Hurricane Katrina's Impact on African Americans' and European Americans' Endorsement of the Protestant Work Ethic

Sheri R. Levy*
State University of New York, Stony Brook

Antonio L. Freitas
State University of New York, Stony Brook

Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton
University of California, Berkeley

Heather Kugelmass
State University of New York, Stony Brook

The Protestant work ethic (PWE), the belief that hard work leads to success, is a quintessentially American belief. The present research addresses a critical gap in psychological research on PWE: can a single, large-scale sociopolitical event (government's response to Hurricane Katrina) produce changes in PWE? We review evidence showing that the salience of Katrina led to a reduction in African Americans' (not European Americans') endorsement of PWE and that this result appears explained by African Americans' greater belief in the government's inadequate response to Katrina victims, who were predominately African American. The implications of differential endorsement of PWE for future expectations of societal treatment, motivation to pursue important goals, and willingness to endorse structural corrections of inequality are discussed.

The Protestant work ethic (PWE)—the belief that hard work leads to success—is the quintessential lay theory in the United States. It is often referred to as the "American Dream," with the egalitarian implication that Americans from all social

---

*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Sheri R. Levy, Department of Psychology, SUNY Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY 11794-2500 [e-mail: sheri.levy@sunysb.edu].

categories are basically equal and can all succeed (e.g., Levy, West, & Ramirez, 2005; Levy, West, Ramirez, & Karafantis, 2006). Moreover, popular sayings in the United States such as "anyone can pull themselves up by their bootstraps" as well as ever-popular "rags to riches" stories, suggest that hard work is a social equalizer (e.g., Heykoe & Hock, 2003; Liberman & Lavine, 2000). In suggesting a pathway (effort) to success for each individual, the PWE also has been referred to as an achievement motive (e.g., see Levy et al., 2005; McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953). Given the above, the PWE is widely endorsed by Americans of all ages and backgrounds and thought to be a stable, deeply ingrained cultural belief (e.g., Greenberg, 1978; Katz & Hass, 1988; Levy, Freitas, & Salovey, 2002; Levy, West, & Ramirez, 2005; Somerman, 1993).

Furthermore, pervasive lay theories such as the PWE can serve multiple functions. They serve not only epistemic needs for understanding, meaning, simplification, and prediction of one's environment, but also social and personal needs for controlling one's environment, supporting important values, warding off perceived threats, and maintaining social relationships (e.g., Heider, 1958; Hong, Levy, & Chiu, 2001; Kelly, 1955; Levy, Chiu, & Hong, 2006; Wegener & Petty, 1998). Because of the many functions of lay theories, extant conceptual work assumes that people are motivated to cling to them, even in the face of conflicting information (Fletcher, 1995; Furnham, 1988), much as they cling to other prized ideas, beliefs, and possessions (Abelson, 1986). Underlying mechanisms of confirmatory biases (e.g., Downey, Freitas, Michaelis, & Khouri, 1998; Kunda, 1990; Merton, 1948; Swann, 1997) are assumed to maintain this stability, by serving as information filters that predispose people to observe and accept "facts" compatible with their lay theory (Fletcher, 1995; Furnham, 1988).

Consistent with this view, the PWE is thought to be a stable American belief, and little research has addressed whether endorsement of the PWE is influenced by environmental triggers (e.g., see Levy et al., 2006). It is, however, possible that the PWE could be threatened by contextual or environment events such as a large-scale sociopolitical event. Although the PWE can prescribe *future* behavior, the PWE must at the same time serve as an adequate description of the *current* social context to which it is applied. If one's current social context appears discriminatory against one's social group, yielding an unleveled playing field, one might be forced to reject the premise that hard work can bring success to *anyone*. In this article, we review evidence that the government's response to Hurricane Katrina provoked a shift in PWE endorsement among African Americans, persons for whom this event provided evidence against the PWE.

