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MODERN RACISM: A CROSS-CULTURAL VIEW  
OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC ATTITUDES

by

Timothy B. Smith

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Psychology

Approved:

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY  
Logan, Utah

1993

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In reviewing the year that this work has taken to complete, I first of all wish to express my appreciation to my wife for her patience and never-failing support. Likewise, I express my thanks to Dr. Richard Roberts for the guidance and advice that he has provided throughout this project and to Dr. Elwin Nielsen and Dr. Glenna Boyce for their helpful editorial comments. Of course, it would also be unfair not to recognize that this project would not have been possible without the hundreds of individuals who took the time to complete the questionnaires. To all of you, thank you.

Timothy B. Smith

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## ABSTRACT

Modern Racism: A Cross-Cultural View of  
Racial and Ethnic Attitudes

by

Timothy B. Smith, Master of Science  
Utah State University, 1993

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Department: Psychology

The study and measurement of attitudes toward racial and ethnic groups are important parts of the field of cross-cultural psychology. The present study examined a theory of racial attitudes, that of symbolic racism, and several demographic variables. The sample population consisted of 575 Caucasians and 122 Far-East Asian college students. Results indicated that Symbolic Racism is a unique theoretical construct, that Caucasian students were less racially biased than their Asian peers, and that group differences in racial attitudes existed across religious affiliation, number of reported interracial friendships, and gender.

(69 pages)

## INTRODUCTION

Prejudice and discrimination have long been the social methods of dealing with cultural disparities. While the overall political and social climate of the United States has changed drastically since the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, recent racial unrest in Los Angeles and other major cities has provided evidence supporting the assertion of several researchers that racism is far from being an antiquated construct (e.g., Blackwell, 1982; Collins & Nickel, 1976; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; McConahay, 1986; Sherman, 1990). These and other researchers in the ever-growing movement of cross-cultural psychology have attempted to empirically examine various factors associated with discrimination and racist attitudes (e.g., Feather, 1984; Helms & Carter, 1991), and their studies have generated support for a multitude of theories. However, very few investigators have attempted to examine the degree to which these several hypotheses and constructs are sufficiently independent to warrant separate consideration. Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to examine one of these theories, that of symbolic racism, and to clarify the relationship between several demographic factors and racial attitudes.

The following section provides a review of a few of the theories of racial attitudes that have been proposed in previous research, including the theory of symbolic racism.



In the subsequent sections, the methods and procedures of the study are described, and the results are presented and discussed.

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

## Racial Attitude Theories

The Contact Hypothesis

In 1944, Myrdal argued that the main social factor contributing to prejudice and discrimination was segregation. For several decades this theory was quite influential in shaping the social and political policies aimed at increasing racial acceptance and equality.

Myrdal's (1944) theory has been expanded into what several present-day researchers (e.g., Jackman & Crane, 1986) have termed the contact hypothesis, which holds that racial attitudes become increasingly positive (accepting) with greater degrees of social contact. As support for this hypothesis, researchers have found increases in accepting racial attitudes as the percentage of minority students on college campuses increases (Muir & McGlamery, 1984; McGovern & Hawks, 1986), even in colleges located in the traditionally segregated southern states (Muir, 1989).

The assumption behind the contact theory, that racial attitudes become increasingly accepting as the rate of social contact increases, has been questioned on several counts. For example, it has been found that interracial contact on college campuses does not reduce negative (prejudicial) racial attitudes (O'Driscoll, Haque, & Ohsako,

1983), but it may increase them (Sampson, 1986). Likewise, it has been shown that university students who have very little contact with members of another race report higher levels of racial comfort than those who have a moderate level of interracial contact (Claney & Parker, 1989). Thus, the type of contact experience and the level of intimacy may be more important variables in decreasing negative racial attitudes than simple social contact.

This conclusion may explain some inconsistencies in previous research. In studies that have reported mean-level decreases in racism on social distance scales across time, there have also been mean increases in reported levels of discomfort on the more intimate social distance scale items, such as willingness to date a minority group member (Muir, 1989; Muir & McGlamery, 1984). This suggests that members of the ethnic majority are more outwardly tolerant of members of another race than in previous years, but they may be less likely than before to associate with them on a close, personal level. Thus, researchers (e.g., Frey & Gaertner, 1986) have claimed that racial prejudice continues to be present on college campuses and that it is expressed in complex and rationalizable ways, such that individuals may often perceive themselves as unbiased.

In summary, while many researchers have found a great deal of support for the contact hypothesis, others argue

that it is too simplistic a model, and they point out that racial attitudes are not just a function of one-to-one social contact. Racial attitudes are complex and comprise many factors.

### Realistic Group Conflict Theory

Realistic group conflict theory suggests that prejudice arises from the relationship between economic and social conditions. It is based on the perception that ethnic minorities pose real and tangible threats to the quality of life of the majority population (through more intense competition for jobs, increased crime rates, poorer quality of education, etc.) (Kinder, 1986). Although this theory appears to have a degree of face validity (it describes a traditional view of racism), no measures of racial attitudes directly assess this construct, and it has not been given much attention in the literature.

### Symbolic Racism

Contending that traditional views of racism, such as those presented in the contact hypothesis and realistic group conflict theory, are no longer representative of modern racial attitudes, several researchers have suggested that the very nature of Caucasian racial attitudes has changed over the past few decades (e.g., Kinder, 1986; McConahay, 1986). They have argued for a theory of symbolic

or "modern" racism, which holds that racial attitudes are no longer based on beliefs of social inferiority but on abstract, moralistic resentment (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Modern racism is therefore defined as a "resistance to change in the racial status quo based on feelings that [minorities] violate . . . traditional American values" (Kinder, 1986, p. 153). A person exhibiting modern racism thinks that since outright discrimination is a thing of the past, minorities today push too hard, demand too much, and gain too much attention from the media and the government. Thus, modern American racism is subtle belief that minority groups are getting more than their fair share and are corrupting America in the process.

Researchers have found support for and against the theory of symbolic racism. According to its originators (McConahay & Hough, 1976), it is well suited for the more educated, affluent segments of the American Caucasian population, and it is a more theoretically and statistically sound construct than that of traditional racism (McConahay, 1986) and realistic group conflict theory (Kinder, 1986; Kinder & Sears, 1981). However, its critics have argued that symbolic racism is only a new name for traditional forms of racism, not an independent construct (Jacobson, 1985; Weigel & Howes, 1985).

