmes, 1978).

Scapegoating

Related to projection, but not considered to be one of the classic defense mechanisms, is what many have called the scapegoating theory of prejudice. Allport (1954) explains that the term "scapegoat"

> originated in the famous ritual of the Hebrews, described in the Book of Leviticus (16:20-22). On the Day of Atonement a live goat was chosen by lot. The high priest...confessed over it the inequities of the children of Israel. The sins of the people thus symbolically transferred to the beast, it was taken out into the wilderness and let go. The people felt purged, and for the time being, guiltless (p. 244).

Applied to prejudice, this theory holds that minority groups bear the burden of our despicable feelings, that they are employed as a means for us to discharge our unwanted emotions. The scapegoat is essentially blamed for our faults; he or she is targeted as a way to externalize our inner conflicts. In both projection and scapegoating, the individual is externalizing internal conflict.

In general, prejudice can be thought of as a means of externalizing conflict. In their in-depth study of anti-Semitic personalities, Ackerman and Jahoda (1950) found that depression and anti-Semitism rarely co-exist. Following one line of psychoanalytic thought that depression is a turning of hostile feelings against oneself, it may be that depression is antithetical to prejudice, since the latter is an *externalizing* process. Bird (1957) agrees with this assumption. He presents a case history of a woman whose most successful period of life was a time during which she was also quite intensely anti-Semitic. Following Ackerman and Jahoda (1950), Bird maintains that his patient was perhaps best equipped to function in the work sphere when she could outwardly direct her aggression.

In their extensive, in-depth study of ethnic intolerance among psychiatric patients, Adorno, et al. (1950/1964) report similar evidence. They found that the more highly tolerant patients were diagnosed primarily with depression. However, those lowest in ethnic tolerance were more typically plagued with various symptoms of anxiety and hostility.

Displacement

Another mechanism considered to motivate prejudice is displacement. Displacement is a defense mechanism whereby an individual experiences feelings and/or acts out against a person who is other than the original target of those feelings. Usually, strong prohibitions against direct expression of certain feelings toward the original targets are established. Present-day feelings of jealousy, envy, or hostility toward people in present circumstances are said to often be fueled by those same reactions which

were stimulated in regard to our earlier childhood relationships (this is the concept on which transference is based).

To the extent that a scapegoated target represents a displaced target, these two mechanisms are similar or can be the same. Several authors have maintained that the aggressive feelings of prejudiced people is a displacement of their intense anger originally directed at tyrannical and authoritarian parents (Adorno, 1950/1964; Allport, 1954). A few experimental studies have found that more prejudiced individuals tend to be more aggressive when compared to less prejudiced individuals (Dustin & Davis, 1967; Genthner & Taylor, 1973; Lipetz & Ossorio, 1967; Smith, 1967). Furthermore, a longitudinal study by Stephen & Rosenfeld (1978) demonstrated a correlation between parental punitiveness and authoritarian parenting with negative changes in children's racial attitudes. In general, experimental studies of displaced aggression is supportive of the theory (See Fenigstein & Buss, 1974; Nacci & Tedeschi, 1977).

Related to anger, jealousy is one particular feeling said to be associated with hostility toward outgroup members. One of the sources of hostility and jealousy is associated with sibling rivalry. Freud (1933/1964) writes that the arrival of a new brother or sister is experienced as a traumatic shock to the child. Each new birth creates terrific anger and resentment in the child and that the impact of that trauma persists into adulthood. Through clinical observations, we can recognize that in

adulthood the source of much of our irrational feelings of anger and jealousy toward others who are perceived as intruders can be related to our personal histories of being dethroned by newcomers or less preferred in the presence of other family members.

Strong, irrational reactions against minority group members have been viewed as representing displaced reactions stemming from early family disappointments, especially Oedipal rivalry and sibling rivalry (Ostow, 1991). For instance, several authors have suggested that Jews have commonly been the target of displaced feelings of jealousy, rivalry, and hostility due to various associations (Freud, 1939/1965; Loewenstein, 1947; Schoenfeld , 1966; Simmel, 1946).

Sterba's (1947) paper on the Black race riots is a very clear explication of the rivalrous roots of prejudice. Sterba suggests that there are two unconsciously motivated forces behind the antagonism felt towards Blacks. The first is related to the notion that Blacks are "experienced emotionally, as unwelcome intruders" (p. 412). He believes that the severity of the reactions towards Blacks betrays their unconscious roots. Through displacement, Blacks represent the unwanted, newborn siblings who usurp the prized position in the family and limit the attentions of the caretakers.

Sterba maintains that white Americans regard the Black movement into their society as a threat which paralleled their early sibling rivalry. He

adds that the desire to suppress and control the infiltration of Blacks and keep them inferior is unconsciously fueled by the early struggle to restrict the maturation of the fiercely resented younger siblings. "The older child often attempts to deny the younger child's achievement, or to belittle it: since the younger child is there at all, he should at least remain stupid, immature and a permanent infant, from whom the older child need not fear too much competition" (p. 415). He continues to explain that interracial marriage is considered the "greatest horror" because it connotes being fully accepted by the family.

Sterba maintains also that another unconscious motive for hatred toward blacks is represented in the race riots which involve several white men violently attacking a black man. In this instance, it is Oedipal rivalry or unconscious sexual jealousy that fuels the hostility and aggression targeted at the black man. Sterba's interpretation of the lynching of a black man by a group of white men is that it is an unconscious enactment of intense Oedipal rivalry and patricidal wishes.

Gordon (1965) points to the connotation of the sexual nature of prejudice with the racist cliché: "Would you want your sister to marry one of them?" (p. 107). Ostow (1991) presents a clinical case of a gentile man whose Oedipal rivalry manifests itself temporarily as prejudice against a Jewish man. Ostow's essay (1991), "A psychoanalytic approach to the problems of prejudice, discrimination, and persecution," describes how

early conflicts pertaining to Oedipal rivalry or sibling rivalry may fuel

prejudicial feelings in adults.

> A persisting tendency to resurrect and then resolve
> unresolved Oedipal rivalries may seize upon some realistic or
> imagined rivalry with another individual, and respond to it as
> though it were the original. Members of other ethnic groups...may
> then be disparaged nominally for their ethnic difference, but actually
> with the motivation derived from early experience." (p. 84)

Ostow warns, however, of the danger of applying, too

stereotypically, Oedipal conflicts to the whole problem of prejudice.

Additionally, Ostow asserts that the explanation of prejudice as simply the

result of the socialization process (Jones, 1972), is incomplete. That is,

prejudiced parents do not necessarily produce prejudice children through

the process of identification. Ostow (1991) argues that a powerful

determining factor in whether offspring identify with their parents'

prejudices is the kind of relationship that is fostered between parent and

child. A study by Hassan and Khalique (1987) found that religious

prejudice was highest amongst children who's parents were both prejudice

and authoritarian and restrictive during upbringing.

In summary, the early psychodynamic theories of prejudice

generally speak to various interrelated defense mechanisms. The

"authoritarian personality" was the first attempt to define the specific

profile of defenses and dynamics which defined the general personality of

those highly intolerant. In the next section, another aspect of pathological

personality features will be viewed as forming the context for prejudiced

beliefs and feelings.

Narcissism and Prejudice

Most of the psychoanalytic writings on prejudice occurred in the late 40's and 50's during a time when anti-Semitism was quite intense. During this time psychoanalysis was primarily influenced by Freud's structural theory of drives, conflicts, and defenses. In the last 30 years, however, object relations theory and self-psychology has become integrated into psychoanalytic practice and theory. The emphasis has been placed heavily on pre-oedipal trauma, interpersonal deficits in relating and less on the drive-defense-structural model. One of the most important contributions in recent years has been the theoretical development of the importance of narcissism and the prevalence of pathological forms of narcissism (Kernberg, 1974, 1975; Kohut, 1971, 1977).

In this section, a rationale for hypothesizing a relationship between narcissism and prejudice is provided. Perhaps it would be more accurate to suggest that prejudiced attitudes and feelings are motivated by many of the same etiological factors which constitute the narcissistic condition. A theoretical connection is explored because, in general, it seems that many of the features of prejudiced people and their childhood experiences are similar to the characteristics and etiology of narcissism, as described primarily by Kohut (1971, 1977) and Kernberg (1974, 1975).

The most striking similarity is in regards to the descriptions of childhood experiences given so consistently among prejudiced people when compared to non-prejudiced people. Those high in prejudice or intolerance portray their parents as cold, harsh, and punitive (Ackerman & Jahoda, 1950; Adorno, et. al., 1950; Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964; Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford, 1947; Triandis & Triandis, 1962). Lack of parental

love and affection is considered to be at the root of the foundation of the narcissistic condition. Specifically, Kohut (1977) asserts that narcissism is rooted in the parents continual absence of "empathic responses to the child's needs to be mirrored and to find a target for his idealization" (p. 187). Kernberg (1974) maintains that "the predominance of chronically cold, narcissistic, and at the same time overprotective mother figures appear to be the main etiological element in the psychogenesis" of narcissism. Miller (1984) argues that one of the etiological elements of pathological narcissism is related to the *rigid disciplinary maneuvers* carried out by parents inspired by a disturbing unconscious need to control others.

Kohut's concept of mirroring, an essential form of empathy, is a fairly simple operationalization of this most basic childhood need. The term mirroring refers to the warmth and positive responsiveness that a parent conveys to a child. This responsiveness includes a confirmation of the child's exhibitionism and innate sense of grandiosity, his or her need for profound acceptance, and conviction of worthiness. Kohut believes that this mirroring process results in a healthy internalization of these vital responses which produce a self structure in the adult that becomes convinced of its goodness, wholeness, strength, and innate worthiness. Kohut asserts that the process of mirroring is what is essentially absent from the narcissist's early relationships. The classic example of an failure in mirroring is the small child who gleefully bursts home from school eager to show his mother his new painting. The mother, who is preoccupied, responds with a cold, abrupt exclamation: "Not now! Can't you see I'm busy?"

The narcissistic condition is predicated, in part, on the caretaker's chronic incapacity to respond according to the child's basic needs for empathy. The mirror-hungry child grows up to be a mirror-hungry adult still striving to be responded to as the special, grandiose individual who needs constant reassurance and praise. As an adult, then, many narcissistically injured people crave exclusive attention and endless admiration in various ways (e.g. beauty, wealth, fame, one-sided relationships, and so forth). This hunger for praise and admiration from others is different from the intimacy gained through love and mutual respect that more mature individuals seek in relationships. Perhaps the best summary of the plight of the narcissistic personality is put forth by Joyce McDougall. She comments that the pond that Narcissus stared at interminably was really the eye of the unresponsive mother.