On August 29, 2005, Katrina made landfall in the central Gulf Coast, killing more than 1,300 people, displacing over one million residents, and causing victims, especially in New Orleans, Louisiana, to be stranded for days without food, water, and other basic necessities (CNN, 2005a). Some observers argued that the U.S. federal government's response was slow and ineffective, and, further, that it may have been indicative of racism toward the storm's many poor African American victims

(CNN, 2005b). The perspective of many African Americans was crystallized by Kanye West's impromptu comment, "George Bush doesn't care about Black people," on September 3, 2005 (see Washington Post, 2005). Indeed, according to a Gallup poll taken between September 8 and 11, 2005, a majority of African Americans (60%) felt that the government responded slowly to stranded New Orleans residents because many of them were black, whereas few European Americans (12.5%) endorsed that view.

Prior research suggests that among African Americans, a history of discrimination has led many to be doubtful about equitable treatment of African Americans (e.g., Mendoza-Denton, Ayduk, Shoda, & Mischel, 1997; Parsons, Simmons, Shihhoster, & Kilbum, 1995). For African Americans (but not European Americans), Katrina may have provided a dramatic example and manifestation of the kinds of social injustices that occur in this country, challenging even the valued and protected PWE belief that people will receive fair treatment (success) when they work hard.

Hurricane Katrina provides an unparalleled opportunity to examine critically what happens to endorsement of a pervasive lay theory such as the PWE when a large-scale, socially significant event threatens that belief. In this article, we raise a critical gap in psychological research on the PWE: can a single, powerful sociopolitical event produce changes in PWE endorsement? Will the changes be long lasting? Will any observed changes dissipate across time or can reference to the event temporarily re-instantiate shifts in endorsement of a prized cultural belief?

Although it is possible that an event such as Katrina could trigger long-lasting shifts in cultural beliefs such as the PWE, the more likely case is that change is temporary, insofar as many functions are served by such beliefs and thus the difficulty of permanently forfeiting them (Fletcher, 1995; Furnham, 1988). Namely, the PWE, as a fundamental and cherished cultural belief in the United States—the American dream—and specifically representing a positive pathway (hard work) and motivator for people to succeed in the United States, would be difficult to permanently abandon. Below, we discuss recent evidence (Levy, Freitas, Mendoza-Denton, & Kugelmass, 2006) that Hurricane Katrina provoked a change in PWE adherence among African Americans and that that change naturally dissipated over time, but reemerged when Katrina was primed.

Specifically, in our recent work, we expected that Katrina would challenge African Americans' core belief in PWE (PWE-general; hard work leads to success) and in particular the PWE-equalizer meaning of PWE (PWE-equalizer; hard work is social equalizer). As noted, previous work suggests that African Americans and European Americans do not differ in their endorsement of PWE-general or PWE-equalizer. While historically the PWE has a "social equalizer" meaning, it also has long been discussed, especially in social psychological literature, as an ingredient in contemporary U.S. racism toward African Americans at the hands of European Americans; African Americans are seen as not conforming to the work

ethic (not working hard enough) and thus deserving disadvantage (e.g., Crandall, 2000; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976). European Americans generally more strongly endorse the justifier of inequality meaning of the PWE, because, after all, it justifies their higher social status in U.S. society (e.g., Levy et al., 2005; Levy et al., 2006). Thus, Katrina should not and did not affect group differences in its endorsement, given that the disaster does not directly challenge this belief.

We also review evidence of "active ingredients" (e.g., belief in inadequate treatment by the government) of the relationship between racial group membership and PWE endorsement when thoughts about Katrina are salient. Furthermore, we discuss African American and European American college students' divergent attributions for the government's response to Katrina.

Divergent Impact of Katrina on PWE Endorsement

As a first step in showing that Katrina was a powerful catalyst for a shift in African American students' endorsement of the PWE, we (Levy et al., 2006) used a rolling cross-sectional design in which different participants were sampled in exactly the same way but at different points in time before and after Katrina (for similar method, see Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). All participants were recruited via a mass-testing session of students in the Psychology Department subject pool. We compared African American and European American responses in the mass-testing session that occurred three weeks after Katrina (Fall 2005), to data collected in the immediately previous semester (Spring 2005) and in the immediately subsequent semester after Katrina (Spring 2006).

Participants rated their agreement with items representing: PWE-general ("If people work hard, they can get a very good job."), PWE-equalizer ("When you say things like 'people who work hard succeed,' tell us how much you mean this: Anyone can work hard and succeed, because people in different groups have similar abilities and the potential to do well."), and PWE-justifier ("When you say things like 'people who work hard succeed,' tell us how much you mean this: Hard work is all that's necessary for success, so it is not fair to give preferences to race-minority groups like Blacks"; see Levy et al., 2005; Levy et al., 2006).