Several other researchers have taken the theory of symbolic racism one step further by examining its practical worth. They have found that racism is not likely to be openly admitted; nevertheless, racial discrimination at institutions of higher learning may be evidenced by the lower persistence rates, the lower academic achievement levels, the lower rate of enrollment in graduate programs, and the lower occupational attainment and earnings of minority college students (Allen, 1988, 1985). Even at the doctorate level, some minority groups receive significantly less financial aid and fewer assistantships than do their Caucasian counterparts (Nettles, 1990). Minorities are also more likely to be excluded from campus social groups, such as fraternities (Morris, 1991). Thus, it comes as no surprise that minority students are likely to feel socially alienated and powerless on predominantly Caucasian campuses (McGovern & Hawks, 1986; Suen, 1983).

### Interpersonal Characteristics

#### Beliefs and Values

Culture has been defined as "a system of shared values" (Weiner & Vardi, 1990, p. 295). Since an individual's beliefs and values are entwined with his or her opinions and attitudes, acceptance of other cultures or groups may be partially determined by the perceived similarities of values

and beliefs with those of one's own group. Some researchers have suggested that racial integration has too often been sought through cultural dilution, meaning that minority cultures are pressured to abandon cultural uniqueness and become like the majority culture. This process has been referred to as the "White syndrome" (Schmitt, Fox, & Lindberg, 1982) due to the notable tendency in this country to accept those of different backgrounds based on their capacity to think and act "White." America's system of cultural assimilation may therefore be termed "the great White melting pot."

Two common American values, individualism and humanitarianism, have recently been examined by Katz and Hass (1988) in order to determine how they are related to racial attitudes. They found that people who hold strong beliefs about the importance of individualism, as embodied in the Protestant work ethic, also tend to be prejudicial towards Blacks. They also found that those individuals who value humanitarian activities generally have accepting attitudes towards this same minority group. The researchers conclude that the examination of beliefs and values is a largely unexplored, yet vital, area in the understanding of interracial relations (Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986).

### Demographic Variables

Several investigators have examined the relationships between demographic variables and racial attitudes. Several years ago one researcher (Maykovich, 1975) argued that a combination of the person's age, region of residence, and level of education accounts for the greatest variance in prejudice. These claims have not been supported by current research, which has taken into account the influence of several other demographic variables, including gender and socioeconomic status.

Gender. A few researchers have noted differences in racial attitudes across genders (e.g., Carter, 1990). Although this finding has not received a large amount of support, it appears that with certain populations, women indicate that they are less willing to associate on a personal level with people from a different race than are men (Muir, 1989).

Socioeconomic status (SES). Grant and Sleeter (1986) have noted that social class and race are often wrongly treated as unrelated variables in the study of behavior. In one sense, discrimination may be seen as a case of the wealthy persecuting the poor. Indeed, it has been noted that "the coincidence of minority ethnic status makes it difficult to separate class and ethnic prejudice" (Shwartz, et al., 1991, p. 287). While some studies have examined the



social roles of minority groups and how they relate to racial attitudes (Jones, 1991), very few studies of racial attitudes and behaviors have taken into account the effects of their subjects' economic upbringing. One study that did do so (Carter & Helms, 1988) found that SES variables were surprisingly poor predictors of racial attitudes.

### Religious Affiliation

Another salient social variable that has often been examined in studies of racial prejudice is religious orientation (e.g., Boivin, Donkin, & Darling, 1990). However, the results of these studies are inconclusive, and to a large extent they depend upon what aspect of religiosity (i.e., affiliation, church involvement, degree of spirituality) is being measured. Thus, this area of study warrants further research.

### Other Social Variables

The number of interracial friendships and its relationship to racial attitudes have studied by Jackman and Crane (1986). They found that these types of friendships are usually contingent upon the person's socioeconomic status, which means that a Caucasian is more likely to associate with a member of an ethnic minority group if the social status of that person is equal to or higher than his/her own. These same researchers found that intimate

interracial relationships are less desirable for Caucasians than a variety of superficial contacts.

The intensity of interracial social contact has been studied by Carlson and Widaman (1988), who compared the racial attitudes of college students who had lived abroad to those who had not. They found that the levels of cross-cultural interest, cultural cosmopolitanism, and international concern were significantly higher for the foreign-exchange students than for their peers.

#### State of Current Research

Although the field of racial relations is growing more rapidly than ever, there are still many aspects of racial attitudes that remain unresearched. In order to emphasize this point, a summary of thirteen recent racial attitude studies is presented in Table 1.

First of all, it should be noted that the vast majority of recent studies have been conducted on university campuses. All but two of the studies listed in Table 1 used college students as the sample population. The size of the populations has ranged from 85 to 1,710, but the vast majority of studies have used between 100 and 300 subjects.

Second, it should be noted that there have been many studies that have examined the attitudes of Caucasians and African Americans (especially of Caucasians towards African

Table 1

Characteristics and Conclusions of Some Racial Attitude Studies (1985-1992)

Test & Authors	Sample Size	--- Ages	Sample Characteristics Gender	---- SES	----- Race	Conclusion(s)
MRAI (Bierly, 1985)	309	College Students (17-45, $\bar{M}=20.1$ )	63% F 37% M	NR	100% White	Prejudice appears to be a generalized attitude that shows differences across demographic variables
MRAI (Boivin, Donkin, & Darling, 1990)	102	Adults (aged 17-76 yrs)	NR	NR	NR	Racial prejudice was independent of strength of Christian commitment but related to level of education
MRAI & Symbolic Racism Scale (Weigel & Howes, 1985)	92 & 85	18-72 ( $\bar{M}=42$ ) & ? ( $\bar{M}=42$ )	57% F 43% M & 58% F 42% M	(?) (equal # of SES classes)	100% White	Symbolic racism is highly correlated with traditional racism & is only one aspect of it
MRS (Eisenman, 1991)	504	College Students	100% F	NR	NR	Politically conservative women are more biased than liberals
RIAS (Carter & Helms, 1988)	174	College Students (17-66)	62% F 38% M	Parental occup. & education	100% Black	SES variables do not predict racial identity attitudes
RIAS (Parham & Helms, 1985)	166	College Students (17-25, $\bar{M}=19.5$ )	61% F 39% M	51% middle	100% Black	Combinations of pro & anti racial attitudes correlate with personal distress; Awakening Black identity relates to actualization
SAS (White & Sedlacek, 1987)	171	College Freshmen	NR	NR	100% White	Whites have negative feelings toward Hispanics & Blacks

