

ACCURACY OF SLOVAK NATIONAL STEREOTYPES: RESULT OF JUDGMENT OR INTUITION?

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Abstract: An international study comprising 3230 university students from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Austria, Germany and Poland examined the accuracy of Slovak national stereotypes. The accuracy of stereotypes was evaluated comparing ratings of typical Slovaks from the ingroup as well as outgroup perspective with ratings of real people living in Slovakia. We found that Slovak national stereotypes rated by Slovaks did not correspond with ratings of real Slovaks. The ratings of real Slovaks corresponded more with the ratings of Slovak national stereotypes by members of other Central European countries. Our findings indicate that national stereotypes can be based upon reflective judgment of real people living in the given nation. At the same time, ratings of group characteristics can be biased by other motivations, e.g. the tendency to evaluate one's own group more favorably than outgroups.

Key words: national stereotypes, judgment, intuition, intergroup bias, five-factor model of personality

INTRODUCTION

Since the so-called cognitive revolution psychology has been dominated by a rationalist approach to judgment. The cognitive revolution condemned "irrational emotive theories" (Kohlberg, 1969) referring back to the Freudian distinction between rationality- and impulses-driven behaviors. However, rationalist accounts fall short at explaining irrational judgments and behavior that do not follow from reasoning (Haidt, 2001; Mora Mérida, Martín Jorge, 2009). Smith and

DeCoster (2000) suggest resolving the contradiction between the reflective and impulsive processes with the so-called dual information processing. The reflective processing is structured by language and logic, and it occurs when capacity and motivation are present. It is associated with conscious awareness of the steps of processing. In contrast, the impulsive processing draws on learned associations and occurs automatically.

When it comes to judging people of a different group membership or social groups in general, the same contradiction occurs. Exaggerated beliefs concerning the characteristics of social groups are called stereotypes (Operario, Fiske, 2001). The process of stereotyping is grounded in cognitive process of categorization. Categorization is an automatic process operating outside of the perceivers' awareness that uses visually salient

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cues to put people into corresponding social categories (Macrae, Milne, Bodenhausen, 1994). After a person is placed into a category (e.g., a German), ascription of stereotypical characteristics associated with the given category (e.g., precise) immediately ensues (Devine, 1989). As such, judging people of a certain group membership seems to be an impulsive process operating with learned, culturally shared beliefs. However, it has been shown that stereotypes resulting from impulsive processing need not to be the final stage of the impression formation. After the initial automatic categorization, perceivers might engage in a more thoughtful processing. A vital role is played by motivation to exert cognitive effort beyond the mere categorization as well as the nature of information available (Hilton, Von Hippel, 1996). Therefore, judging characteristics of social groups seem to be based on both automatic as well as reflective processing.

In our research, we were interested in whether people rating national stereotypes are automatically following learned schemata or whether they are able to take into consideration "real data". By real data we mean characteristics of real people from the given nation. National stereotypes can refer to social, physical, or mental characteristics (Terracciano et al., 2005). Research within personality psychology in general and our study in particular deals with personality traits. The first goal of our study was to determine whether Slovak national stereotypes, operationalized as personality characteristics of typical Slovaks, correspond to ratings of real Slovaks. The convergence between ratings of national stereotypes and real people would be indicative of reflective judgment – the ability to take account of characteristics of mem-

bers constituting the stereotyped group. On the other hand, lack of convergence between ratings of real people and stereotypical image of their group would point to automaticity of culturally grounded stereotypes.

Accuracy of National Stereotypes

Recent years have witnessed an increased interest in research on stereotypes accuracy. A problematic point, though, might represent the establishment of accuracy criteria (Operario, Fiske, 2001). Current advances in personality psychology and cross-cultural research provided a tool with which personality characteristics can be validly measured in diverse cultural settings. Broad cross-national as well as behavioral genetics studies showed that the Five-Factor Model (FFM) of personality contains characteristics universal in different cultures (McCrae, 2002, 2004; McCrae et al., 2000, 2005). Methods derived from the FFM can, thus, be used for judging stereotypical attributes as well as real people. Comparison of real people and stereotypes, rated along the same universal personality traits, can provide the answer to whether stereotypes are based on characteristics of real people. The universal personality traits correspond to five dimensions of the FFM – neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness (Digman, 1990; Goldberg, 1990).