What evidence is there that prejudiced people suffer from this type of narcissistic injury? Several other researchers have linked prejudiced with lack of parental affection (Adorno, et al., 1950/1964; Dickens & Hobart, 1959; Stephen & Rosenfeld, 1978; Triandis & Triandis, 1962). Most of these studies involve data collection from only one source: the adult reporting about or revealing through projective material cold and unresponsive parenting. However, Dickens & Hobart (1959) interviewed both mothers and their offspring in a study of anti-Semitism. The mothers of the ethnocentric children demonstrated what the authors described as "ignoring attitudes" toward their children. For instance, 75% of the nonethnocentric group agreed that the most important consideration in planning their home activities should be the needs and interests of the children, whereas only 44% of the mothers of ethnocentric subjects agreed. Fifty percent of the ethnocentric mothers agreed that quiet children were

much nicer than "little chatterboxes." Only 6% of the mothers of the nonethnocentric group agreed. In addition, 63% of the ethnocentric mothers agreed that "parents are usually too busy to answer all of a child's unimportant questions," whereas 37% of the nonethnocentric group agreed.

These ignoring attitudes are consistent with the non-mirroring aspects of parents of narcissistic personalities. In addition, Adorno, et al. (1950/1964) documented themes of deprivation running through the clinical assessments of prejudiced subjects. They reported feeling "'forgotten'...the victims of injustice who did not 'get' enough" (p. 348).

As a consequence of this early deprivation, rage and envy are strongly manifest in the narcissistic personality (Kernberg, 1974; 1975). The role of rage is obvious. The repeated disappointments and neglect of very powerful exhibitionist and empathic needs and the shame and hopelessness that they stimulate leads to rage--more specifically termed, narcissistic rage. Narcissistic rage results from the intense humiliation and degradation that is felt to be aimed at, not a particular part of the individual, put the core of his/her very essence of self.

It has been commonly noted by many investigators of prejudice that anger, as well as feelings of deprivation, and envy, are characteristic of those high in prejudice (Adorno, et. al., 1950/1964; Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964; Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford, 1947; Triandis & Triandis, 1962; Weatheley, 1963). In Weatherley's (1963) study of anti-Semitism, they found a correlation between the sternness of maternal discipline toward aggression and anti-Semitism in the daughters.

Expressions of envy, like aggression, has also been recorded as differentiating highly prejudiced individuals from more tolerant individuals

(Adorno, et al., 1950/1964). This is not surprising since, according to Melanie Klein (1957), envy *is* an aggressive urge. She describes it as an urge to destroy the contents of the good object; it is motivated by innate hostility towards the possessors of what is good or nourishing as it is a reminder of one's lack of self-sufficiency. Money-Kyrle (1960) emphasized the role of envy in prejudice as a major contributor to the "pathological dislike" of others. Studies in anti-Semitism suggest, for example, that the Jewish association with the acquisition of money and an intellectual superiority is said to provoke feelings of intense envy and hostility (Loewenstein, 1947; Schoenfeld, 1966).

In their study of racial and ethnic intolerance among W.W.II veterans, Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) documented significant differences between high and low tolerant individuals on this dimension. For instance, the intolerant men expressed a wish that the Jews have "less" than they themselves possessed. On the other hand, the tolerant men reported that they would have liked *as much* as they felt the Jews had. This is a description of the expression of envy as an urge to destroy that which is perceived as good *in the form of prejudice.*

This deeply felt sense of deprivation shows up in Bettelheim's study in various ways. Objective measures of deprivation during their army life was not associated with intolerance; however, the most outspoken and intense anti-Semites and anti-Negroes subjectively reported increased feelings of deprivation, both during their army experience *and* in childhood. Of those who claimed to have had a "bad break" in the army, almost five times as many were intolerant as tolerant.

The authors conclude that their findings suggest that intolerance is highly associated with feelings of deprivation "and that such feelings persist

despite the 'knowledge' that one's fate was by no means particularly bad."
As a likely manifestation of this sense of deprivation, the intensely
intolerant subjects also expressed fearful anticipation of *not being taken
care* of by the government. This association was independent of veteran's
actual income[1].

As mentioned above, Kohut (1971; 1977) believed that idealization
was another of the most primitive needs served by the self-object for the
building of self-esteem. He maintained that the need for idealization began
with an infant's need for merger with his/her caretakers. This merger is
first experienced during physical holding, something we know is as
essential to human life as food and water. Kohut argues that
psychologically, holding provides an important sense of the parent's
strength, infallibility, calmness, and omnipotence. The child's need to find
this kind of perfection and strength continues throughout development and
can easily be seen through modeling and imitating behavior. Early and
repeated disappointments in the idealized parents leads to a powerful need
to find others to admire and imitate in adulthood. Kohut & Wolf (1978)
provide a simple illustration of a failure in empathic responding to a child's
need for idealization.

> A little boy is eager to idealize his father, he wants his father
> to tell him about his life, the battles he engaged in and won. But
> instead of joyfully acting in accordance with his son's need, the
> father is embarrassed by the request. He feels tired and bored and,

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[1] The authors point out that this subjective sense of deprivation, as it exists in
absence of objective evidence, and fiercely felt prejudice is contrary to the notion
that there is a realistic source of competition in the environment which stimulates
outgroup hostility. In social psychology, this is termed Realistic Conflict Theory
which states that antagonism generated between groups is caused by a scarcity of
resources for what we value such as wealth, power, etc. (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

leaving the house, finds a temporary source of vitality for his enfeebled self in the tavern, through drink and mutually supportive talk with friends (p. 418).

Is there any evidence that prejudiced people display any of the features of a need for archaic idealization found in narcissism? Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford (1947) asked college students several questions, many of which seemed to differentiate the high- and low-scoring anti-Semites. When asked to list the great people whom they admire most, the low-scorers listed humanitarians, artists, and scientists, whereas the high-scorers tended to list patriots and people with power and control. This is consistent with the findings of Adorno, et al. (1950/1964) whose high scoring prejudice subjects demonstrated a strong attraction to power and toughness in others and a complementary readiness to submit.

In a recent study of parenting styles and narcissism (Watson, et.al., 1992), subjects who reported having been parented in an authoritarian way displayed more inadequate idealization than those parented in other styles. The authors used Kohut's concept of idealization and measured inadequate idealization by an index of goal instability.

In general, one can re-interpret features of the well-know authoritarian personality (Adorno, et al., 1950/1964) as strivings for an idealized parental figure who is all-powerful, protective and to whose authority one is happy to submit as a way to compensate for their sense of inferiority. Kohut & Wolf (1978) write: The "ideal-hungry personalities...can experience themselves as worthwhile only as long as they can relate to self-objects [caretakers] to whom they can look up" (p. 421). They assert that the consequence of not having had early idealizable self-objects to internalize is that one searches for external figures who encompass values and ideals to fill their inner void. This sounds very much

like the authoritarian personality, whose need to appeal to an all-powerful, controlling, external force, is so conspicuously associated with prejudice.

As a defense against their rage, envy, and profound sense of inferiority, the narcissistic personality employs what is often, but not always, the most conspicuous defense: a sense of omnipotent control and grandiosity. Kernberg (1974; 1975) writes that narcissists often strive to satisfy their grandiose fantasies through the compulsive accumulation of wealth, a preoccupation with beauty, or brilliance. In essence, anything which will elevate them to the sphere of "specialness" to which they were deprived in childhood. In fact, this interest in social standing, and striving for status has been documented among prejudiced people compared to non-prejudiced people (Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford, 1947). In response to the question: What is the most embarrassing experience? those high in prejudice responded with instances which were a "blow to their prestige and *narcissism*," [italics mine] whereas those low on anti-Semitism reported feelings of inadequacy and failures in achievement and friendship as the most embarrassing experiences (Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford, 1947).

Despite the smooth facade in prejudiced people (as found by Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford's 1947 study), the primary researchers and authors of narcissism unanimously agree that the narcissistic condition involves a deep sense of inferiority and vulnerability in their self-esteem underneath the defensive functions (Kohut & Wolf, 1978; Kernberg, 1974; 1975). Low self-esteem has been documented among prejudiced persons (see Ehrlich, 1973 for a review; Stephen & Rosenfeld, 1978).

Kohut & Wolf (1978) suggest that the intensity of the narcissist's needs, which were repeatedly ignored, and their feelings of neediness

arouse "deep shame," hopelessness, and depression. These people equate their feelings of neediness of others as weakness and inferiority, thus the commonly ascribed narcissistic attribute of withdrawal and superficial self-sufficiency (Kernberg, 1974, 1975). In Adorno, et al's (1950/1964) study of prisoners, one of the features that differentiated the more prejudiced prisoners from the low scorers was that they seemed to attempt to deny a sense of "weakness." Furthermore, their crimes seemed to represent this feature as compared to the crimes of more tolerant subjects.

In addition, the low-scoring subjects were more capable of forming genuine attachments to others as opposed to the intolerant subjects. In contrast to those who were tolerant, "normal" prejudiced subjects in Adorno's study were also more reluctant to see themselves as weak. They displayed a contempt for weakness and inferiority, as well as an inability to tolerate shows of emotion in others. This contempt for weakness is a central focus of Alice Miller's (1981) development of narcissistic disturbance. She describes the "vicious cycle of contempt" as the process by which children identify with their parent's contempt for weakness and sense of inferiority against which they (parents) are trying to defend.

Though he predated the works of Kernberg and Kohut, Ackerman's (1965) discussion of the psychological mechanisms of prejudice sounds very much like a chapter out of a book on the narcissistic personality disorder. He suggests that the prejudiced person's "precarious" sense of self is "basically weak, confused, fragmented." He goes on to say that they suffer from a feeling of inferiority, vacillating between viewing themselves a "big or small, relations with others are fleeting or superficial and exploitative, tend to be aggressive, put on a "false front" and they "experience constant fear of inner injury." He added that they tend toward

a "compensatory self-aggrandizement through attachments to symbols of power." This association with a superior power, though illusory, offers the person a sense of magical omnipotence and grandiosity. This description bears an amazing resemblance to Kohut's and Kernberg's depiction of the narcissistic personality disorder.