(table continues)

Test & Authors	Sample Size	--- Ages	Sample Characteristics Gender	SES	--- Race	Conclusion(s)
Revised SDS & SSS (Byrnes & Kiger, 1988a)	301	College Students (?)	71% F 29% M	NR	100% Non-Black	Teacher Educ. students in Non-fundamentalist groups express more positive racial attitudes than others
SDS (Kunz & Oheneba-Sakyi, 1989)	NR	100% Under-graduates	57% F 43% M	Parent income <u>M</u> =\$49k	94% White	Decrease in Social Distance scores of Mormons toward Blacks over time
SDS (Eisenman, 1986)	100	College Students (?)	NR	NR	10% Black 90% White	Greater social distance expressed for Blacks than for persons with disabilities
Modified SDS (Muir, 1989)	1,710	College Students (?)	NR	NR	100% White	Increased social acceptance of Blacks by Whites over time
WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1991)	259	College Students ( <u>M</u> =19.7)	68% F 32% M	3.5 on a 5-pt scale	29% Black 71% White	Racial identity & demographic models operate differently across races
WRAIS & NRS (Carter, 1990)	100	College Students (aged 18-36 yrs)	50% M 50% F	NR	100% White	White racial identity attitudes predict racism & there are sex differences in White identity

Note: M = Male, F = Female, & NR = Not reported

Americans), but very few attempts to assess related attitudes of other ethnic groups can be found in the literature. For example, only one opinion paper (not an empirical study) was located that dealt with discrimination of Asians (Leung, 1990). Certainly much information can be gleaned from investigating the perceptions and attitudes of cultures other than African Americans and Caucasians.

Third, only a few studies have examined the role that socioeconomic status may play in influencing an individual's perceptions of other racial groups. In fact, the majority of studies do not even report information regarding the socioeconomic status of their subjects.

Fourth, it should also be noted that several of the theories of racial attitudes have not received complete support from the literature. The theory of symbolic racism, for example, has been criticized as being a new name for an old phenomenon (Weigel & Howes, 1985), despite others' claims that it is a unique theoretical construct (e.g., McConahay, 1986). These contradictions are typical of the literature.

Finally, very few researchers have used more than one dependent variable in their studies. Because racial discrimination is a highly complex and individually specific phenomenon, there are assuredly more than one factor involved. Therefore, the many aspects of racial attitudes,

including some of the theories discussed earlier, should be examined in order to assess a larger portion of the construct of racial attitudes. Such is the purpose of this study.

## PURPOSE

It has been noted that the fields of cross-cultural psychology and racial and ethnic relations have undergone profound changes, but "change . . . may not presuppose 'progress' and may, in fact, mirror a basic deterioration" (Record, 1983, p. 139). As these fields of study expand to meet the social and political demands of our day, the need for continual examination of the theoretical base upon which they are founded seems obvious.

The purpose of this research is to explore several aspects of the nature and the extent of racism among college students, in order to shed more light on some of the theories that were reviewed earlier. Specifically, symbolic/modern racism and several demographic variables are examined. As stated in the review of the literature, previous research dealing with these variables has either not been done or has been inconclusive.

Although many questions for study may be generated from the recent literature, only four of these are targeted as the objectives of the present study: (a) How closely associated are traditional views of racism to the theory of modern racism? (b) How do racial attitudes across different cultures compare? (c) Which factors are the best predictors of racial attitudes? (d) Are reports of racial attitudes significantly different across gender, socioeconomic

background, reports of interracial friendships, or religious affiliation?

In order to answer these questions, each one is here rewritten as a hypothesis to be tested in this study. Based on the review of literature provided earlier, directional hypotheses are associated with a few of these questions. The others have insufficient previous research and are assigned nondirectional hypotheses. The four rewritten objectives are as follows:

1. Scores on measures of social distance are moderately correlated with scores on a measure of modern racism, such that the two measures do not share a large portion of variance, which would support existing evidence of the validity of the theory.

2. Scores of students from Asian countries temporarily residing in the U.S. are not significantly different from Caucasians on measures of social distance and modern racism.

3. Of several demographic variables measured, number of interracial friendships is the best predictor of racial attitudes.

- 4a. Males and females do not significantly differ in their responses to measures of racial attitudes.

- 4b. Individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds do not score significantly different on measures of racial attitudes.



4c. Students who have several interracial friendships score significantly lower (more accepting) than those who do not report having interracial friendships.

4d. There are no significant differences on racial attitude scores across groups with different religious affiliations.

## METHODS

### Subjects

A total of 697 subjects was recruited for this study. Subjects were drawn from two sources: (a) 575 Caucasian college students at Utah State University (USU) who were registered in either Psych. 101 or Soc. 101, Fall Quarter of 1992, participated in the study; and (b) 122 Far-East Asian students enrolled at USU completed surveys mailed to them.

Caucasian subjects consisted of 199 males and 376 females, ranging in age from 18 to 56 ( $M = 20.3$ ;  $SD = 1.8$ ). Far-East Asian subjects consisted of 60 males and 62 females, ranging in age from 18 to 44 ( $M = 24.8$ ;  $SD = 3.1$ ). This population included native Koreans, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Japanese temporarily living in the United States. For a complete description of these two populations, see Table 2.

### Data Collection

The study was primarily correlational, and data were collected through surveys distributed by the author. All of the subjects were asked to complete a statement of informed consent (see the Appendix). The signed statement was collected separately from the subjects' responses. No markings used to identify the subjects were placed on the item response sheet, and every effort was taken to maintain

Table 2

Comparison of Caucasian and Asian Subjects

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Asian Subjects</u>	<u>Caucasian Subjects</u>
Gender	51% Female	65% Female
Age	<u>M</u> = 24.8	<u>M</u> = 20.3
Parental Social Status	<u>M</u> = 3.18/5.0	<u>M</u> = 3.22/5.0
Years lived in the U.S.	<u>M</u> = 1.6	N/A
Nationality/Area of the U.S. where Raised	35% Korean, 26% Taiwanese, 24% Chinese, & 15% Japanese	48% Utah, 22% Mid-West, 14% R.M. West 12% West Coast
Religious Affiliation	37% No religion, 23% Buddhist or Confucian 14% Protestant or Catholic 13% LDS 12% Atheist	88% LDS 5% Protestant or Catholic 5% No religion 2% Atheist

the subjects' confidentiality.