An international project "Personality Profiles across Cultures" addressed the correspondence between national stereotypes and ratings of real people in 49 countries (Terracciano, McCrae and 78 members of the Personality Profiles across Cultures Project, 2005). Participants rated themselves or their peers on FFM characteristics. Different par-

ticipants from the countries under study subsequently judged characteristics of their typical country representative (autostereotypes). The comparison of self- and observer-ratings with stereotypical ratings of country representatives did not converge in most countries under study. The study showed that national stereotypes are not based on characteristics of real people (Terracciano et al., 2005).

The study by Terracciano and colleagues (2005) was criticized for comparing data from real people only with the ratings of one's own country representatives (Kováč, 2007; Kruger, Wright, 2006; Mcgrath, Goldberg, 2006). Previous research showed that the process of stereotyping is sensitive to current motives of individuals, e.g., retaining a positive image of oneself and one's ingroup in case of self-esteem threat (Wolfe, Spencer, Fein, 1995; cited in Hilton, Von Hippel, 1996). This way, other motivations can bias the participants' judgment, especially judgment concerning their ingroup. When rating one's ingroup, people might engage in some kind of ethnocentric bias, e.g., ingroup favoritism. Ingroup favoritism is a tendency to perceive members of the ingroup more positively than members of outgroups (Hewstone, Rubin, Willis, 2002; Kouřilová, 2011). As a result, stereotypes judged from outside, called heterostereotypes, might be more accurate in comparison to autostereotypes.

Hence, in our research, we focus not only on the stereotype perception by Slovaks themselves but extend the participants pool to other nationalities from the Central European region. Our study treats national stereotypes not just from the ingroup but also from the outgroup perspective. To evaluate the accuracy of national stereotypes, we will

compare ratings of real Slovaks with Slovak national autostereotype as well as with Slovak national heterostereotypes. Based on previous findings, we expected that heterostereotypes will correspond to ratings of real people better than autostereotypes.

National Stereotypes from Ingroup and Outgroup Perspective

The first goal of our study addressed whether stereotypes are reflective judgments based on real people or rather automatic, culturally grounded beliefs. However, we also needed to know whether stereotypes are culturally shared at all. To evaluate the convergence in ratings of national stereotypes, we compared ratings of Slovak autostereotypes in two different periods of data sampling. This was possible because Slovakia participated in the international research project in which data on national autostereotypes were collected in 2003 (Terracciano et al., 2005). Based on literature, we expected that stereotypes are rooted in cultural background and, as a result, stable in time (Peabody, Shmelyov, 1996; Realo et al., 2009).

Another interesting question concerning regularities in stereotype content pertains to cross-cultural differences. After examining the consistency within one culture, we want to verify whether stereotypes concerning one particular country converge across different cultural backgrounds as well. First, we will compare Slovak heterostereotypes as rated by Austrians, Czechs, Germans and Poles to see whether judgments from different countries converge or whether they are culturally specific. Second, we will focus on the resemblance between the Slovak national heterostereotypes and the autostereotype. As far as the convergence of stereotypes

judged from the ingroup and outgroup perspective is concerned, previous studies have not provided clear-cut results. Some authors found a good match between auto- and heterostereotypes (Peabody, 1985; Triandis, 1997), while others did not (Realo et al., 2009).

To summarize the particular goals of our study, we wanted to determine a) whether stereotypical characteristics judged from the ingroup (autostereotype) as well as the outgroup perspective (heterostereotypes) match ratings of real people, b) whether national stereotypes are shared within one nation, operationalized as the temporal stability of the Slovak autostereotype, c) whether national stereotypes are shared even across different nations, operationalized as the convergence between the Slovak national heterostereotypes judged by Austrians, Czechs, Germans and Poles as well as between the Slovak national heterostereotypes and the Slovak autostereotypes judged by Slovaks themselves.