At time 1 (one semester before Katrina), in line with past work (Levy et al., 2005; Levy et al., 2006), we found no racial differences in PWE-general or PWE-equalizer. In time 2 (the next semester), in the aftermath of Katrina, we indeed found that African Americans agreed less with PWE-general and PWE-equalizer than European Americans. In time 3 (the subsequent semester or 23 weeks after Katrina) in the absence of a Katrina prime, we found that racial differences in PWE-general and PWE-equalizer disappeared.

We replicated the aforementioned findings in a longitudinal study of the some of the same participants from the cross-sectional study. Specifically, participants

from time 2 (three weeks after Katrina) of the cross-sectional study who provided contact information for participation in future studies were recruited via an electronic mail message or phone call soliciting their participation in a social issues opinion study in exchange for $15. In line with the results from the cross-sectional study, immediately after Katrina, African Americans agreed less with PWE-general and PWE-equalizer than European Americans, but three months after Katrina, these same participants did not differ in their endorsement of PWE-general or PWE-equalizer.

We aimed to supplement and expand on the findings from the cross-sectional and longitudinal results in an experiment in which Katrina was artificially primed. This study took place seven months after Katrina, and thus, we hoped to show that Katrina was a powerful catalyst for a racial shift in PWE endorsement even seven months later. African and European American college students were randomly assigned to a Katrina prime condition or a control condition (no prime about Katrina). In the Katrina prime condition, before completing measures of the PWE, participants were instructed to "write down two things you remember about Hurricane Katrina, which hit the New Orleans area in the end of August 2005; write a different thing in each of the 2 boxes below." Supporting our hypotheses, African Americans and European Americans did not differ in their endorsement of PWE-general or PWE-equalizer in the control condition, but after being primed with Hurricane Katrina, African Americans agreed significantly less with PWE-general and PWE-equalizer, compared to European Americans.

Additionally, consistent with past work (Levy et al., 2005; Levy et al., 2006), across conditions and time points in the cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental studies, we found that European Americans agreed more with PWE-justifier than did African Americans.

In sum, when thinking about a socially significant event, the government's response to Katrina, whether it was naturally or experimentally primed, African Americans more so than European Americans doubted a core American belief, the PWE.

"Active Ingredients" of the Shift in PWE Endorsement

We presumed that Katrina triggered decreases in African American's endorsement of the PWE because African Americans, relative to European Americans, view the government's inadequate treatment of Katrina victims (who were mostly African Americans) as suggestive that the government cannot be trusted. There is some evidence for this assertion in the experimental study. In the Katrina prime condition, before completing measures of the PWE, participants were asked to list two things they remembered about Katrina. Following the Katrina prime, African Americans, relative to European Americans, were more likely to report in their own words that victims were treated inadequately (e.g., "A lot of black people

were not helped") and that the government was to be blamed for an inadequate response (e.g., "People could have been saved if the proper authorities took actions needed").

In the cross-sectional study, we found further and more convincing evidence that African Americans, more so than European Americans, view the government's response to Katrina victims as inadequate, thereby reducing their belief in the PWE. In that study, we examined participants' trust in the government with questions from Tyler and Degoey's (1995) Trust in Authority Scale ("The U.S. government can be trusted to make decisions that are good for all Americans") and Procedural Justice Scale ("The U.S. government is respectful of the rights and dignity of all Americans"). First, after Katrina, we found that African Americans reported less trust of the government than European Americans. Second, we found that less trust in the government was a significant mediator of the relation between racial group membership and endorsement of the PWE. Thus, it is possible that a perception of low trust in the government is a means through which racial group membership impacted PWE endorsement.

Racial Divide in Attributions for the Government's Response to Katrina

We also replicated the results of national opinion polls showing a racial divide in African Americans' and European Americans' reactions to the government's response to Katrina. African American college students, compared to European American students, reported that the government's response to Katrina was much slower and that the victims were treated less fairly.