Data were collected from October, 1992 to January, 1993. Due to the low percentage of Far-East Asian students on the Utah State University campus, it was more efficient to directly target this population through mailing lists, rather than select a subgroup of students on campus for inclusion in the study. Therefore, at the same time surveys were distributed on campus in four undergraduate level classes in the Psychology and Sociology departments, surveys were mailed to Far-East Asian students, based on an address list provided by the USU International Student Association (ISA). The first mailing wave consisted of 200 surveys, of which 15 were returned with completed response sheets and 41

were returned marked "Return to Sender." A follow-up mailing was then initiated with the remaining 130 addresses, and an additional 21 were returned with completed response sheets. Before initiating the second wave of mailing several weeks later, the researcher telephoned randomly chosen individuals on the ISA list. This was done for two reasons: (a) to verify that the address was correct, and (b) to explain to the individuals the nature of the study and what they would be required to do. One hundred twenty-five surveys were mailed in the second wave. Fifty-seven surveys were returned, one of which did not contain a response sheet, and two were returned marked "Return to Sender." A third wave of mailings, comprising 75 surveys, targeted individuals on the ISA list who resided in University housing. Eight were returned marked "Return to Sender," and 14 were returned with completed surveys. Thus, out of a total 349 surveys supposedly received by individuals, 106 were returned completed, making the overall response rate 30%. An additional 16 Asian students' response sheets were collected through the undergraduate classes for a total of 122 Asian participants. A total of 575 Caucasian students completed the surveys distributed to them in the undergraduate classes. All subjects participated in the study on a voluntary basis.

## Instrumentation

Dependent Variables

Several measures were used as dependent variables: (a) a revised form of the Social Distance Scale (SDS), (b) a revised version of the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), and (c) the Humanitarian-Egalitarian and Protestant Ethic scales (HE & PE). For a description of these measures, see Table 3.

The SDS. The Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1933) is the oldest and most widely used measure of attitudes toward racial/ethnic groups. Simply, the original test consists of

Table 3

Psychometric and Physical Properties of Principal Measures

Test Name	Number of Items	Scale Type	Reliability	Validity
MRS (McConahay, 1986)	7	4 or 5 point Likert	Alpha: .75 -.81 Test- retest: .72 -.93	Factor Anal.: some evidence Convergent: r=.68 w/ OFRS Construct: some evidence
PE & HE Scales (Katz & Hass, 1988)	10-11 /scale, 21 total	6-point Likert	Alpha: .70 -.84	Factor Anal.: some evidence Convergent: correlated w/ the Just World Scale
SDS Bogardus, 1933; Revised: Byrnes & Kiger, 1988b	8 items /scale, 32 total	5-point Likert	Alpha: .90 Test- retest: .94	Convergent: some evidence Factor Anal.: 2 factor structure

the following scale items that are preceded by a question regarding members of an ethnic group, such as in this example: "According to my first feeling reactions, I would willingly admit members of \_\_\_\_\_ race to one or more of these classifications: (1) To close kinship by marriage. (2) To my club as personal chums. (3) To my street as neighbors. (4) To employment in my occupation in my country. (5) To citizenship in my country. (6) As visitors only to my country. (7) Would exclude from my country." Because the wording of the original SDS is somewhat outdated, several authors have revised the test without weakening the strong evidence of the psychometric properties that have been associated with the original form (Byrnes & Kiger, 1988a). The SDS has been found to be highly reliable, and reports of its construct, content, and convergent validity have been given across several decades (e.g., Campbell, 1953; Smith & Dempsey, 1983).

The Modern Racism Scale. Various forms of measures of symbolic racism have been used since 1976 (McConahay & Hough). More recently, however, McConahay (1986) developed and validated the Modern Racism Scale as a compilation of his decade-long research into this construct. Presently, this is the principal measure used in assessing modern racism. Three separate factorial analyses (N's = 879, 709, 167) provided evidence of validity of the scale. McConahay

also provided adequate evidence of discriminant and convergent validity. Coefficients of internal consistency (Chronbach's alpha) ranged from .75 to .81, and coefficients of test-retest reliability ranged from .72 to .93 (see Table 3 for a summary of the properties of the test). Measures of symbolic racism have been used in the literature since the early 1980s, and of these, the MRS has the most psychometric support (Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1992).

The Humanitarian/Egalitarian & Protestant-Ethic scales.

In their study of racial attitudes, Katz and Hass (1988) used two scales, Protestant Ethic (PE) and Humanitarian-Egalitarian (HE), that were theoretically related to Pro-Black and Anti-Black attitudes. These measures were used to assess correlates of racial attitudes. Evidence of reliability is provided through moderate internal consistency coefficients (.84 for PE & .76 for HE, respectively). Evidence of convergent validity for the HE scale is provided through a moderate but significant correlation coefficient (.46,  $N = 59$ ) with the Pro-Black scale and a significant negative correlation with the Anti-Black scale. The PE scale is a slightly shorter version of a scale developed by Mirels and Garrett (1971), and data supporting the validity of this scale have been reported by them and others (e.g., Feather, 1984). The evidence of discriminant validity that has been reported for the two

scales is that they are not significantly correlated with each other ( $r = .05$ ).

### Independent Variables

Data on the following demographic variables were collected from all subjects: (a) race/ethnicity, as indicated on a checklist of either (1) White, (2) Black, (3) Hispanic, (4) Asian, or (5) Other; (b) age; (c) year in college; (d) academic major; (e) gender; (f) self-reported socioeconomic level (using fixed-level checklists to indicate approximate yearly income of parents, highest level of parental education, parental occupation type, and perceived parental social class); and (g) religious affiliation.

In addition, subjects were asked to indicate: (a) the number of close interracial friendships they presently have, (b) their political orientation (from conservative to liberal), and (c) the importance of spirituality in their lives (from important to not important).