METHOD

Participants

Altogether, 2,992 university students (2,263 women, 729 men) from five central European countries (Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Germany, and Austria) rated personality characteristics of typical Slovaks. The students were recruited mostly from the universities in border regions between the Czech Republic and the given countries under study. The *Slovak* sample rating the Slovak autostereotype consisted of 509 university students, age range 16–66 ($M_{\text{age}} = 24.39$ years; $SD = 6.58$; 76% women) from Žilina, Ružomberok, Trenčín, Trnava, Košice, Banská Bystrica, and Bratislava. The *Czech*

sample consisted of 1477 students, age range 18–64 years ($M_{\text{age}} = 23.31$ years; $SD = 5.26$; 74% women). The *Polish* sample consisted of 281 students, age range 17–53 ($M_{\text{age}} = 22.7$ years; $SD = 3.64$; 86% women). The *Austrian* sample consisted of 396 students, age range 18–65 ($M_{\text{age}} = 25.02$ years; $SD = 7.20$; 75% women). The *German* sample consisted of 329 students, age range 18–63 ($M_{\text{age}} = 23.73$ years; $SD = 5.00$; 70% women). Personality characteristics of *real Slovaks* were judged by 238 Slovak university students, age range 18–23 ($M_{\text{age}} = 20.16$ years; $SD = 1.40$; 50% women).

Procedure

Slovak national auto- and heterostereotypes were rated using the National Character Survey (NCS, Terracciano et al., 2005). NCS consists of 30 bipolar items intended to parallel the facets of the NEO-PI-R (Costa, McCrae, 1992). For example, a facet of Neuroticism, depression, was assessed by asking how likely, on a five-point scale, a typical Slovak was to be depressed, sad and pessimistic vs. content and optimistic. The NCS was already available in Slovak, Czech, Polish, and German (Terracciano et al., 2005). The questionnaires were administered online. In each subsample, respondents first rated a typical member of their own nation (e.g., Slovaks are likely...) and subsequently typical country representatives of the remaining four Central European countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Poland, Germany) in a random order.

Observer-ratings of real Slovaks were provided using the NEO-PI-R (Costa, McCrae, 1992). The NEO-PI-R is a 240-item measure based on the FFM. It contains 30 facet scales, 6 for each of the basic personality factors

Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. Each of the 30 facet scales consists of eight-items. Responses are given on a five-point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Form R for observer rating with items rephrased in third person was used in the Slovak sample.

Participants who provided observer-ratings of real Slovaks were instructed to rate someone they knew well.¹ They could choose to rate a man or a woman in age range 18–23 years or in age range from 40 years above. Participants were asked to specify the exact age of the target that they had rated. Altogether, 240 targets, 60 from each combination of the age group and gender (younger and older women and men), were assessed. The mean age of the female targets was 19.9 and 46.7 years for the younger and older women, respectively. The mean age of the male targets was 20.0 and 48.0 years for the younger and older men, respectively. Two participants were excluded from the subsequent analysis because of missing data. Part of the data was already published in a study by McCrae and colleagues (2005).

Data Analysis

In our study, we were interested in an agreement across the entire profiles of personality traits, not in an agreement on particular traits. Any two profiles may be similar not only because their distinctive features are well matched but also because

they both reflect an average profile. For example, when raters are inclined to endorse Neuroticism items less than Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, or Conscientiousness items, no matter whom they are rating, the rating profiles automatically intercorrelate. These spurious correlations are caused by what Cronbach called “generalized other” (Cronbach, 1955). In order to eliminate this tendency, all NCS stereotype scores were converted into T-scores ($M = 50$; $SD = 10$) using mean scores and SDs of national stereotype ratings from 3989 participants from 49 different cultures (Terracciano et al., 2005). Standardized scores show how much a typical Slovak was perceived to be above or below these international mean values. Observer-rating on NEO-PI-R was standardized using international norms (McCrae et al., 2005). Profile agreement was calculated as an intraclass correlation (ICC) across the 30 facets, using the double-entry method (Griffin, Gonzales, 1995). Double-entry intraclass correlations are similar to Pearson correlations but they are sensitive to differences in profile elevation as well as shape (McCrae, 2008). The p -value is based on the non-doubled n of 30.