Conclusions

Due to the social stigma associated with overt discrimination, prejudicial beliefs and feelings exist but in more subtle forms. While the study of stereotypic thinking per se may be fruitful in regards to purely cognitive processing abilities, it cannot be a sufficient means of understanding the complex motivations and meanings of prejudice. Stereotypes often serve as ways of rationalizing outgroup hostility and the irrational quality of prejudice suggests unconsciously motivated forces.

Projection of unwanted feelings or traits onto outgroups is one of the most commonly cited explanations of much outgroup hostility in the psychoanalytic literature. Feelings of dirtiness, aggression, envy, and sexuality have all been deposited onto minority groups as a way to defend against self-repulsion. Also, the role of both sibling rivalry and Oedipal rivalry are seen as contributors to prejudice. It is believed that outgroup members, as they represent displaced rivalrous objects in childhood, are perceived as antagonists who threaten to take away one's intensely guarded privileges and possessions.

Many of the personality features of the highly intolerant suggest that they are narcissistically injured individuals. Inadequate mirroring and empathic failures leading to a deep sense of inferiority, deprivation, contempt for weakness, envy, and hostility all characterize the highly

prejudiced personality. A narcissistic grandiosity and striving for power and status function to defend against envy and profound inadequacy.

Study Rationale

Most of the research on prejudice generated by the psychodynamic approach has been in the form of case study reports. No research has been done to demonstrate that one of the motivating forces of prejudice involves feelings of jealousy (including envy[2]). Further, there has been no attempt to apply the concepts of pathological narcissism as a means of understanding the prejudice personality.

Hypotheses of Present Investigation

This study is an investigation of some of the psychodynamic interpretations of the causes of prejudice. This study is divided into two sections testing 1) jealousy as a motive of prejudice and 2) the relationship between prejudice and narcissism.

Section I: Jealousy and Prejudice

The general theoretical hypothesis is stated thus: Feelings of jealousy are hypothesized to contribute to an attitude of prejudice toward minority groups. In addition, according to Sterba (1947), an individual's feelings of prejudice toward outgroups is specifically related to the sense of jealousy that is stimulated by the birth of siblings. Hence, the greater

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[2] While Melanie Klein (1957) makes a distinction between envy and jealousy, the concepts are so closely related that they will be considered one within the framework of this study.

number of times an individual is displaced by siblings, the greater the tendency for a prejudiced view of outgroup members.

Operational Hypotheses:

1) Subjects presented with a story stem completion task which includes a minority group member will be more likely to respond with feelings of jealousy, as measured by the sum of the jealousy responses, than control subjects whose stories do not contain minority group identification.

2) Individuals who have been displaced more often by the birth of younger siblings will exhibit more prejudice, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale, as compared to individuals displaced by fewer or those who have no younger siblings. This relationship should be positive and linear.

3) Subjects with higher prejudice scores, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale, will report having felt less loved by their parents according to items derived from the Personal Questionnaire ("Ratings of Parents Affection").

4) Subjects with higher prejudice scores, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale, will report having felt less preferred by their parents as compared to their siblings (termed "Ratings of Parents Favoring Siblings").

Section II: Narcissism and Prejudice

The theoretical hypothesis is stated thus: There is a positive relationship between narcissistic personality features in a sub-clinical sample of college students and racism.

Operational Hypothesis:

5) Subjects' narcissism scores, as measured by O'Brien's Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory, will correlate positively and significantly with scores on racism, as measured by on the Modern Racism Scale.

METHOD

Undergraduate students were recruited for this study, which was labelled "Personality Development," from the subject pool. In several group settings, they were administered a packet containing a brief personal questionnaire, a short stories test, a measure of narcissism, and a social attitude survey. They were given a consent form indicating that no identifying information was requested other than age, gender, and race.

Students were instructed to read a cover letter that explained that their participation is entirely voluntary and that the information gathered would be kept confidential and anonymous. They were asked to sign a consent form (Appendix A) which was turned in separately from the rest of the test materials. They were also encouraged to leave their name and phone number with the investigator in case they wanted more information about the study and its findings after data collection was completed. All of the surveys were hand-scored. The quantitative data was analyzed using T-tests,, Pearson product moment correlations, and regressions.

Subjects

Data were collected from a total of 688 undergraduate students at Michigan State University. A subset of this total (N=343) consisted of a pilot study for the Jealousy Stories; therefore, the number of subjects used for various analyses will vary. Specific samples will, of course, be described in each case. From the total number of subjects, 203 (30%) of these subjects were men, and 469 (70%) were women. The mean age was 21 (sd=3.2). The minimum age was 18 and the maximum age was 48. The group were predominantly white (83.7%). Table 1 below depicts the racial breakdown of the study population. Subjects were predominately from psychology classes with the exception of one group who were recruited from an Art History course.

TABLE 1
Racial Breakdown
(N= 669)

Race	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Caucasian	560	83.7	83.7
African-American	58	8.7	92.4
Asian (/American)	35	5.2	98.8
Hispanic	8	1.2	93.6
other	8	1.2	100.0

<u>Materials</u>

Personal Questionnaire

The Personal Questionnaire (Appendix B) was designed (by the author) to

assess subjects' feelings about their subjective sense of whether or not they

felt emotionally deprived in their family settings. There are essentially two

questions, applied to each parent. First, subjects are instructed to choose,

on a continuum of 1 to 7, the extent to which they felt they received

enough "love and affection" from each of their parents. Second, they were

asked to indicate the extent to which they felt each of their parents favored

one or more of their siblings over them.

A pilot study was performed to assess test-retest reliability of these

items. The questionnaire was administered twice over a 5-week period to

20 MSU undergraduates. Tables 2 and 3 below give correlation

coefficients for the two mother questions and the two father questions

respectively. These analyses indicate adequate test-retest reliability for

these items (alpha < .01). The distribution of responses across all items

was skewed. Perhaps due to social desirability, subjects tended to respond

to these items in a highly favorable manner.

Table 2

Test-retest Correlations Coefficients for Mother Items*

		Time 2	
		M1	M2
	M1	.7399[a]	.3312
Time 1			
	M2	.5347[b]	.7693[a]

* M1 = In general do you feel that you got enough love and affection from your
    mother?

  M2 = In general do you feel that your mother favored one or more of your
    siblings over you?

[a] $p < .001$ by a one-tailed test

[b] $p < .01$ by a one-tailed test

Table 3

Test-retest Correlation Coefficients for Father Items*

		Time 2	
		F1	F2
	F1	.9244[a]	.5998[b]
Time 1			
	F2	.5648[b]	.9377[a]

* F1 = In general do you feel that you got enough love and affection from your
    father?

  F2 = In general do you feel that your father favored one or more of your
    siblings over you?

[a] $p < .001$ by a one-tailed test

[b] $p < .01$ by a one-tailed test

Measure of Narcissism

The O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory (OMNI), developed

by Michael O'Brien (1987, 1988), was chosen for measuring narcissism in a

college population. The OMNI (Appendix D) seems best suited for the

purposes of this study for a variety of reasons. First, O'Brien normed this

measure using graduate students at Teachers College, Columbia and with a

clinical population. Second, the OMNI was designed to capture the

complexity of narcissism by encompassing three forms of narcissistic

pathology derived from the object-relations literature.

The OMNI includes items which factored into three categories: (1)

narcissistic entitlement, (II) controlling others and perfectionism, and (III)

the "narcissistically abused personality." The first category was designed

to reflect Kernberg's (1975) conception that individuals described as

narcissistic display a strong sense of entitlement, lack empathy or

reciprocity in relationships, and tend to be exhibitionist and exploitative.

The scale for this category is composed of 16 items. Fifteen items make up

factor II and reflect an individual's need to control other people and

maintain a sense of perfectionism. Factor III contains 10 items which

capture the "shame-prone dimension" of narcissism. The items measure a

tendency toward self-depreciation, approval-seeking, and a need to put

others needs first. This latter factor purportedly reflects Kohut's (1977)

deficit model which assumes that narcissistically prone people look for

idealized others in an attempt to rectify their lack of such mirroring in their early relationships.

O'Brien (1987) presents results from a factor analysis of his scale which suggest that the three dimensions of pathological narcissism used are orthogonal and internally consistent (.76, .73, and .71 for Factors I, II, and III respectively). O'Brien also obtained test-retest coefficients on a sample of 46 subjects after six weeks of .74, .72, and .71 for Factors I to III, respectively. As a test of the validity of OMNI, O'Brien (1988) compared the factorial structures of the scale between both normal subjects and a clinical population. Results revealed that the scales were congruent for both populations, and that the clinical population scored much higher on all three dimensions.

Measure of Prejudice: The Modern Racism Scale

The Modern Racism Scale (MRS) developed by John McConahay (1986) was used to assess level of prejudice (See Appendix E). The author reports alpha coefficients ranging from .81 to .86 in college student samples. Test-retest reliability ranges from .72 to .93 across several samples. The MRS, composed of seven items, replaced the Old Fashioned Racism Scale which tended to produced strong negative reactions which caused some to refuse participation or induce a higher potential for faking. The Old Fashioned Racism Scale consisted of such items as: *How strongly would you object if a member of your family had friendship with a black?* and *Generally speaking, do you favor full racial*

integration, integration in some areas of lie, or full separation of the races? The MRS items, on the other hand, were designed to capture valid anti-black prejudice which tap into less overtly controversial viewpoints.

The author reviews studies which lend supporting evidence for the validity of the MRS. For example, in one study (McConahay, 1986) subjects scoring high on the MRS showed more ambivalence and displayed greater inconsistency in their behavior towards blacks in a simulated hiring procedure. MRS scores also correlated with evidence of personal concern, as measured by both physiological response and helping behavior, for black victims than for white victims. This was true when the subjects were in the presence of other bystanders (and their responsibility became more diffuse), but not true when they were the only witnesses to the distress of the victim (McConahay, 1986).

The MRS was given in conjunction with some other questions used primarily as filler items on a questionnaire entitled "Social Attitude Survey" (See Appendix E) developed by Shepard & Bodenhausen (1993). These items question beliefs about other socially controversial issues such as immigration, feminism, etc. The MRS score was obtained by summing up the score of the 7, Likert-type scales. Responses for each item range from 1 to 5. On the actual questionnaire, the direction endorsing racist beliefs on some items is inverted to avoid a response set bias. The minimum possible racism score is, therefore, 7 and the highest score possible is 35.