Additionally, African American college students, relative to their European American peers, reported that inadequacies in the response to Hurricane Katrina were part of a larger pattern of treatment of African Americans by the U.S. government rather than as part of an isolated incident. Such an attribution fits with national poll findings mentioned earlier and also helps explain why Katrina has such a powerful impact on a quintessential cultural belief. If Katrina were an isolated incident, then presumably there would be less justification to challenge an enduring belief. When perceptions of poor treatment of Katrina victims by the government can be connected to a larger pattern of poor treatment of African Americans, then the government's inadequate response to Katrina should have marked effects on African American's basic beliefs as we observed.

We also asked our college student participants to specifically make attributions for the government's *slow* response to Katrina, given that many critics and the U.S. president himself acknowledged the slow response (CNN, 2005b). Consistent with national polls mentioned earlier, African American college students, relative to their European American counterparts, blamed the government more, that is, blamed the slow response on a lack of concern for African Americans and poor people in the U.S. and on incompetent leaders (the U.S. president and leader of

the Federal Emergency Management Agency). In contrast, national polls revealed that European Americans were more likely to report that residents of New Orleans deserved most of the blame for the Katrina disaster than were African Americans. Our findings also revealed that, relative to African Americans students, European American students made internal victim-blaming attributions such as the irresponsibility of the victims to leave their homes and protect themselves. We further found that European American participants in our studies endorsed external attributions unrelated to the government (unusually severe hurricane; bad luck or fate) more than African American students.

Conclusions, Implications, and Future Directions

Taken together, the results reviewed above strongly suggest that the federal government's response to Hurricane Katrina did in fact trigger a racial divide in endorsement of the PWE between African American and European American college students and that this divide persisted over time only, reappearing when Hurricane Katrina was primed. The shift in African Americans' endorsement of PWE was explained by a reduction in their perceived trust and fairness in the government. Additionally, our research replicated the results of national opinion polls showing a racial divide in African Americans and European Americans college students' perceptions of the government's response to Katrina.

If people perceive that members of their racial in-group are being discriminated against in a large-scale, institutionalized way, it follows they would doubt the belief that hard work leads to success for everyone, namely, their in-group. This is supported by our findings that not only was there was a racial divide in adherence to the PWE, but also in the very specific Katrina-related issues.

The findings from our research, then, suggest that even the most cherished of cultural beliefs are sensitive to contextual influences. Importantly, the strength of such contextual influences on one's beliefs is also contingent on the way sociocultural and political events are construed, a process that is itself subject to cultural influences. The findings from our studies are consistent with a meaning systems approach to cultural differences (e.g., Hong, Benet-Martinez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003; Kashima, 2004; Mendoza-Denton & Mischel, in press). Just as motivational states can impact how people interpret perceptual cues (Freitas, Azizian, Travers, & Berry, 2005), members of different groups can interpret the same sociopolitical events quite differently, with implications for the ways in which these groups relate to each other. For example, as Mendoza-Denton et al. (1997) argued following the O.J. Simpson trial, the "active ingredients" of certain events can sometimes trigger a shared interpretation of an event by virtue of activating shared cultural values, or in the case of Katrina, a shared history of discrimination. Such a shared interpretation can lead to group homogeneity in social behavior, or as the current research shows, it can also precipitate group-level shifts in beliefs. It is

critically important to understand the dynamic processes through which sociopolitical events are encoded, interpreted, and dealt with by members of different groups, so that greater intergroup and intercultural understanding may be achieved. Such a dynamic analysis, we believe, can foster greater empathy and perspective-taking processes that have been identified as important mediators of intergroup contact on positive intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Therefore, it is crucial to examine whether the differential social impact of Katrina on endorsement of the PWE may in turn impact other group-level shifts in cognitions, such as expectations of societal treatment, motivation to pursue individual success, and endorsement of structural corrections of racial inequality. Like positive assessments of one's own abilities (Bandura, 2001), positive assessments of the goal supportiveness of one's environment are needed to increase motivation (Feather, 1990). Such positive assessments appear to be lacking among African Americans when they are thinking about Katrina. That is, African Americans' endorsement of the PWE was explained by a reduction in their perceived trust and fairness in the government. Accordingly, a reduction in endorsement of the PWE among African Americans, due to the expectation of future unfair treatment, could promote reduced motivation to succeed on tasks to be judged by societal institutions. Rather than an effect of cognitive shifts in perceptions of one's own ability, then, a cognitive shift in the perceived goal supportiveness of one's environment could culminate in reduced motivation, mediated by weaker endorsement of the PWE. Further, within-group differences might also be observed, such that African Americans who are higher on race-based rejection sensitivity (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002) may be particularly affected. If Katrina, when salient, has the aforementioned affects on African Americans, it could additionally increase their willingness to endorse structural corrections of racial inequality such as Affirmative Action. That is, race-conscious policies may come to be seen as quite necessary.