### Analyses

Data were analyzed through the following statistical methods:

1. In order to answer the question posed as objective #1, a Pearson Product Moment correlation was done between scores on the SDS and the MRS.



2. An analysis of covariance was done on the SDS and MRS scores of Caucasian and Asian subjects, in order to satisfy objective #2. Age and gender were used as covariates. In order to examine the practical significance of the differences between these two groups, effect sizes were also computed.

3. Objective #3 required that a series of both stepwise and forced-enter multiple regression analyses be performed in order to examine which of the variables were predictive of racial attitudes, as measured by the SDS and MRS.

4. In accordance with objective #4, one-way ANOVAs were performed on the SDS and MRS scores and the subjects' self-reported demographic characteristics. In order to examine the difference between these groups, a t test for multiple comparisons (multiple range test) was also computed when the between group variance was statistically significant. In order to examine differences in scores across genders, a t test for independent means was performed.

An overview of the four questions this study proposed to answer, the measures used, and the statistical analyses that were employed are presented in Table 4.

A statistical computer package (SPSSPC) was used in the analysis of the data. The alpha level was set at .05 for all statistical procedures.

Table 4

Summary of Questions, Measures, and Analyses Used

<u>Question</u>	<u>Measure</u>	<u>Analysis</u>
1) Is modern racism a unique construct?	MRS & SDS	Pearson Product Moment Correlation
2) How do different cultures compare?	MRS & SDS	ANCOVA
3) Which factors best predict racial attitude?	Dep. = SDS & MRS; Ind. = demographics	Multiple regression
4) Do racial attitudes differ across demographic variables?	SDS, MRS, & demographics	Oneway ANOVA's, correlations, & <u>t</u> tests

## RESULTS

In viewing the results, a great deal of information was collected on several key variables. However, it is important to note that there were several inherent differences among the two groups used in this study. For example, the Caucasian sample consisted of significantly more females (65%) than did the Asian sample (51%;  $p < .01$ ). The Caucasian sample was also significantly younger ( $M = 20.3$  years) than the Asian sample ( $M = 24.8$  years;  $p < .01$ ). Although these differences may not be large in practical terms, they were used as covariates in later group comparisons. Even though the groups were also significantly different in their reported religious affiliations, this was viewed as part of the inherent cultural differences between groups, not a difference that would unduly bias the group comparisons. Thus, religious affiliation was not used as a covariate.

Another important statistical consideration deals with the variance obtained with the measures used. If inadequate variance was achieved, then the comparisons between groups and measures may not be meaningful. Table 5 contains information regarding the ranges, means, and standard deviations of the outcome measures used in this study. As can be seen, the scores had adequate spread and they were found to approach a normal distribution.

Table 5

Ranges, Standard Deviations, and Means of Principal Measures

Measure	Range of Scores	Standard Deviation	Mean
SDS	21 - 105	18.9	77.6
MRS	7 - 32	4.7	16.2
HE	18 - 50	5.1	39.4
PE	20 - 48	4.9	34.2
SES, of parents	4 - 20	3.2	13.5

Having qualified the data, the results of the several analyses are presented below, according to the four objectives outlined previously.

1. The correlation between scores on the MRS and the sum of SDS scores for all subjects was  $-.35$ . In order to tap into a construct even more closely allied with traditional forms of racism, the difference between the average SDS scores on the non-White subscales and the White subscale was calculated. This procedure produced a numerical value that indicated the disparity between individuals' views towards their own culture and their views toward other cultures (African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians). This procedure was completed only with the group of Caucasian subjects. The coefficient resulting from the correlation of this calculated difference in racial

attitudes with the MRS was  $-.30$ .

2. When scores on the SDS and MRS were compared across racial groups in an analysis of covariance, using gender and age as covariates, Asians scored significantly ( $p < .001$ ) less accepting (more prejudicial) than Caucasians on both measures. The resulting effect sizes for these differences were  $.55$  for SDS scores and  $.59$  for MRS scores.

3. In order to examine which variable(s) best predicts racial attitudes, regression analyses were conducted for Caucasian and Asian subjects separately and then for the whole sample. As part of this analysis, SDS and MRS scores were combined. This was done in order to produce a more global indicator of racial attitudes than either test by itself. This was accomplished by taking the difference between the White and non-White scales on the SDS (as outlined above), subtracting it from one, and adding it to MRS scores. The same procedure was completed for Asian subjects, using the Asian scale on the SDS from which to subtract instead of the White scale. In either case, the resulting figure was a numerical indicator of overall racial attitudes. Regression analysis of the combined SDS and MRS scores indicated that level of cultural awareness, political orientation, and the HE/PE scales explained 23% of the variance for Caucasian subjects. Number of other-race friends, political orientation, and the PE scale explained

17% of the variance in these scores for Asian subjects. For the overall sample, regression of SDS scores indicated that the reported number of interracial friendships, level of perceived similarity with friends' racial attitudes, and level of perceived parental racial acceptance were the best predictors, explaining 17% of the variance in SDS scores. On the other hand, belief in humanitarian principles (HE scores) and reported political orientation were found to be the best predictors of scores on the MRS, with these two variables explaining 18% of the variance. For a summary of these results, please refer to Table 6.

4a. As indicated by a  $t$  test for independent means, males and females did not significantly differ in their responses on the SDS. However, females did score significantly lower ( $p < .001$ ) than males ( $ES = .44$ ) on the

Table 6  
Results of Multiple Regressions

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables (predictors)	Explained Variance
Whites' Racism Combined MRS & SDS	Level of cultural awareness, HE/PE scores, and political orientation	23%
Asians' Racism Combined MRS & SDS	Number of interracial friends, PE scores, and political orientation	17%
Social Distance SDS scores	Number of interracial friends, parents' and friends' attitudes	17%
Modern Racism MRS scores	Political orientation and HE scores	18%

MRS, indicating that their responses were less prejudicial. For a summary of the several demographic group comparisons, see Table 7.

4b. Analysis of variance did not reveal significant differences across reports of parental income, education, occupation level, or perceived socioeconomic status. Further analyses revealed that the correlations between these variables and the SDS and MRS were very low (ranging from  $-.07$  to  $.11$ ). When the above four variables were combined, the resulting correlations with the MRS and SDS were  $.13$  and  $-.10$ , respectively.