Measure of Jealousy: Story Stems

In addition, Story Stems (Appendix C) were used to assess whether feelings of jealousy, rivalry, and envy are associated more frequently with minority groups than with non minority group members in a between-groups design. Half the subjects received Story Stems which included a minority group member while the other half will receive an identical story which lacks mention of minority group affiliation. Both groups include two identical filler stories in addition to 4 stimulus stories.

These story stems are only a few sentences long. In each of the stimulus stories, a negative feeling is expressed toward a person or group. Each story was followed by a set of three explanations as to *why* this feeling is being stimulated. Subjects are instructed to rank order the three explanations in terms of which one "jumps out" at them as being the most likely. They place a "1," "2," or "3" in the space provided in front of each explanation. This design is intended to capture the hypothesized feelings of jealousy that will be chosen more frequently in the experimental group than in the control group. The jealousy responses, their position varied amongst the three choices, were coded in terms of which position subjects chose to place it in. For instance, if they indicated that the jealousy explanation was the most likely by placing a "1" in front of that response, that is scored with the highest possible point (i.e., 2). If they ranked the

jealousy item in the second position by placing a "2," it was coded with a weaker score of 1. An item was scored 0 if it was placed in the last or "3" position. The sum of the 4 jealousy items form the Jealousy Scale score, the minimum score being 0 and the maximum score being 8.

This projective test, albeit limited because it involves a forced-choice response format, is being used in lieu of a subjective reporting. In accordance with the "projective hypothesis," employing a story completion task is important in order to capture less conscious feelings with little awareness on the part of the subject (Rabin, 1981). The direct questioning of objective measures are more likely to cause subjects to deny prejudicial motives.

Pilot Study of Jealousy Story Stems

Pilot studies of the Jealousy Story Stems were performed to determine the suitability of various story stems. Items were selected based on the relative breadth of their responses. Subjects were drawn from the undergraduate subject pool. A within subjects design was performed using the administration of both the minority stories and the exact control stories for each subject. A few subjects commented that the study was obviously testing whether or not they were prejudiced; one subject angrily refused to answer on this basis. For this reason, the within subjects design was abandoned for a between subjects design. This latter group comprised a total of 345 subjects, 179 in the experimental condition and 166 in the control condition. The experimental condition Story Stems comprised of four scenarios which identified a minority group member as the stimulus. The control group Story Stems were comprised of the exact same

scenarios except they did not identify the stimulus person or group of people as being minority members.

A test-retest reliability analysis (Pearson product moment correlation) was performed on 20 subjects exactly five weeks apart. Subjects were all MSU students who either volunteered or were given extra credit for their participation. A test-retest correlation of the Jealousy Scale was significant at the $p<.001$, $r=.83$ indicating adequate reliability. An internal consistency (alpha) test was not applicable for this scale because it is an ipsative scale. However, the summing across all four allows us to look at the aggregate score as meaningful.

A validity check of the Jealousy Story Stem scale was performed. The scale was presented to 7 graduate students in Clinical Psychology. They were instructed to indicate which of the three response options for each scenario is indicative of jealousy, envy, or rivalry as the primary motive. Agreement was 100% for all scenarios among all raters.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for independent variables and dependent
variables are presented. A subset of 132 participants were used in
calculating questions concerning sibship size. This smaller sample size was
due to an error in the first distribution of questionnaires in which the
question about number of siblings was ambiguously worded. Among these
132 participants, roughly 40% reported being the eldest born, 24% middle
children, 33% youngest, and only 5% reported being the only child in their
family. Total number of siblings in the family ranged from 1 to 11 with a
mean of 3.3 and a modal average of 2 children per family. For more
statistics pertaining to birth order, number of times displaced by siblings,
and family size, the interested reader can find detailed tables in Appendix F.

In general, subjects responded quite positively to questions on the
Personal Questionnaire (Appendix B) pertaining to their relationship with
each parent. The items asked subjects the extent to which they felt they
received enough love and affection from each parent and the extent to
which they felt each parent favored other siblings over them. On a scale of
1 to 7 with 1 representing the most favorable response, the mean ranged
from 2 to 3, but the modal response was 1 overall. Many subjects rated
their relationships with their mothers and fathers and sibling preference in
an extremely favorably manner. While the distribution of these items was
skewed, there was sufficient variance to utilize in meaningful statistical

analyses. Detailed descriptive statistics for these items on the Personal Questionnaire can be found in Appendix G. In addition, Appendix G displays inter-correlations among items.

The dependent variables used in this study are the measures for narcissism, jealousy, and racism. The O'Brien Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory (OMNI) was grouped by a total OMNI score and the three subtypes, type I, II, and III. Table 4 below provides a comparison between the descriptive statistics for the OMNI for this sample and compares these to the college student sample used by O'Brien to norm his data on a college student sample. Also from O'Brien's study, the means and standard deviations of a clinical sample are provided. These data suggest that the clinical sample clearly score above the two non-clinical samples on all three sub-types of narcissism. See Wolowitz (1991) for similar findings.

TABLE 4

OMNI Means and Standard Deviations

	TOTAL		Type I		Type II		Type III	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
A	16.80	5.08	5.64	2.49	7.22	2.48	3.95	1.89
B			5.72	3.37	5.90	2.99	3.92	2.14
C			·11.23	2.87	11.23	2.87	7.81	1.73

A = study sample (n=542)
B = O'Brien's college sample (n=256)
C = clinical sample (n=230)

The four items comprising the Jealousy Scale were added together for a single composite score ranging from 0 to 8. Amongst the 345 valid responses to this test, the mean was 4.5 and the standard deviation was 1.7. These responses appear to be normally distributed.

The Jealousy Scale was administered in male and female versions to 345 participants; 179 of these participant received the minority scenarios, and 166 received the control scenarios. Subjects were instructed to rank-order each response option by placing a 1, 2, or 3 next to each (See Appendix C for the instrument including all versions). Responses to the four items of the Jealousy Scale are listed in Appendix H. Before each item is a breakdown, in percentages, of the distribution of responses; these percentages reflect responses from subjects in both the experimental and control conditions. For simplicity, however, the actual story stems displayed in the table are from the female minority version. Later, statistical analyses are applied to test the specific hypothesized differences.

Table 5 displays the relevant statistics for the Modern Racism Scale, with a breakdown by race. The data are normally distributed with a skew less than .44 for each racial subgroup. These statistics show that Caucasions, as well as other non-Black minorities have a significantly higher racism score as compared to the African-American respondents (t=8.29, df=612, p<.001 and t=-5.16, df=106, p<.001 respectively). This finding would be expected given that a majority, though not all, of the questions on the MRS specifically ask about racism towards African-Americans.

TABLE 5

Statistics for Modern Racism Scale

Subjects	N	Mean*	SD
Total	668	18.95	5.17
Caucasians	556	19.54	5.02
African-Americans	58	13.91	3.85
Other Minorities	50	18.16	4.71

* range = 7 - 35

Hypothesis Tests

HYPOTHESIS 1: { Subjects presented with a story stem completion task which includes a minority group member will be more likely to respond with feelings of jealousy, as measured by the sum of the jealousy items, than control subjects whose stories do not contain minority group identification.}

Table 6 provides a T-Test for independent samples assessing whether statistically significant differences occur between the control group and experimental group. The results indicate no statistically significant difference between the two groups. Consequently, this hypothesis was not supported.

TABLE 6

T-Test for Control and Experimental Groups

Scores on Jealousy Scale

Group	N	Mean	SD	t-value	df	2-Tail Sig p value
control	166	4.39	1.636			
				-1.23	343	.218
minority	179	4.61	1.716			

HYPOTHESIS 2: { Individuals who have been displaced more often by the birth of younger siblings will exhibit more prejudice, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale. This relationship should be positive.}

Results of the regression analysis for racism scores with number of times displaced are presented in Table 7. This analysis shows that a statistically significant amount of the variance in the distribution of racism

scores is accounted for by the frequency with which one is displaced by siblings. By definition, sibship size is significantly, positively related to number of times displaced by siblings. Therefore, a regression analysis was performed contrasting racism scores with sibship size to rule out that family size was not accounting for a substantial amount of the variance in racism scores. Results from this regression analysis are also shown in Table 7. Although sibship size and number of times displaced are significantly correlated ($r=.68$; $n=109$; $p<.001$), total sibship size, per se, does not account significantly for the amount of variance in the racism scores. This hypothesis was supported.

TABLE 7

Regression Analysis for Racism Scores With Number of Times Displaced and Sibship Size ($N=109$ Caucasians)

Variable	Beta Weight	S.E.	R^2	F^a
DISPLACEMENT	.784	.33	.05	5.60*
SIBSHIP SIZE	.474	.293	.024	2.62

a = indicates test for change in R^2
* = $p< .05$
df = (1,106)

HYPOTHESIS 3: { Subjects with higher prejudice scores, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale, will report having felt less loved by their parents according to items derived from the Personal Questionnaire (i.e. Ratings of Parents Affection -- M1 and F1).}

Table 8 presents Pearson product moment correlation coefficients. Subjects who reported feeling they received less love and affection from their parents (M1 and F1) did not exhibit higher racism scores. This hypothesis was not supported.

In this analysis, since a directional hypothesis was made, a one-tailed test of significance was used. Only subjects who identified themselves as Caucasian were used in computing this analysis and all others in which the Modern Racism Scale was used (unless otherwise specified).

TABLE 8

Pearson Correlations for Racism and Ratings of Parents Affection (1)

and Favoring Siblings (2)*

	M1	M2	F1	F2
RACISM	.015	.053	-.027	.039
N=	556	517	548	510
P VALUES	.36	.117	.66	.19

* M/F1 = In general do you feel that you got enough love and affection from your mother/father?
  M/F2 = In general do you feel that your mother/father favored one or more of your siblings over you?

HYPOTHESIS 4: {Subjects with higher prejudice scores, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale, will report having felt less preferred by their parents as compared to their siblings, according to items derived from the Personal Questionnaire (i.e.Ratings of Parents Favoring Siblings -- M2 and F2).}

The results of these correlations are presented in Table 8 also. Subjects who reported feeling less preferred over their siblings by their parents do not exhibit higher racism scores. This hypothesis is not supported.