Conclusion

National polls of African Americans and Europeans Americans as well as our initial research with African American and European American college students suggest that Hurricane Katrina has triggered interracial tension and conflict that warrants further investigation. Our results showed that Katrina was a significant trigger in the weeks following Katrina and even seven months later after a Katrina prime. We anticipate that Katrina will continue to be a trigger of racial differences in PWE endorsement because of the social significance of the event and further that the impact of Katrina may very well reach beyond undermining trust in the government and the cherished PWE belief. It may extend to differences in motivation to pursue individual success and endorsement of structural corrections of inequality.

It remains to be seen how prevalent markers of Katrina will be in people's everyday environments in the future. As we approach the one-year anniversary of the Katrina disaster, Katrina continues to make daily headlines. The rebuilding of the afflicted areas is still underway and is likely to take years, perhaps a decade. Even after Katrina fades from the headlines, it may have a lasting impact as a cultural talking point.

In this way, in addition to the humanitarian tragedy precipitated by Hurricane Katrina, this sociopolitical event was a clear reminder of the continuing group inequalities that exist in the United States, as well as the subtle ways in which prejudice and discrimination can play themselves out to not-so-subtle effect. We contribute here by showing that in addition to these consequences, sociopolitical events such as the government's response to Hurricane Katrina can be interpreted and reacted to differently by members of different groups, potentially facilitating intergroup misunderstandings followed by accusations of overreacting, as Kanye West was accused of doing following his characterization of President Bush (see Washington Post, 2005). Our research points to the need for additional focus on the ways in which different groups' cultural meaning systems—including their shared values and history—can influence the stability of cherished cultural beliefs, potentially undermining their subsequent engagement and sense of belonging.

References

Abelson, R. P. (1986). Beliefs are like possessions. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior, 16*, 223–250.

Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52*, 1–26.

CNN (2005a). The disaster response: 'Magnificent' or 'embarrassment?' Retrieved on October 17th, 2005 from http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WEATHER/09/02/katrina.response/index.html.

CNN (2005b). Bush faults recovery efforts as 'not enough.' Retrieved on October 17th, 2005 from http://www.cnn.com/2005/POLITICS/09/02/bush.katrina.ap/index.html.

Crandall, C. S. (2000). Ideology and ideologies of stigma: The justification of stigmatization. In T. F. Heatherton, R. E. Kleck, M. R. Hebl, & J. G. Hull (Eds.), *The social psychology of stigma* (pp. 126–150). New York: The Guilford Press.

Downey, G., Freitas, A. L., Michaelis, B., & Khouri, J. (1998). The self-fulfilling prophecy in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*, 545–560.

Feather, N. T. (1990). Bridging the gap between values and action: Recent applications of the expectancy-value model. In E. T. Higgins & R. M. Sorrentino (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (Vol. 2, pp. 151–192). New York: Guilford.

Fletcher, G. (1995). *The scientific credibility of folk psychology*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Freitas, A. L., Azizian, A., Travers, S., & Berry, S. A. (2005). The evaluative connotation of processing fluency: Inherently positive or moderated by motivational context? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 41*, 636–644.

Furnham, A. (1988). *Lay theories: Everyday understandings of problems in the social sciences*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Greenberg, J. (1978). Equity, equality, and the Protestant ethic: Allocating rewards following fair and unfair competition. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 14*, 217–226.

Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York: Wiley.

Heykoe, K., & Hock, S. (2003). *Harvesting the dream: The rags-to-riches tale of the Sutter Home Winery.* New York: Wiley.

Hong, Y., Benet-Martinez, V., Chiu, C., & Morris, M. W. (2003). Boundaries of cultural influence: Construct activation as a mechanism for cultural differences in social perception. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 34*, 453–464.