4c. An analysis of variance indicated significant differences across reported number of interracial friendships. Those with three to four or more than four

Table 7

Summary of the Group Comparisons on the MRS and SDS

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Level of significance	Interpretation
Gender	SDS	$p = .18$	Males are more biased
	MRS	$p < .001$	
Socioeconomic status (parents)	SDS	$p = .24$	
	MRS	$p = .84$	
Education level of parents	SDS	$p = .27$	
	MRS	$p = .72$	
Annual parental income	SDS	$p = .13$	
	MRS	$p = .41$	
Parental occupation level	SDS	$p = .20$	
	MRS	$p = .28$	
Num. of interracial friendships	SDS	$p < .0001$	More friends = less prejudiced
	MRS	$p = .06$	

close interracial friendships scored significantly higher ( $p < .001$ ; higher scores indicate more accepting attitudes) than those who indicated having no close interracial friendships or only one interracial friendship. Differences on the MRS did not quite reach statistical significance.

4d. One-way analysis of variance revealed that there were significant differences ( $p < .001$ ) on MRS scores across religious affiliation. A subsequent examination using the least significant difference (LSD) multiple range test indicated that those subjects professing membership in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) scored significantly higher (more prejudicial) than those claiming no religious affiliation. While a similar trend was apparent on SDS scores, the difference did not reach the level of statistical significance ( $p = .07$ ) with the overall sample. For a summary of these results, see Table 8.

Although the cells of the ANOVA ranged in size from 27 to 520, analysis of variance procedures are considered

Table 8

Comparisons Across Religious Affiliation on the MRS and SDS

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Dependent Variable</u>	<u>Level of significance</u>
Religious Affiliation (Overall sample)	SDS MRS	$p = .07$ $p < .0001$
Religious Affiliation (White sample)	SDS MRS	$p = .007$ $p < .0001$
Religious Affiliation (Asian sample)	SDS MRS	$p = .59$ $p = .06$



robust with respect to cell size, as long as the assumption of equal variances is met (Glass, Peckham, & Sanders, 1972). Because the groups in question had approximately equal variances on the measures of racism, the results reported above may be viewed as accurate.

In order to further examine the differences in racial attitudes across religious affiliation, 2 x 3 ANOVAs were conducted in which race was included as the second independent variable. The two races (Asian and Caucasian) were compared across three religious affiliations, consisting of (a) Atheists and Agnostics, (b) Latter-day Saints (Mormons), and (c) other religious affiliations (Protestant, Catholics, etc.). The groups were clustered this way in order to increase the size of the smaller cells (and thus increase the power). As can be seen in Tables 9 and 10, main effects on both race and religious affiliation were found on the SDS and the MRS. The significant main effect on race reflected the previous finding that Asian subjects responded more prejudicially than Caucasians on both the SDS and MRS. The significant main effect on religious affiliation was found to indicate that members of the LDS church responded more prejudicially than members of other religious affiliations on both the MRS and SDS. No interaction effects were found on the SDS; however, a significant interaction ( $p = .005$ ) occurred between scores

Table 9

Results of a 2 x 3 ANOVA for Scores on the SDS

	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Sig. of F</u>
<u>Main Effects</u>	9368.4	3	3122.8	9.10	.000
Race	2212.0	2	1106.0	3.22	.040
Religion	7977.2	1	7977.2	23.25	.000
<u>Interaction</u>	1633.2	2	816.6	2.38	.093
<u>Explained</u>	11001.6	5	2200.3	6.41	.000
<u>Residual</u>	209957.6	612	343.1		
<u>TOTAL</u>	220959.2	617	358.1		

Table 10

Results of a 2 x 3 ANOVA for scores on the MRS

	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Sig. of F</u>
<u>Main Effects</u>	828.8	3	276.3	14.49	.000
Race	356.7	2	178.4	9.35	.000
Religion	790.0	1	790.0	41.43	.000
<u>Interaction</u>	206.0	2	103.0	5.40	.005
<u>Explained</u>	1034.7	5	206.9	10.85	.000
<u>Residual</u>	11667.0	612	19.1		
<u>TOTAL</u>	12703.7	617	20.6		

on the MRS. This interaction may be explained by the fact that religious affiliation affected the races differently. For example, scores on the MRS and SDS significantly differed across religious affiliation only for the Caucasian subjects (see Table 8), with Caucasians who professed membership in the LDS church indicating more racial prejudice than the other two groups of Caucasians. A visual inspection of group means on the MRS indicated that Asian atheists, agnostics, Buddhists, and Christians reported slightly more racist attitudes than Asian LDS. Conversely, Caucasian agnostics, atheists, and Christians were significantly less prejudiced (on the MRS) than Caucasian LDS (see Table 11). Thus, the fact that members of the LDS faith scored similarly across races accounts for the significant interaction effect.

Table 11

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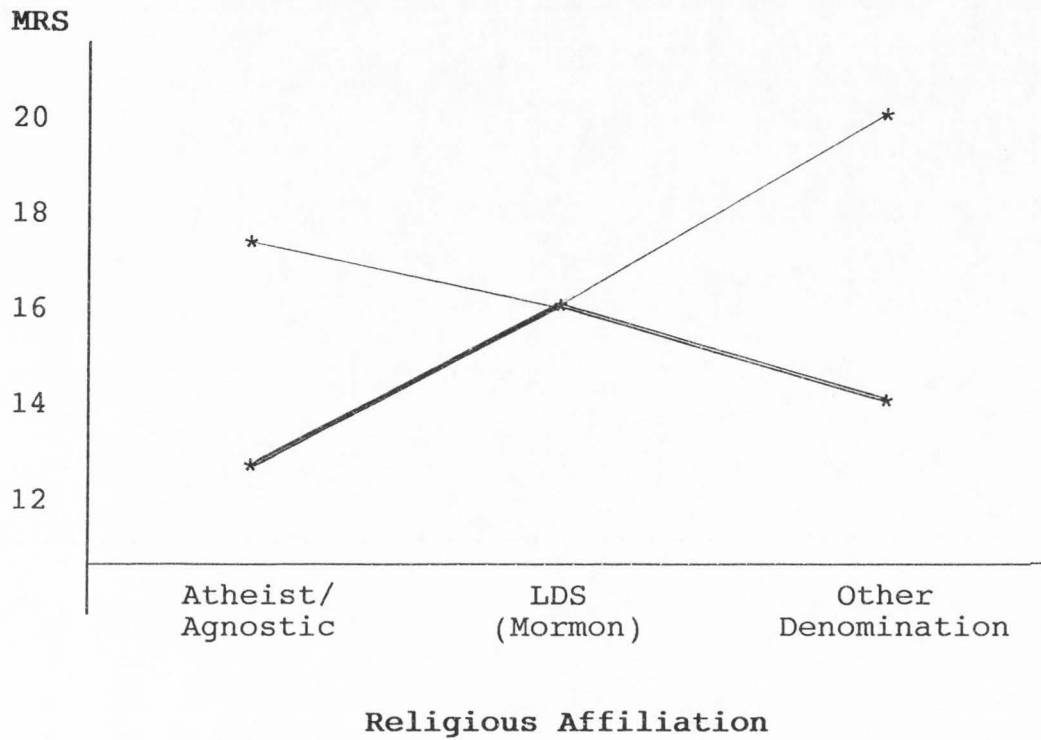
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 Interaction Between Group Means on the MRS
 