HYPOTHESIS 5: { Subjects' narcissism scores, as measured by O'Brien's Multiphasic Narcissism Inventory (OMNI), will correlate positively and significantly with scores on racism, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale.}

Higher racism scores correlated significantly with total OMNI as well as with OMNI types I and II as shown in Table 9 below. Scores of Caucasian subjects are shown separately from scores of all subjects taken together. This hypothesis was supported.

TABLE 9

Pearson Correlations For OMNI and Racism Scores

	OMNI	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3
RACISM Caucasians (450)	$.1623^b$	$.1185^a$	$.1581^b$	.0705
All Subjects (538)	$.1511^b$	$.1293^a$	$.1389^a$	.0527

[a] = $p < .01$
[b] = $p < .001$

Exploratory Analyses

Although no hypotheses were made regarding age and sex differences in

relation to the dependent measure, some exploratory analyses were performed.

To assess possible gender differences, T-tests for independent samples were

done for scores on racism (MRS), narcissism (OMNI), Jealousy Story Stems,

and Ratings of Parents Affection and Favoring Siblings (M1, M2, F1, F2).

These findings are displayed in Table 10 below. Gender differences were found

only amongst racism scores, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale. Males

racism scores were significantly higher than those of females (alpha < .05).

TABLE 10

T-tests Comparing Sex Differences Amongst Dependent Measures

Variable	Sex	N	Mean	SD	t-value	df	p value 2-tail sig
MRS	M	200	19.66	5.27			
	F	467	18.64	5.10	2.35	665	.019*
OMNI	M	157	16.57	5.13			
	F	385	16.90	5.07	- .69	540	.491
JEALOUSY	M	108	4.26	1.56			
	F	237	4.62	1.72	-1.86	343	.064
M1	M	203	1.98	1.25			
	F	469	2.12	1.52	-1.19	670	.235
M2	M	187	2.15	1.65			
	F	429	2.27	1.66	- .97	614	.333
F1	M	201	3.17	1.88			
	F	457	3.05	2.02	.73	656	.463
F2	M	184	2.49	1.93			
	F	419	2.33	1.82	.98	601	.329

*$p < .05$

Age was also considered with respect to the dependent measures although no specific hypotheses were made. Table 11 below displays these findings in a correlation matrix using Pearson. The Ratings of Parents Affection (M 1 and M 2 for mother and father respectively) and Favoring Siblings (F1 and F2 for mother and father respectively) correlate significantly with age of subject ($p < .01$). This means that the older the subjects were, the less they felt their parents provided enough love and affection and the less they felt preferred by each parent when compared to their siblings.

TABLE 11

Correlation Matrix for Age and Dependent Measures

		OMNI	MRS	JEAL	M1	M2	F1	F2
AGE		-.053	-.059	-.098	.196	.154	.219	.148
	N =	(540)	664	344	669	613	655	601
	p =	.217	.130	.068	.000	.000	.000	.000

DISCUSSION

The present study examined some psychodynamic meanings of prejudice. The results pertaining to the theory that jealousy is a motivator of prejudice were mixed. Jealousy responses as a motivator of prejudice in a story completion task did not differentiate control from minority scenarios. Self-reporting of the amount of love received by parents and sibling rivalry did not correlate with racism scores either. If these findings are valid, it would suggest that the jealousy theory of prejudice is not tenable. The finding that sibling rank is apparently related to racism prevents a total dismissal of this theory, however, because sibling rank can be thought of as an indirect measure of jealousy. The number of times an individual was displaced by siblings was derived from Sterba's (1947) theory that hostility toward racial outgroups may be a displaced reaction to one's rivalry with siblings.

The second general hypothesis that narcissism is related to racist beliefs and feelings was also supported. This general finding suggests that there is a relationship between the personality characteristics of narcissism and the tendency toward prejudiced thinking, although the precise nature of this relationship can only be speculated.

Sibling rank as a predictor of racism

This study found that racism scores increased with the number of times participants were displaced by the birth of younger siblings. Sibling rank, or more specifically, number of times displaced by siblings, was used as an indirect measure of jealousy. Based on Freud's theory, the assumption is that feelings of rivalry and jealousy are produced and intensified with the birth of each new brother of sister. This sense of being displaced and the painful jealousy is presumably carried on into one's adult life, that it manifests in various social contexts. Consistent with Sterba's (1947) observation, racist feelings and beliefs are apparently related to birth order. However, these speculations have not been empirically tested previously.

These findings suggest that the defense mechanism *displacement*[3] needs more serious consideration as a determinant of prejudice. Displacement as a defense mechanism could be said to be operating insofar as one's early rivalrous objects in childhood are displaced in minority group members whose struggles for equality may unconsciously remind one of early rivalry with siblings. This sibling rivalry, and the accompanying feelings of resentment, hostility, and wanting to limit their maturation and capacity to compete with us, is refueled and enacted in our interpersonal relations with out-group members.

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[3] Because the word "displacement" appears in this study in the context of the number of times displaced by the birth of new siblings and operates as a significant independent variable, it needs to be properly distinguished from the general defense mechanism displacement (reviewed on page 13) to which this measure is related. To avoid confusion, displacement *as the defense mechanism* will be referred to as such henceforth in the text.

One caveat to consider in relation to the finding that sibling rank is related to racism is that jealousy is assumed to be the most salient moderating variable amongst all possible variables that operate in terms of being displaced by siblings. This is a test of Sterba's theory. Other theories might predict that different characteristics related to being amongs the eldest born such as having an increased sense of responsibility, more independence, for instance, may be operating as determinants of prejudice.

Methodological problems in the Jealousy Story Stems

Several possible pitfalls in methodology should be considered in relation to the results pertaining to the Jealousy Story Stems (i.e. that responses indicating feelings of jealousy did not differentiate minority from control stories as a whole). First, this study utilized only four scenarios in the interest of keeping the survey relatively brief. A greater number of scenarios may have provided greater variation in responding and hence revealed possible differences if any exist in the population. Second, the forced-choice format of the story completion task used in this study may have greatly limited the range of responses which could have been given in an open-ended format. Expressions of jealousy may have emerged in a less structured format. That is, the classic story completion method that requires subjects to write story endings of any length. If differences between one's responses to minority vs. non-minority members exist, an open-ended story completion may have captured such differences more effectively than the one employed in this investigation. Another way to expand response possibilities while

maintaining a forced-choice format would have been to provide greater than three response choices.

The dichotomy between conscious and unconscious data

The hypothesis that self-reported parental love and affection would predict racism was not supported. These findings are inconsistent with several researchers (e.g. Stephen & Rosenfeld, 1978; Triandis & Triandis, 1962). Participants were also asked about the degree to which they believed their parents had shown favoritism to other siblings, a related question. It was assumed that sibling rivalry and jealousy would be products of having felt that one's parents favored other siblings. This measure, however, did not correlate with racism scores as was predicted. On the other hand, the OMNI did correlate with racism scores. Since measures of narcissism are theorectially derived from the idea that narcissism is a product, by and large, of a deficiency of parental affection, there is an apparent inconsistency in these results.

A dichotomy between conscious and unconscious layers of experience may help explain this inconsistency. A similar discrepancy between what was reported superficially and what was discovered after using indirect measures and deeper probing was noted in Adorno, et. al.'s (1950/1964) study of highly intolerant people. The authors observed in those with highly racist profiles that some were open about having had cold, punitive parents and having felt deprived in childhood. However, many more were idealistic in their initial self-reporting of their parents. The authors speculated that these individuals had

developed defensive, idealized images of their parents; this profile was unlike

non-prejudiced personalities. Similarly, Frenkel-Brunswik's (1946) study of

anti-Semitic college women showed that, on the surface, bigoted students

possessed happy, charming, and well-adjusted personalities. Further clinical

probing and projective testing found underlying hostility, intense anxiety, and

hatred of their parents. The tolerant students did not have this split between

conscious and unconscious layers. However, interviewer bias has been a

criticism of these studies since interviewers had prior knowledge of subjects'

prejudice scores (Dillehay, 1978).

If there is any validity to the dichotomous pattern between conscious and

unconscious data, insofar as the measures employed in this investigation truly

capture conscious and unconsious material, it might help explain why

hypotheses 3 and 4 in the current study were not supported. These hypotheses

involved subjective self-reporting about the extent to which participants felt they

had received enough love and affection from each of their parents. As

mentioned, the range of responses to these questions were extremely skewed

with the modal response representing the most idealistic. One could speculate

that, for some people, this idealism may be a general defensiveness about

deeply personal and conflictual issues, representing the kind of cleavage

between conscious and unconscious feelings described in the previous studies.

The maturity level of participants is another aspect worth considering

with regard to why these two hypotheses were not supported. This speculation

is supported by the fact that age of participants was the only variable affecting this pattern of responses (Table 11). Younger participants were more positive than older participants in reporting their views about their parents. Older individuals tended to select more negative responses to the questions about the extent to which they felt they received "enough love and affection" from each parent and the extent to which they felt each parent had shown more favoritism toward other siblings. On the other hand, maturity may not have anything to do with the age differences. A possible cohort effect or actual differences in parental behavior may account for this pattern in the findings.

What can be said about narcissism and racism?

The significant correlation between narcissism scores and racism scores suggests various interpretations. Perhaps narcissistic vulnerabilities create racists attitudes. Another way to view the relationship is thus: narcissism, as derived from etiological factors related to unempathic parenting, serves as a moderator of prejudice. This way of conceiving this correlational relationship assumes that there are a third set of factors (i.e. empathic failures in childhood, grandiose defenses, the need to control others, etc.) which lead to both prejudiced views and narcissistic character development. Since the theory behind narcissistic pathology suggests early failures in object relationships, the same etiological factors can be said to be responsible for racism. The early research on ethnocentrism found certain unconscious dynamics and early family relations to be predictive of the highly intolerant.

This study's operational definition of narcissism should be considered in furthering discussion of it's theoretical link with racism. Narcissism, in this study was defined by the OMNI, a scale divided into three subtypes: narcissistic entitlement, controlling, and "narcissistically abused." As reported, while overall OMNI scores correlated with racism scores, only OMNI subtypes I and II also correlated significantly with racism scores. OMNI subtype III did not correlate with racism scores. This suggests that a conservative approach to understanding the link between narcissism and racism is warranted. A closer look at these specific subtypes of narcissism in light of the proposed theoretical link with racism might elucidate its relationship with racism. In doing so, however, we need to consider that while these subtypes are presented in an isolated fashion, they are obviously interrelated.