Hong, Y. Y., Levy, S. R., & Chiu, C. Y. (2001). The contribution of the lay theories approach to the study of groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 5*, 98–106.

Kashima, Y. (2004). Person, symbol, sociality: Towards a social psychology of cultural dynamics. *Journal of Research in Personality, 38*, 52–58.

Katz, I., & Hass, R. G. (1988). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55*, 893–905.

Kelly, G. A. (1955). *The psychology of personal constructs.* New York: Norton.

Kinder, D. R., & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 40*, 414–431.

Kunda, Z. (1990). The case for motivated reasoning. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*, 480–498.

Levy, S. R., Chiu, C. Y., & Hong, Y. Y. (2006). Lay theories and intergroup relations. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 9*, 5–24.

Levy, S. R., Freitas, A. L., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Kugelmass, H. (2006). *When sociopolitical events strike cultural beliefs: Divergent impact of Hurricane Katrina on African Americans' and European Americans' endorsement of the protestant work ethic.* Manuscript submitted for publication.

Levy, S. R., Freitas, A. L., & Salovey, P. (2002). Construing action abstractly and blurring social distinctions: Implications for perceiving homogeneity among, but also empathizing with and helping, others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 1224–1238.

Levy, S. R., West, T., & Ramirez, L. (2005). Lay theories and intergroup relations: A social developmental perspective. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *The European review of social psychology, 16*, 189–220.

Levy, S. R., West, T., Ramirez, L., & Karafantis, D. M. (2006). The Protestant work ethic: A lay theory with dual intergroup implications. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 9*, 95–115.

Liberman, G., & Lavine, A. (2000). *Rags to riches: Motivating stories of how ordinary people achieved extraordinary wealth.* Dearborn trade.

McClelland, D. C., Atkinson, J. W., Clark, R. A., & Lowell, E. L. (1953). *The achievement motive.* East Norwalk, CT, US: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

McConahay, J. B. & Hough, J. C. (1976). Symbolic racism. *Journal of Social Issues, 32*, 23–45.

Mendoza-Denton, R., Ayduk, O., Shoda, Y., & Mischel, W. (1997). A cognitive-affective processing system analysis of reactions to the O.J. Simpson verdict. *Journal of Social Issues, 53*, 565–583.

Mendoza-Denton, R., & Mischel, W. (in press). Integrating system approaches to culture and personality: The Cultural Cognitive-Affective Processing System (C-CAPS). In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook of Cultural Psychology.* New York: Guilford.

Mendoza-Denton, R., Page-Gould, E., & Pietrzak, J. (2006). Mechanisms for coping with status-based rejection expectations. In S. Levin & C. Van Laar (Eds.), *Stigma and group inequality: Social psychological approaches* (pp. 151–169). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Mendoza-Denton, R., Purdie, V., Downey, G., Davis, A., & Pietrzak, J. (2002). Sensitivity to status-based rejection: Implications for African-American students' college experience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 896–918.

Merton, R. K. (1948). The self-fulfilling prophecy. *Antioch Review, 8*, 193–210.

Parsons, S., Simmons, W., Shinhoster, F., & Kilburn, J. (1995). A test of the grapevine: An empirical examination of conspiracy theories among African Americans. *Sociological Spectrum, 19*, 201–222.

Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). How does contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. Paper presentation at the Biennial Convention of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Long Beach, CA.

Somerman, F. B. (1993). Value, attitude, and belief determinants of willingness to accept a facility for the homeless. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 2*, 177–192.

Swann, W. B., Jr. (1997). The trouble with change: Self-verification and allegiance to the self. *Psychological Science, 8*, 177–180.

Tyler, T. R., & Degoey, P. (1995). Collective restraint in social dilemmas: Procedural justice and social identification effects on support for authorities. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*, 482–497.

Verkuyten, M., & Zaremba, K. (2005). Interethnic relations in a changing political context. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 68*, 375–386.

Washington Post (2005). Was Kanye West Right? Retrieved on September 13th, 2005 from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/blog/2005/09/13/BL2005091300884_pf.html.

Wegener, D. T., & Petty, R. E. (1998). The naive scientist revisited: Naive theories and social judgment. *Social Cognition, 16*, 1–7.