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Note. Single line = Asian; Double line = Caucasian

## DISCUSSION

Perhaps as long as there have been diverse groups of humans, discrimination and prejudice have hampered their relations. Modern research tends to support this conjecture:

The mere belonging to two distinct groups--that is social categorizations, per se--is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favoring the in-group. In other words, the mere awareness of the presence of an out-group is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the in-group. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 38)

Applying this paradigm to American society, if each social group considers itself as the in-group, poor intercultural relations are an unfortunate product of basic psychological functioning. The purpose of the present study was to provide further insight into the nature of the seemingly universal social practice of racial prejudice. It was hoped that with such knowledge, researchers will be able to more appropriately focus their future efforts, so that ultimately, appropriate and effective steps may be taken to reduce or eliminate such counterproductive biases.

## Limitations of the Study

Having outlined the goal and scope of the present research, it should first be noted that there are several inherent limitations with the investigation. The first

weakness of the study was the geographically limited sample that was used. The State of Utah tends to have a rather socially homogeneous population, the vast majority being Caucasian and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS). It is not known whether the racial attitudes of the Caucasian sample used in this study are comparable to otherwise similar populations from other regions of the country.

Although the above-mentioned limitation does not apply to the Far-East Asian students used in the study, there is another concern that needs to be addressed with this population. Specifically, the fact that these students are temporarily residing in the U.S. may be a confound with their racial attitudes. It may be, for example, that the sudden role-reversal from majority culture status in their native land to minority status here in America has affected their racial attitudes. Had a similar population been measured in their native environment, without the confounding effects of culture shock or role reversal, the results may have been different than those presented here.

Another limitation to the generalizability of the findings with the Asian sample is that their responses may differ from populations with other ethnic or cultural backgrounds. For example, the population used may differ in their racial attitudes from those of Asians who have been

raised in this country. Likewise, their attitudes may be quite different from groups who have an extended history of racial oppression (such as Native Americans or African Americans).

In terms of practicality, another considerable limitation to the generalizability of the findings from this study is that it focused specifically on college students. Therefore, the results may not generalize to other social groups, such as members of urban street gangs (which population could perhaps benefit most from research such as this).

A final weakness of the study was that subjects participated on a strictly voluntary basis. This fact increases the likelihood of sampling bias, since volunteers are generally more intelligent, more affluent, and more sociable than nonvolunteers (Borg & Gall, 1989). Similarly, because such a low response rate (30%) was achieved from the mailed surveys, the sample may not be representative of the target population. Taken together, these weaknesses indicate that care must be used in interpreting and generalizing the results.

#### Relevance/Importance of the Findings

One of the most salient findings from this study was that the theory of modern racism, measured by the MRS,

appears to be a unique construct in explaining racial attitudes. The correlation of MRS scores with SDS scores was surprisingly low, and the two measures only had about 12% shared variance. Likewise, each measure was best predicted by completely different variables. These findings indicate that the two measures tap into different aspects of racial attitudes. For example, in viewing the results of the regression analyses, it appears that social distance scale scores are associated with experiential and social observational variables. The contact hypothesis, which states that racial attitudes become more accepting with increased social contact, provides theoretical backing for this finding. Modern racism theory, however, appears to be more closely related to personal beliefs and values. For example, significant differences on MRS scores were found across religious and political affiliations. Because modern racism theory indicates that prejudicial attitudes are based on a moralistic resentment and resistance to change in the racial status quo, these findings give support to existing evidence of validity of the theory of symbolic racism.

One possible explanation for the above finding deals with the tendency of people to respond to tests in ways they perceive to be socially desirable. For example, it could be that because the items on the MRS are more subtly worded than items on the SDS, individuals are more likely to think



about the MRS items and respond according to their own experience rather than in socially desirable ways.

Conversely, because the SDS items are so straightforward (asking how comfortable one feels around different ethnic groups), individuals may respond to the SDS in ways they perceive as being socially desirable. Thus, the differences noted above in the SDS and MRS scores may be a reflection of the complexity of wording. However, it may also be that they do measure different aspects of racial attitudes, one more blatant (SDS) and the other more subtle (MRS).

The second major finding of this study was quite surprising: Far-East Asian students responded significantly more prejudicially than Caucasians on both the MRS and SDS. This finding is difficult to explain from an empirical viewpoint, because no previous research with Asian students' racial attitudes has been conducted. However, one may postulate any number of possible explanations that may account for this difference. For example, the finding may be explained by a greater openness (honesty) on the part of Asian students. It may be that Asian natives have not been as heavily socialized against racism as Caucasians growing up in America, where it has become increasingly unpopular to admit to having racist feelings. Another explanation may be that native Asians may not have had as much contact with people from other races. In discussing the topic of racial

attitudes with several Asian students, the author was also informed that native Asians typically have a great deal of national pride. Therefore, they may tend to view other cultures less favorably than their own. As stated above, however, any one of these explanations (or a combination of them) may account for the differences between Asian and Caucasian responses. Further research is needed to sort out the several variables involved and to replicate the results achieved here.