Type I, the "narcissistic personality," represents the dynamics related to entitlement, exhibitionism, and exploitation. This dimension was based on the observation that narcissistic-like behavior appeared to be based on individuals who are thought to have little empathy and who lack of a sense of reciprocity in relationships. This dimension probably reflects the basic failures in mirroring more than the others and is reminiscent of the cold parenting described by those who are highly intolerant (Ackerman & Jahoda, 1950; Adorno, et. al., 1950/1964; Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964; Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford, 1947; Triandis & Triandis, 1962).

The exploitative, entitled aspect of narcissism is linked to envy and a sense of deprivation. The envy, once again, constitutes the aggressive urge produced by a sense of having felt deprived in early relationships (Kernberg, 1974, 1975). Again, these dynamics were recorded by several of the early researchers of ethnocentric personalities (Ackerman, 1965; Adorno, et. al., 1950/1964; Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964; Frenkel-Brunswik & Sanford, 1947; Triandis & Triandis, 1962; Weatherley, 1963). As noted by Ackerman (1965) especially, the highly intolerant have characteristic relationships with others that are "fleeting or superficial and exploitative." More recently, in a theoretical essay, Elizabeth Young-Bruehl (1993) has suggested that narcissism plays an important role in the expression of some types of prejudice.

Type II reflects the excessively controlling attitude and a sense of perfectionism seen in narcissistic pathology. This dimension, the "poisonous pedagogy dimension," was named such because of the narcissistic parenting described by Miller (1979). These parents were described as being overly concerned with a sense that children should be controlled, dominated, and not permitted to fail. The controlling, punitive parenting found in the profiles of the high F-scorers in the authoritarian research is consistent with this subtype of narcissism. The personality feature involving the control of others is one of the conspicuous cornerstones of the early research on racism. Hence the term authoritarian personality. The sense of needing to control others and striving for perfectionism is derived from the excessive superego demands internalized

by children who are subjected to the cold and punitive early environments. This phenomena can be thought to be related to the lack of empathy which is reflected in Type I above.

Type III, the "narcissistically abused personality," reflects the dynamics related to excessive shame, low self-esteem, and excessive idealization of others. This subtype is generally the "opposite" of Type I which captures the unempathic, exploitative aspect of narcissism. Miller (1979) suggests that these two styles are really different sides of the same underlying wound: narcissistic grandiosity is a defense against low self-esteem and depression and need to idealize others is a result of the early loss of an idealizable self/other.

This dimension, as measured by the OMNI Type III, did not correlate by itself with racism scores. While a specific prediction about each subtype was not made, it is nevertheless inconsistent with the overall theoretical hypothesis. Given the observations that highly intolerant individuals possess low self-esteem and overly idealize others, it is a somewhat surprising result. It appears, therefore, that racist attitudes are more consistent with defensive grandiosity, exploitativeness, and the need to control others than with the more shameful, idealizing aspects of narcissistic pathology.

Conclusions

While this investigation focused on jealousy and narcissism as roughly separate as predictors of prejudice, theoretically they are related. As Freud noted, the ego is insatiable in its demands for gratification. It would seem that

the more intense rivalry to which one is subjected, the greater deprivation and sense of narcissistic injury would be experienced. This may be true in general. However, the data in this study investigating the extent to which each may predict racism scores suggest that they are not synonymous. Narcissism scores predict racism; sibling rank also appears to be related to racism. However, sibling rank and narcissism are not related to *each other* as might have been expected. The pattern of responses suggests that narcissism and the dynamics associated with birth order are not necessarily related, that each is contributing something unique as a moderator of racism.

In general, one of the most interesting conclusions that can be made about the finding that narcissism is related to prejudice is a reiteration of what Gordon Allport stated 40 years ago. Allport (1954) thought of the highly intolerant as deeply *insecure* individuals who used their prejudicial attitudes as a "crutch" to cope with their fragility. "It is not his specific social attitudes that are malformed to start with; it is rather his own ego that is crippled" (p. 396). The crippled ego of the narcissist can be recognized in the irrationality, the hostility, the unbending and narrow judgment of highly intolerant individuals. According to narcissistic personality theorists, a distorted, unempathic view of others is derived from the internalized images of self and other. To the narcissitically injured individual, that internalized other began as a real other in the form of an unempathic parent. Insofar as empathy serves to bind us

together by emphasizing similarities, lack of empathy then would lead to an emphasis on intolerance and superficial differences.

Other limitations

Some limitations of the present study are worth mentioning. The type of population used in this investigation certainly limits the generalizability of the findings. The sample of participants used in this investigation were predominantly 18-20 years old. The overall homogeneity of the sample, especially age, limits generalizing any conclusions to the general population. A more heterogeneous sample of respondents would provide greater validity of the findings. In addition to viewing the homogeneity of age as a possible explanation for the non-supported findings, it need also be considered with respect to the positive findings.

Problems with self-report data require mentioning as a possible limitation. In light of the highly personal judgments subjects were asked to make, problems with social desirability/defensiveness limit valid interpretation of those results.

Another issue of generalizability has to do with the racial composition of the participants. A vast majority of them were Caucasian. One dependent measure, the Modern Racism Scale, is essentially used as a test of White racism. It would not be valid to say that those factors which predicted or did not predict prejudice in this study would necessarily apply to racial or other

minorities. It is not clear whether Black racism, for instance, is moderated by narcissism or birth order.

Directions for future research

This study looked at racism. Racism is one among many forms of prejudice. Ethnocentrism, sexism, homophobia, anti-Semitism, and others are familiar terms that can be viewed under one umbrella of prejudice. Is there a generalized prejudice attitude that applies to all outgroup members as per Allport? Would narcissism scores correlate with other forms of prejudice such as sexism, "homophobia," or ethnocentrism? Elizabeth Young-Bruehl (1993) argues that there are various pathological defensive modes which motivate different forms of prejudice, that "prejudice is not a single phenomenon (albeit with plural manifestations and plural causes) and that there is no single prejudiced personality type" (p. 67). Contrary to the notion proposed by Allport (1954) that prejudice is a generalized attitude, Young-Bruehl asserts that ethnocentrism, racism, homophobia, sexism, etc. are forms of prejudice that can be differentiated from each other in terms of their pathological defensive functioning.

For instance, she views white racism as a manifestation of a hysterical defense. The animosity aimed at Blacks, she asserts involves blatant and subtle projections and externalizations of sexual conflict which take on the dynamics of a hysterical defense. The ethnic cleansing movements she views as the "obsessional prejudices" which are "marked, clinically, by extreme

intellectualization and dissociation of affect--they are cerebral and cold blooded." Narcissism, she believes, operates in the expression of ethnocentrism insofar as it involves the need to invoke inter-group differences and debase the other. If a theory of this kind were true, we would need to consider the generalizability of this study's findings about racism in terms of other forms of prejudice. How might narcissistic pathology be a moderator of other forms of prejudice? Future research separating out the various forms of prejudice and their relationship to various pathological styles of relating to others would broaden our understanding of prejudice.

In light of the finding supporting sibling rivalry as a predictor of racism, it may be helpful to test whether other forms of jealousy contribute to prejudice. Most notably, Oedipal rivalry has been suggested as an unconscious motivator of racial tension and hostility. Male racism against the Black male in particular has been considered, certainly assumed by many, to be fueled by unconscious sexual jealousy. A measure of sexual rivalry, separated out from general rivalry or sibling rivalry in particular, and racism might serve to help verify this strongly held bias among psychodynamic theorists. It would also broaden our understanding of the extent to which the defense mechanism displacement is operating in racist personalities. In other words, does any form of rivalry experienced in early childhood create displaced hostility toward outgroup members?

The gender differences found in regard to racism scores may be worth further investigation as well. With males in this study scoring significantly higher than females on racism, other predictors of prejudice hypothesized thus far may be moderated by gender.

Further research is needed to broaden an understanding of the possible causal pathways from jealousy and narcissism to racism, and the inter-relationship among racism, narcissism, and sibling rank. One potential research endeavor could be to ferret out jealousy as just one aspect of the effects of being early-born from other general vulnerabilities that also may contribute to intolerance of out-groups. For instance, the elder born children may be more authoritarian in general. This would make sense in light of the relatively greater demands and responsibilities often placed on earlier born children. Investigating other possible personality variables associated with being first-born seems valuable given the findings in this study that birth order may influence the development of intolerance towards outgroups members.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

This is a study investigating some aspects of normal personality development. It uses a two short tests, a short questionnaire about your family, and three short multiple choice questions.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you choose to not participate at any time, you are free to do so. No identifying information will be collected other than your sex and age. Your answers will be confidential and anonymous.

If you decide to participate, please sign and date this statement. It should take no more than 20 minutes to complete this packet. Your participation benefits psychological research. If you have any questions or comments, please contact me:

Shasha Camaj
Room 4, Olds Hall
Michigan State University
355-9564

NAME _____ DATE_____

APPENDIX B:
PERSONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Age:__ Gender:_____ Race: Caucasian ___ African-American___
Hispanic ___ Asian-Amer. ___ Other ___

Did you grow up with both a mother and a father living with you for at least the first five years of your life? _____If not, please disregard the questions that do not pertain to you.

Number of children in your family? (including yourself and all brothers and sisters and any step- or half-siblings who lived with you) _____

Please list, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, the brothers and sisters in your family, include yourself in the lines provided below.

For example, if your are the third of four children and have two older brothers and one younger sister, you would write:

brother _____ _____
brother _____ _____
me _____ _____
sister _____ _____

(add more lines on back if needed)

For the following questions, please circle the number below the question that best approximates your feelings.

In general, do you feel that you got enough love and affection from your **mother**?

more than enough					definitely not enough	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Do you feel that your mother favored one or more of your siblings over you? (Skip if you were an only child)

not at all					very much so	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

In general, do you feel that you got enough love and affection from your **father**?

more than enough					definitely not enough	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Do you feel that your father favored one or more of your siblings over you? (Skip if you were an only child)

not at all					very much so	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX C: STORY STEMS
(CONTROL VERSION)

FEMALE VERSION

Please read the following brief stories. After each story, there are three different responses to the question at the end of the story. Read each of the three responses. Then, rank order them in terms of which ones "jump out at you" the most. Put a "1" next to the letter of the response that seems most likely; put a "2" next to the second most likely response; put a "3" next to the least likely response.