RESULTS

To answer the question whether national stereotypes automatically follow from culturally shared beliefs or whether they are based on real data, we compared ratings of national stereotypes with observer-ratings of real Slovaks. The observer-ratings were contrasted with all available measures of national stereotypes – the autostereotype from 2003 and 2008, heterostereotypes from the four Central European countries as well

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as the mean heterostereotype. The ICCs are given in Table 1. The observer-ratings of real Slovaks did not correspond to either of the Slovak autostereotypes from the different time periods. ICCs between the observer-ratings and national heterostereotypes were all positive, ranging from .14 to .36 ($p < .05$) with a median value of .24 (see Table 1). The observer-rated characteristics of real Slovaks most closely resembled Slovak heterostereotype rated by Austrians (ICC = .36, $p < .05$).

Figure 1 shows the profiles of the Slovak autostereotype, the mean heterostereotype (both measured with NCS) and the observer-rating of real Slovaks (measured with NEO-PI-R). On Neuroticism, observer-ratings resemble the mean heterostereotype but not the autostereotype. Ratings of Extraversion converge across auto-, heterostereotype and observer-rating. In case of Openness to Experience, the rating of real people resembles

the Slovak autostereotype. Participants from neighboring nations, though, see a typical Slovak as more open to experience. On Agreeableness, the observer-rating is average, while the autostereotype reaches higher values. The same occurs in case of Conscientiousness – Slovaks themselves perceive their typical representative (autostereotype) as more conscientious than their rating of real Slovaks. However, participants from the other Central European countries (the mean heterostereotype) see a typical Slovak as least conscientious.

Our second goal was to find out whether national stereotypes are shared within one country. We tested the temporal stability of Slovak national stereotype in the time period of 5 years. The ICCs between the profiles based on data from 2003 and 2008 were .78 ($p < .001$). The high correlation shows that the perception of Slovak national

Table 1. Intraclass correlations between observer-ratings, auto-, and heterostereotypes

Observer-rating of real Slovaks vs.	Autostereotype from 2003	.14
	Autostereotype from 2008	.05
	Heterostereotype by Austrians	.36*
	Heterostereotype by Germans	.29
	Heterostereotype by Poles	.24
	Heterostereotype by Czechs	.14
	Mean heterostereotype	.26
	Autostereotype from 2003	.14
Comparison of Slovak heterostereotypes from four Central European countries	Austrians vs. Germans	.98***
	Czechs vs. Poles	.68***
	Austrians vs. Poles	.66***
	Germans vs. Poles	.66***
	Czechs vs. Germans	.43*
	Czechs vs. Austrians	.41*
Slovak autostereotype vs.	Slovak Heterostereotype rated by Czechs	.00
	Slovak Heterostereotype rated by Poles	.02
	Slovak Heterostereotype rated by Austrians	.01
	Slovak Heterostereotype rated by Germans	.02