For instance, in the example below, letter B) is ranked as the most likely; letter C) is the next most likely; and letter A) is ranked last.

__3__ A)
__1__ B)
__2__ C)

I. Mary Jackson is a 22-year-old college senior who is studying American history. She is graduating next semester and is prepared to begin her new career as a teacher. Women generally dislike her; she has no close female friends. WHY?

_____A) Mary is a shallow and untrustworthy person who is prone to talking about others behind their back.

_____B) Mary has strange hobbies and is very introverted.

_____C) Mary is envied by other women because she is bright and very attractive.

II. Mrs. Allison has lived alone for several years. Her nearest and dearest companion has been her cat, Daisy. In the last few days, Daisy has been acting strange. She hisses and growls a lot and has not been eating regularly. WHY?

_____A) Daisy has some kind of illness.

_____B) Mrs. Allison brought home a new kitten.

_____C) Mrs. Allison has abruptly changed Daisy's schedule.

III. Kathy and Bob have been married for five years. They have one 3-year-old and have tried unsuccessfully to have another baby. They are thinking about adopting a child. They have mixed feelings because...

_____A) they are worried about the expenses involved in adoption procedures.

_____B) they are concerned that their 3-year-old will not welcome a new addition to the family.

_____C) they are worried about the unknown genetic makeup of an adopted child.

IV. For his creative writing class, Joshua decided to submit a science fiction short story. The plot begins with an alien culture from outer space who decide to inhabit North America. There are factions in the United States government who want to promptly destroy the aliens although this is controversial because some believe the aliens are quite harmless. Why do some want to destroy the aliens?

_____A) Because the aliens have already begun to build colonies and they are competing with us for the resources of the land.

_____B) Because some believe the aliens may be quite dangerous to Americans.

_____C) Because there is tremendous economic profit in waging war.

V. Elizabeth is a 25 year-old woman. She and Jackie, an old college roommate, used to be best friends. They roomed together for four years and took many of the same courses. After graduation, they were planning to go to Colorado together on vacation. However, Jackie is now furious at Elizabeth. WHY?

_____A)Elizabeth spread a rumor about Jackie that has made all of her friends and relatives very uncomfortable about being around her.

_____B) Elizabeth stole about $3000 in travelers checks and jewelry from Jackie's apartment one summer when Helen was gone.

_____C) Jackie's old boyfriend has recently begun dating Elizabeth. Jackie was very much in love with him at one time.

VI. The Allen family live in a wealthy suburban neighborhood. They have been very happy until their new neighbors, the Johnson's, moved into their neighborhood. WHY?

_____A) Their new neighbors have invaded the once lovely park at the end of the block which the Allen's had enjoyed all to themselves.

_____B) Their new neighbors are very withdrawn and somewhat unfriendly.

_____C) Their new neighbors are somewhat messy and obnoxious.

MALE VERSION

Please read the following brief stories. After each story, there are three different responses to the question at the end of the story. Read each of the three responses. Then, rank order them in terms of which ones "jump out at you" the most. Put a "1" next to the letter of the response that seems most likely; put a "2" next to the second most likely response; put a "3" next to the least likely response.

For instance, in the example below, letter B) is ranked as the most likely; letter C) is the next most likely; and letter A) is ranked last.

_3_ A)

_1_ B)

_2_ C)

I.   Stephen Jackson is a 22-year-old college senior who is studying American history. He is graduating next semester and ready to begin his career as a teacher. Men dislike him; he has no close male friends. WHY?

_____A) Stephen is a shallow and untrustworthy person who is prone to talking about others behind their back.

_____B) Stephen has strange hobbies and is very introverted.

_____C) Stephen is envied by other men because he is bright and very good-looking.

II.   Mrs. Allison has lived alone for several years. Her nearest and dearest companion has been her cat, Daisy. In the last few days, Daisy has been acting strange. She hisses and growls a lot and has not been eating regularly. WHY?

_____A) Daisy has some kind of illness.

_____B) Mrs. Allison brought home a new kitten.

_____C) Mrs. Allison has abruptly changed Daisy's schedule.

III.   Kathy and Bob have been married for five years. They have one 3-year-old and have tried unsuccessfully to have another baby. They are thinking about adopting a child. They have mixed feelings because...

_____A) they are worried about the unknown genetic makeup of an adopted child.

_____B) they are concerned that their 3-year-old will not welcome a new addition to the family.

_____C) they are worried about the expenses involved in adoption procedures.

IV. For his creative writing class, Joshua decided to submit a science fiction short story. The plot begins with an alien culture from outer space who decide to inhabit North America. There are factions in the United States government who want to promptly destroy the aliens although it is controversial because some believe the aliens are quite harmless. Why do some want to destroy the aliens?

_____A) Because the aliens have already begun to build colonies and they are competing with us for the resources of the land.

_____B) Because some believe the aliens may be quite dangerous to Americans.

_____C)Because there is tremendous economic profit in waging war.

V. Fred is a 25 year-old man. He and Roy, an old college roommate, used to be best friends. They roomed together for four years and took many of the same courses. After graduation they were planning to go to Colorado together on vacation. However, Roy is now furious at Fred. WHY?

_____A) Fred spread a rumor about Roy that has made all of his friends and relatives very uncomfortable about being around him.

_____B) Fred stole about $3000 in travelers checks and stereo equipment from Roy's apartment one summer when Roy was gone.

_____C) Roy's old girlfriend has recently begun dating Fred. Roy was very much in love with her at one time.

VI. The Allen family live in a wealthy suburban neighborhood. They have been very happy until their new neighbors, the Johnson's, moved into their neighborhood. WHY?

_____A) Their new neighbors have invaded the once lovely park at the end of the block which the Allen's had enjoyed all to themselves.

_____B) Their new neighbors are very withdrawn and somewhat unfriendly.

_____C) Their new neighbors are somewhat messy and obnoxious.

STORY STEMS
(MINORITY VERSION)

FEMALE VERSION

Please read the following brief stories. After each story, there are three different responses to the question at the end of the story. Read each of the three responses. Then, rank order them in terms of which ones "jump out at you" the most. Put a "1" next to the letter of the response that seems most likely; put a "2" next to the second most likely response; put a "3" next to the least likely response.

For instance, in the example below, letter B) is ranked as the most likely; letter C) is the next most likely; and letter A) is ranked last.

_3_ A)
_1_ B)
_2_ C)

I. Teresa Gonzalez is a 22-year-old college senior who is studying Latin American history. She is graduating next semester and is prepared to begin her new career as a teacher. Women generally dislike her; she has no close female friends. WHY?

_____A) Teresa is a shallow and untrustworthy person who is prone to talking about others behind their back.

_____B) Teresa has strange hobbies and is very introverted.

_____C) Teresa is envied by other women because she is bright and very attractive.

II. Mrs. Allison has lived alone for several years. Her nearest and dearest companion has been her cat, Daisy. In the last few days, Daisy has been acting strange. She hisses and growls a lot and has not been eating regularly. WHY?

_____A) Daisy has some kind of illness.

_____B) Mrs. Allison brought home a new kitten.

_____C) Mrs. Allison has abruptly changed Daisy's schedule.

III. Nicholas and Grace have been married for five years. They have one 3-year-old and have tried unsuccessfully to have another baby. They are thinking about adopting a child from India. They have mixed feelings because...

_____A) they are worried about the expenses involved in adoption procedures.

_____B) they are concerned that their 3-year-old will not welcome a new addition to the family.

_____C) they are worried about the unknown genetic makeup of an adopted child.

IV.   For his creative writing class, Joshua decided to submit a science fiction short story. The plot begins with an alien culture from outer space who decide to inhabit North America. There are factions in the United States government who want to promptly destroy the aliens although this is controversial because some believe the aliens are quite harmless. Why do some want to destroy the aliens?

_____*A) Because the aliens have already begun to build colonies and they are competing with us for the resources of the land.*

_____*B) Because some believe the aliens may be quite dangerous to Americans.*

_____*C) Because there is tremendous economic profit in waging war.*

V.   Yolanda is a 25 year-old Black woman. She and Helen, an old college roommate, used to be best friends. They roomed together for four years and took many of the same courses. After graduation, they were planning to go to Colorado together on vacation. However, Helen is now furious at Yolanda. WHY?

_____*A) Yolanda spread a rumor about Helen that has made all of her friends and relatives very uncomfortable about being around her.*

_____*B) Yolanda stole about $3000 in travelers checks and jewelry from Helen's apartment one summer when Helen was gone.*

_____*C) Helen's old boyfriend has recently begun dating Yolanda. Helen was very much in love with him at one time.*

VI.   The Roberts family live in a wealthy suburban neighborhood. They have been very happy until their new neighbors, the Yang's, who emigrated from China, moved into their neighborhood. WHY?

_____*A) Their new neighbors have invaded the once lovely park at the end of the block which the Roberts had enjoyed all to themselves.*

_____*B) Their new neighbors are very withdrawn and somewhat unfriendly.*

_____*C) Their new neighbors are somewhat messy and obnoxious.*

MALE VERSION

Please read the following brief stories. After each story, there are three different responses to the question at the end of the story. Read each of the three responses. Then, rank order them in terms of which ones "jump out at you" the most. Put a "1" next to the letter of the response that seems most likely; put a "2" next to the second most likely response; put a "3" next to the least likely response.

For instance, in the example below, letter B) is ranked as the most likely; letter C) is the next most likely; and letter A) is ranked last.

_3_ A)

_1_ B)

_2_ C)

I. Antonio Gonzalez is a 22-year-old college senior who is studying Latin American history. He is graduating next semester and is prepared to begin his new career as a teacher. Men generally dislike him; he has no close male friends. WHY?

_____A) Antonio is a shallow and untrustworthy person who is prone to talking about others behind their back.

_____B) Antonio has strange hobbies and is very introverted.

_____C) Antonio is envied by other men because he is bright and very good-looking.

II. Mrs. Allison has lived alone for several years. Her nearest and dearest companion has been her cat, Daisy. In the last few days, Daisy has been acting strange. She hisses and growls a lot and has not been eating regularly. WHY?

_____A) Daisy has some kind of illness.

_____B) Mrs. Allison brought home a new kitten.

_____C) Mrs. Allison has abruptly changed Daisy's schedule.

III. Nicholas and Grace have been married for five years. They have one 3-year-old and have tried unsuccessfully to have another baby. They are thinking about adopting a child from India. They have mixed feelings because...