ICC: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

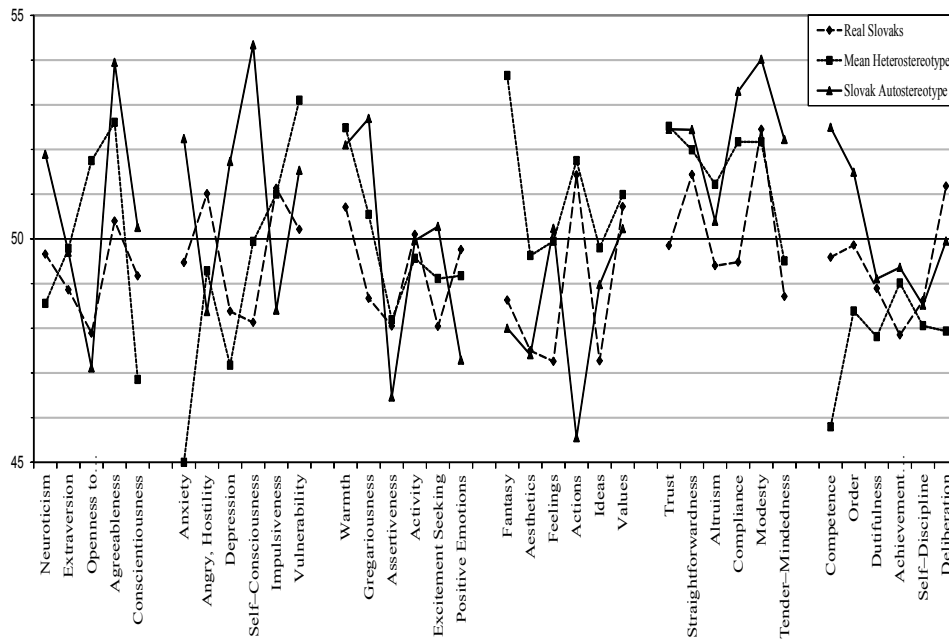


Figure 1. Slovak autostereotype (solid lines), mean heterostereotype (dotted lines) and observer-rating of real Slovaks (dashed lines) on the 5 dimensions of the five-factor model and its 30 facets

autostereotype is relatively stable and has not changed considerably during the last five years.

The third goal of our study was to determine whether the ratings of a particular national stereotype converge across different countries. First, we estimated the correspondence between profiles of stereotypical Slovak characteristics perceived from outside – by Austrian, Czech, German and Polish university students. All six ICCs were statistically significant, ranging from .98, $p \leq .001$ (agreement between German and Austrian participants) to .41 $p \leq .05$ (agreement between Czech and Austrian participants). The median of the profile-agreement across the

four countries was .67. More detailed results concerning the agreement in hetero-stereotypes of a typical Slovak are given in Table 1.

As a second step in the analysis of the agreement in stereotypical perception across countries, we estimated the convergence between the Slovak national heterostereotypes and the autostereotype rated by Slovaks themselves. Unlike the previously described convergence among heterostereotypes, we found no agreement between the Slovak autostereotype and the four heterostereotypes (median ICC = .01). To be able to compare the autostereotype with just one composite measure of outgroup perception,

we counted a mean T-score profile based on heterostereotype ratings from the four countries – the mean heterostereotype. However, the mean heterostereotype did not agree with the Slovak autostereotype either ($ICC = .05$). Slovak participants perceive their own country representative as more neurotic and conscientious as well as less open to experience in comparison to the outgroup perception represented by the mean hetero-stereotype (see Table 2).

DISCUSSION

In our research, we pursued several goals pertaining to the accuracy of Slovak national stereotypes. We wanted to find out whether ratings of national stereotypes follow from automatically activated beliefs or deliberately reflect characteristics of real people in the assessed nation. Furthermore, we tested whether Slovak national stereotypes are indeed culturally shared – among Slovaks as well as across the other nations under study.

First, we will discuss the possible limitations of our study. One can object that the sample comprised university students only (Kruger, Wright, 2006; McGrath, Goldberg, 2006). Specifically in case of the Czech Republic, adults who spent considerably more time with Slovaks when they were part of the same country (the former Czechoslovakia) can perceive Slovak national stereotypes differently from the younger generation represented in our study. To test this assumption, in another study Hřebíčková and Kouřilová (submitted) included a sample of adult participants and compared them to students. The results showed that the ratings of national stereotypes provided by adults resembled those provided by university students.

Another limitation pertains to regional specificity of stereotype content. In our research project, we focused primarily on people from border areas. Border regions possess a high potential of contact with people from neighboring countries as compared to the central parts of the country.

Table 2. Ratings of Slovak autostereotype, heterostereotypes, and real Slovaks on five personality dimensions

		N	E	O	A	C
Real people	Observer-rating	49.66	48.86	47.89	50.40	49.17
Autostereotype	2003 data	54.90	47.30	45.60	55.60	48.20
	2008 data	51.89	49.70	47.11	53.95	50.26
Heterostereotypes rated by	Czechs	48.52	51.50	52.31	53.18	46.76
	Poles	47.03	48.76	53.25	53.05	47.63
	Germans	49.20	45.66	50.08	51.06	46.82
	Austrians	49.32	45.67	49.33	50.79	46.77
	Mean	48.56	49.79	51.75	52.61	46.85

Notes: Data from 2003: $N = 47$ students (Terracciano et al., 2005). Real people were rated on observer R version of NEO-PI-R. The Slovak auto- and heterostereotype were rated on NCS. N = Neuroticism, E = Extraversion, O = Openness to Experience, A = Agreeableness, C = Conscientiousness. Raw scores were converted into T-scores using international norms: for NCS (Terracciano et al., 2005), for NEO-PI-R (McCrae et al., 2005).