_____A) they are worried about the unknown genetic makeup of an adopted child.

_____B) they are concerned that their 3-year-old will not welcome a new addition to the family.

_____C) they are worried about the expenses involved in adoption procedures.

IV.   For his creative writing class, Joshua decided to submit a science fiction short story. The plot begins with an alien culture from outer space who decide to inhabit North America. There are factions in the United States government who want to promptly destroy the aliens although it is controversial because some believe the aliens are quite harmless. Why do some want to destroy the aliens?

_____ A) Because the aliens have already begun to build colonies and they are competing with us for the resources of the land

_____ B) Because some believe the aliens may be quite dangerous to Americans.

_____ C) Because there is tremendous economic profit in waging war.

V   Thomas is a 25 year-old Black man. He and John, an old college roommate, used to be best friends. They roomed together for four years and took many of the same courses. After graduation they were planning to go to Colorado together on vacation. However, John is now furious at Thomas. WHY?

_____ A) Thomas spread a rumor about John that has made all of his friends and relatives very uncomfortable about being around him.

_____ B) Thomas stole about $3000 in travelers checks and stereo equipment from John's apartment one summer when John was gone.

_____ C) John's old girlfriend has recently begun dating Thomas. John was very much in love with her at one time.

VI.   The Roberts family live in a wealthy suburban neighborhood. They have been very happy until their new neighbors, the Yang's, who emigrated from China, moved into their neighborhood. WHY?

_____ A) Their new neighbors have invaded the once lovely park at the end of the block which the Roberts had enjoyed all to themselves.

_____ B) Their new neighbors are very withdrawn and somewhat unfriendly.

_____ C) Their new neighbors are somewhat messy and obnoxious.

APPENDIX D:
OMNI

Please answer the following questions by circling *either* YES or NO. If you can't decide, please choose the best answer for how you feel. There is no "right" answer.

1.	Would you rather try to please others than to have your own way?	Y	N
2.	Would you rather give a gift than receive one?	Y	N
3.	Do you find it easy to relax in a group?	Y	N
4.	Do you tend to feel like a martyr?	Y	N
5.	Do you tend to see people as being either great or terrible?	Y	N
6.	Do you usually find it hard to settle down?	Y	N
7.	Do you tend to get angered by others?	Y	N
8.	Do you have a tendency to over-react?	Y	N
9.	Are you jealous of good-looking people?	Y	N
10.	Do you tend to be secretive about your personal life?	Y	N
11.	Do you pay a lot of attention to the financial matters of others?	Y	N
12.	Do you think that movie stars have better lives than you do?	Y	N
13.	Do you try to avoid dramatizing your feelings?	Y	N
14.	Does your life deserve special recognition?	Y	N
15.	Will your experience greatly guide others?	Y	N
16.	When confused, do you think of your mother's wishes to help you resolve your conflict?	Y	N
17.	Do you appreciate people who march to the beat of a different drummer?	Y	N
18.	Do you avoid rejection at all costs?	Y	N
19.	Do you have fantasies about being violent without knowing why?	Y	N
20.	Do you tend to feel humiliated when criticized?	Y	N
21.	Do you know how to solve other people's problems?	Y	N
22.	Would your secretive acts horrify your friends?	Y	N
23.	Do people love you for the way you improve their lives?	Y	N

24.	Do you find it easier to empathize with your own misfortunes than with those of others?	Y	N
25.	Do your views of people change back and forth easily?	Y	N
26.	Do you think that sexual intercourse is clean?	Y	N
27.	Do you wonder why people aren't more appreciative of your goodness?	Y	N
28.	Do you avoid telling people "what it's all about"?	Y	N
29.	Are you a perfectionist?	Y	N
30.	Is seduction the best part of your sex life?	Y	N
31.	Do you find that going through life is like walking on a tightrope?	Y	N
32.	Do you find yourself fantasizing about your greatness?	Y	N
33.	Do you have problems that nobody seems to understand?	Y	N
34.	Are you clever enough to fool people?	Y	N
35.	Do you worry a lot about your health?	Y	N
36.	Do you expect people who love you to spend money to show it?	Y	N
37.	Is it important for you to know how other people spend their time?	Y	N
38.	Do all your friends come from the same mold?	Y	N
39.	Are you especially sensitive to success and failure?	Y	N
40.	If you're tough on others, is it "for their own good"?	Y	N
41.	Do you crave attention from others?	Y	N

APPENDIX E:
SOCIAL ATTITUDE SURVEY

On the pages that follow you will find a number of opinion statements about various social issues. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the number of the scale underneath each statement that best indicates your opinion. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers; we are simply interested in your honest opinions.

1) Sex education should be taught in public school systems in the U.S.

Strongly Agree		Neutral/No Opinion		Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

2) Over the past few years, the government and news media have seemed more concerned about the rights of African-Americans than of other groups.

Strongly Agree		Neutral/No Opinion		Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3) The government needs to pass stricter immigration laws.

Strongly Agre		Neutral/No Opinion		Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

4) We need more women in leadership positions in industry and government.

Strongly Agree		Neutral/No Opinion		Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

5) It is easy to understand the anger of African-Americans.

Strongly Agree		Neutral/No Opinion		Strongly Disagree
1	2	.3	4	5

6) I feel that homosexuality is a sin.

Strongly Agree		Neutral/No Opinion		Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

7) Minority groups are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights

Strongly Agree   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

8) Blacks seem to have more political power to influence social policy than other groups.

Strongly Agree   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

9) Most feminists have no idea what being a woman is really all about.

Strongly Agre   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

10) Discrimination against African-Americans is no longer a significant problem in the U. S.

Strongly Agree   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

11) Almost all erotic or sexually explicit material should be outlawed.

Strongly Agre   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

12) Over the past few years, African-Americans have gotten unfair economic gains due to preferential policies.

Strongly Agre   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

13) Too many women make their careers more important than their families.

Strongly Agre   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

14) I feel that homosexuality should be against the law.

Strongly Agre   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree
1   2   3   4   5

15) Racial integration should not be forced where it is not wanted.

Strongly Agree   Neutral/No Opinion   Strongly Disagree

1   2   3   4   5

APPENDIX F:

Birth Order
(N= 132)

Sibling Rank	Frequency	Percent
eldest	51	38.6
middle	32	24.2
youngest	43	32.6
only child	6	4.5

Number of Times Displaced by Siblings
(N= 132)

No. of times Displaced	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	49	37.1	37.1
1	49	37.1	74.2
2	19	14.4	88.6
3	6	4.5	93.2
4	4	3.0	96.2
5	2	1.5	97.7
6	1	.8	98.5
7	2	1.5	100.0
Total	132	100.0	100.0

Statistics for Total Number of Siblings
(N= 132)

"Sibship" Size	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	6	4.5	4.5
2	53	40.2	44.7
3	32	24.2	68.9
4	17	12.9	81.8
5	10	7.6	89.4
6	5	3.8	93.2
7	4	3.0	96.2
8	3	2.3	98.5
10	1	.8	99.2
11	1	.8	100.0
	-------	-------	-------
Total	132	100.0	100.0

Mean = 3.250
Mode = 2.000
Std. dev. = 1.796

APPENDIX G:

Statistics* for Ratings of Parent' Affection (1)
and Parents Favoring Siblings (2)

Ratings**	N	Mean	Std Dev
Mother (1)	673	2.07	1.44
Father (1)	659	3.08	1.98
Mother (2)	616	2.25	1.66
Father (2)	603	2.38	1.86

* Range 1-7, mode = 1 in all cases

** Mother/Father 1 = In general do you feel that you got enough love and
        affection from your mother/father?
   Mother/Father 2 = In general do you feel that your mother/father favored one or more
        of your siblings over you?

Pearson Correlation Matrix* for Ratings** of Parents Affection (1)
and Favoring Siblings (2) (N)

	F1	F2	M1
F2	.4856		
	(603)		
M1	.4645	.1905	
	(659)	(603)	
M2	.2456	.3220	.4528
	(607)	(602)	(616)

* for all coefficients, p < .001, by a two-tailed test

** M/F 1 = In general do you feel that you got enough love and
        affection from your mother/father?
   M/F 2 = In general do you feel that your mother/father favored one or more
        of your siblings over you?

APPENDIX H:
Statistics for Jealousy Scale:
Rank-Ordered Percentages Across Items*
N = 345

Teresa Gonzalez is a 22-year-old college senior who is studying Latin American history. She is graduating next semester and is prepared to begin her new career as a teacher. Women generally dislike her; she has no close female friends. WHY?

1	2	3	
26	28	47	*Teresa is a shallow and untrustworthy person who is prone to talking about others behind their back.*
31	48	20	*Teresa has strange hobbies and is very introverted.*
43	24	33	*Teresa is envied by other women because she is bright and very attractive.*

Nicholas and Grace have been married for five years. They have one 3-year-old and have tried unsuccessfully to have another baby. They are thinking about adopting a child from India. They have mixed feelings because...

1	2	3	
27	34	40	*they are worried about the expenses involved in adoption procedures.*
44	31	25	*they are concerned that their 3-year-old will not welcome a new addition to the family*
30	35	36	*they are worried about the unknown genetic makeup of an adopted child*

Yolanda is a 25 year-old Black woman. She and Helen, an old college roommate, used to be best friends. They roomed together for four years and took many of the same courses. After graduation, they were planning to go to Colorado together on vacation. However, Helen is now furious at Yolanda. WHY?

1	2	3	
14	56	29	*Yolanda spread a rumor about Helen that has made all of her friends and relatives very uncomfortable about being around her*
17	25	58	*Yolanda stole about $3000 in travelers checks and jewelry from Helen's apartment one summer when Helen was gone*
69	18	13	*Helen's old boyfriend has recently begun dating Yolanda. Helen was very much in love with him at one time*

The Roberts family live in a wealthy suburban neighborhood. They have been very happy until their new neighbors, the Yang's, who emigrated from China, moved into their neighborhood.

1	2	3	
18	29	53	*Their new neighbors have invaded the once lovely park at the end of the block which the Roberts had enjoyed all to themselves*
36	38	25	*Their new neighbors are very withdrawn and somewhat unfriendly*
45	33	21	*Their new neighbors are somewhat messy and obnoxious*

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