According to intergroup contact theory, perception of group members is influenced by the quality and quantity of their mutual contacts (see Pettigrew, 1998 for review). More frequent contacts in border regions can lead to a more elaborated image of people from neighboring countries. However, when examining the content of national stereotypes from seven different regions of the Czech Republic (central as well as border), Hřebíčková and Kouřilová (submitted) found no difference in the stereotype content. Based on our other studies, we can conclude that the perception of national stereotypes converges across different parts of a country, different age groups as well as gender.

Coming to discussion of results, the main goal of our study addressed the accuracy of stereotype content as a result of automaticity vs. deliberative judgement. We were interested in whether ratings of national stereotypes automatically ensue from culturally shared stereotypes or whether they reflect characteristics of real people in the given nation. We determined the convergence between Slovak national stereotypes and observer-ratings of real Slovaks, both in terms of personality characteristics. We compared the real data with stereotype-ratings not only from the ingroup but also from the outgroup perspective to control for potential biases.

The results showed that Slovak national autostereotype did not correspond to observer-ratings of real people, which parallels the outcomes of the international study by Terracciano and colleagues (2005). These findings indicate that when judging their ingroup (autostereotype), participants did not take into account characteristics of real people constituting their ingroup. However, this needs not be an evidence for automatic

processes triggering inaccurate stereotypical beliefs. People might be aware of the real characteristics of their fellow ingroupers but, at the same time, consciously or unconsciously bias the rating of their ingroup in a more favorable direction.

However, our findings do not correspond with the results of the research in the Baltic Sea region where one group of participants rated both stereotypes as well as real people using only one instrument – the NCS (Realo et al., 2009). Realo and colleagues (2009) showed that Russian autostereotype was moderately related to self-ratings of college-aged Russians. Reasons for different results by Realo and colleagues (2009) might be methodological – using the same instrument and participants for ratings of real people as well as stereotypes could enhance the agreement between stereotypical and real characteristics. Another reason might lie in a different geopolitical situation – the role of Russia in the Baltic region is so prominent that Russians rating their typical representatives are not that motivated to further promote their ingroup. Slovakia's position in Central Europe is quite different from the one of Russia, which decisively dominates neighboring countries whether in terms of its size or political influence.

When comparing ratings of real Slovaks with heterostereotypes of typical Slovaks, we found positive trends. Primarily Austrian participants rated a typical Slovak similarly to how real Slovaks rated their acquaintances. Along with our hypothesis, we confirmed that heterostereotypes correspond to ratings of real people better than the autostereotype. People from outside can indeed judge characteristics of the given nation more accurately than members of the assessed nation. This finding indicates that people rating na-

tional stereotypes can reflect upon reality and, to some extent, include traits of real people into their judgement of group characteristics.

The second goal of our current study was to verify whether national stereotypes are indeed culturally shared. First, we examined this assumption within one country across two different points of time. The results showed that the way Slovaks see their typical country representative is stable over a period of 5 years (2003 vs. 2008). Relatively high temporal stability of national autostereotypes was also found in Estonia and Poland (Realo et al., 2009). Hřebíčková and Kouřilová (2010) reported on temporal stability of autostereotypes over the same timespan (5 years) in the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland. We can conclude that national stereotypes are not random ratings but tend to persist within one country across different points of time. On the other hand, the time perspective in our research was rather short. Other studies showed that over longer periods of time, content of stereotypical beliefs changes as a result of changes in the given society (Ferjenčík, 2006; Madon et al., 2001).

Having confirmed that stereotypical beliefs are shared in one country, we focused on agreement in stereotype content across different countries. First, we investigated the convergence between Slovak national heterostereotypes as rated by Austrians, Czechs, Germans and Poles. We found high level of agreement in perception of Slovaks across the four countries in Central European region. While participants from Germanic countries see a typical Slovak virtually identically, participants from Slavonic countries agree moderately. We found relatively low agreement between Slovak hetero-

stereotypes rated by Czechs and participants from Germanic countries. Czechs see a typical Slovak as more extraverted, opened to experience and agreeable in comparison to Austrians and Germans. This finding indicates that national heterostereotypes are not completely independent of the cultural background of their raters. Participants sharing similar culture, e.g., in terms of the same language family, agreed more than participants from more different cultures.

Nonetheless, the cross-cultural differences in stereotype content do not refer just to the outgroup perspective. As a second step, we compared Slovak national heterostereotypes rated by participants from the four Central European countries with the Slovak national autostereotype. Previous studies investigating the convergence of stereotypes judged from the ingroup and outgroup perspective are not unanimous in their conclusions (Peabody, 1985; Realo et al., 2009; Triandis et al., 1984). In our research, we found no agreement between the ingroup and outgroup perception of a typical Slovak. Slovaks see their typical country representative as more agreeable and conscientious, in other words, in a more socially desirable way as compared to participants from the other four Central European countries.

Ascribing more positive characteristics to one's ingroup is a manifestation of ingroup favoritism. Research showed that on dimensions relevant for social comparison, people tend to portray ingroup members in a more socially desirable way than those belonging to outgroups (Fiske et al., 2002). Agreeableness and Conscientiousness represent the most socially desirable dimensions of the Five-Factor Model. As a matter of fact, Slovaks ascribe their typical country represen-

tative higher levels of Agreeableness and Conscientiousness as compared to their ratings of a typical outgroup representative (Hřebíčková, Kouřilová, submitted). This finding relates back to our proven hypothesis that national stereotypes judged from outside correspond to ratings of real people better than stereotypes rated from inside. In our study, we found evidence of ingroup favoritism that biased the rating of the Slovak autostereotype.

Previous research on automatic vs. reflective stereotyping showed that automaticity is connected primarily to a lack of cognitive capacity or lack of motivation to exert more effort in judgement (Devine, 1989; Gilbert, Hixon, 1991; Hilton, Von Hippel, 1996; Perdue, Gurtman, 1990). However, most of the studies were experimental with sometimes even subliminally primed stereotyped categories. In our study, participants consciously evaluated group characteristics without any time pressure. We can assume that, given the nature of the rating task, participants engaged in a more thoughtful assessment resulting in a convergence between real data and heterostereotypes. The divergence between real data and the autostereotype was not necessarily caused by automatically triggered false stereotypes concerning the ingroup but by participants' tendency to bias the ratings towards a more positive ingroup image.

To sum it up, our study provided insight into the accuracy of national stereotypes.

We found that personality characteristics of real Slovaks correspond better to Slovak heterostereotypes rated by members of other Central European nations as compared to how Slovaks themselves rated their typical country representative. However, the perception of Slovak national stereotype was

shared within Slovakia, which was mirrored in the high temporal stability of the ratings. We also found convergence in perception of a typical Slovak across different countries under study. Nevertheless, the perception of Slovak stereotypical characteristic from the outside and inside perspective did not bear resemblance.

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PŘESNOST SLOVENSKÝCH NÁRODNÍCH STEREOTYPŮ: VÝSLEDEK USUZOVÁNÍ NEBO INTUICE?

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Súhrn: Mezinárodní studie zahrnující 3230 univerzitních studentů ze Slovenska, Česka, Rakouska, Německa a Polska zkoumala správnost slovenských národních stereotypů. Správnost byla ověřena na základě srovnání posouzení typického Slováka z pohledu vlastního národa a sousedních zemí s posouzením skutečných lidí žijících na Slovensku. Zjistili jsme, že způsob, jakým Slováci posuzují typického představitele své země, se neshoduje s posouzením reálných Slováků. Posouzení reálných Slováků se však více shoduje se slovenským stereotypem podle sousedních národů. Výsledky naznačují, že spíše příslušníci jiných zemí jsou při posuzování národních stereotypů schopni zohledňovat charakteristiky skutečných lidí žijících v sousední zemi. Posuzování skupinových charakteristik může být zkresleno jinými typy motivace např. tendencí hodnotit svoji členskou skupinu lépe než skupiny nečlenské.