Another interesting finding was that females scored more accepting than males on the MRS but not on the SDS. Although other studies have either not found differences or found that females were less willing than males to associate with members of other cultures on a personal basis (e.g., Muir, 1989), this finding is by no means surprising. In viewing the results, it appears that women respondents indicated more of the humanitarian values associated with less prejudicial scores on the measure of modern racism than did males. This finding indicates that women generally place a higher value on individual worth and uniqueness than do males. Thus, they are less likely to hold the moralistic resentment toward individuals from other cultures, as explained by the modern racism theory. However, female respondents did not indicate being more comfortable in the presence of other cultures on the social distance scale.

The fact that they did not indicate more of the experiential variables associated with social distance scores, such as number of interracial friends, may account for the different findings across the measures.

Since few other studies had investigated the socioeconomic class (SES) of their subjects, it was hoped that new information regarding this variable and its effect on racial attitudes would become apparent. However, SES was not meaningfully related with either outcome measure, indicating that racial attitudes are by and large independent of the economic circumstances surrounding an individual's upbringing. These findings support the claim made by Carter and Helms (1988) that SES variables are poor predictors of racial attitudes.

The finding that individuals reporting greater numbers of interracial friendships were less prejudiced is a highly intuitive one. As stated earlier, the early popularity of the contact hypothesis was based on findings such as this. However, it should be noted that the results obtained here do not provide information regarding direction of causality. It may be that people who have more contact with individuals from other cultures than their own become less prejudiced with increased exposure, but it is also logical to say that nonprejudiced individuals are more likely to associate with people from other cultures. Thus, this finding does not

provide outright support for the contact hypothesis.

Since MRS scores were associated with personal values, it was not surprising to find differences across religious affiliations. Members of the LDS church generally indicated a more conservative political stance than other groups, and they endorsed more items in support of the Protestant work ethic (PE scale) than other groups. Previous research has found both political conservatism and high PE scores to be associated with more prejudicial racial attitudes (Katz & Hass, 1988; Sirgo & Eisenman, 1990). However, it should be noted that significant differences across SDS scores were not found across religious affiliation, indicating that members of the LDS faith are not more openly expressive (overt) in their racial attitudes than were the other groups.

The finding that differences across religious affiliation were found only with the Caucasian sample is also noteworthy. This indicates that religious affiliation is a more salient variable in understanding Caucasians' racial attitudes than those of Asians. Considering the fact that Asian LDS were less prejudiced than Asians who belonged to other Christian sects (as identified in the 2 x 3 ANOVA), it appears that each race is affected differently by its religious affiliation. The overall findings indicate that Whites are generally less prejudiced than Asians, regardless

of religious affiliation, and that Caucasians who are members of the LDS Church tend to be more prejudiced than Caucasians with other religious orientations.

## CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, racism is far from being an antiquated construct. Prejudice and discrimination threaten to be a continuing obstacle in the path of social progress. Although a multitude of theories has been proposed by researchers as to the nature of racial attitudes, little research has been conducted to verify their validity. To that end, this study investigated one of these theories, that of modern racism, and several demographic variables.

The theory of modern racism appears to be a useful and valid paradigm from which to explain the more subtle forms of prejudice. Future research would do well to apply this theory to programs designed to reduce negative racial attitudes and increase cross-cultural awareness. Likewise, since this construct is highly related to many core beliefs and values, such as acceptance of the Protestant work ethic and personal political orientation, researchers should include these factors in their future investigations.

Another finding of this study that warrants further research is that of the differences that were found across cultures in racial attitudes. It is yet unclear why the native Asian subjects responded in more prejudicial ways than did the Caucasians. As of this time, no other studies in the literature have addressed this topic, and all

questions regarding cross-cultural differences will remain unanswered until further research is conducted in this area. Of course, the same questions generated here about native Asians should be applied to other cultures, such as Hispanics or Native Americans. Likewise, the differences that were found across other demographic variables are also promising areas for further research.

Overall, the field of cross-cultural psychology will undoubtedly experience a new surge of growth in the upcoming months and years as public interest in racial and ethnic relations follows national increases in racially related violence. The social interest in intercultural relations will also likely increase the demands on researchers to seek a more accurate understanding of the correlates, and, eventually, the causes and the effective procedures for reducing negative racial attitudes. Although counseling, instruction, developmental theory, and social psychology are all areas that will benefit from such investigations (Baron, 1992; Casas, 1985; Kagitcibasi & Berry, 1989), the potentially large effect that research findings such as those presented here will have upon social and political policy is of primary importance.

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APPENDIX

## STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

This is a research study that involves the examination of racial and ethnic attitudes on a college campus setting. It is deemed to have great importance to potential future university and/or public policy regarding ethnic minority groups, and it will advance the body of knowledge already gathered in this area.

It is important for you to note that your participation in this study is voluntary, and that there is no penalty for not completing the study. Your responses to the following items are **completely confidential**. Only the researcher and his faculty advisor will have access to the scores, and no one will be able to identify you with your responses. It is very important that you answer all questions honestly.

If you have any questions regarding this research, feel free to contact Timothy Smith through the psychology department office (750-1460). Thank you for your participation.

"I acknowledge that I have been informed as to the nature and the confidentiality of the research study in which I am a voluntary participant."

---

(please sign your name here)

Answer the questions according to the following scale:

- 1 = Very Uncomfortable
- 2 = Slightly Uncomfortable
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = Pretty Comfortable
- 5 = Very Comfortable

I believe that I would be happy to have an **African American (Black)**:

- 1. as governor of my state.
- 2. as my personal physician.
- 3. rent my home from me.
- 4. as my spiritual counselor.
- 5. as my roommate.
- 6. as someone I would date.
- 7. as a dance partner.

I believe that I would be happy to have a **Hispanic**:

- 8. as governor of my state.
- 9. as my personal physician.
- 10. rent my home from me.
- 11. as my spiritual counselor.
- 12. as my roommate.
- 13. as someone I would date.
- 14. as a dance partner.

I believe that I would be happy to have an **Oriental**:

- 15. as governor of my state.
- 16. as my personal physician.
- 17. rent my home from me.
- 18. as my spiritual counselor.
- 19. as my roommate.
- 20. as someone I would date.
- 21. as a dance partner.

I believe that I would be happy to have a **Caucasian**:

- 22. as governor of my state.
- 23. as my personal physician.
- 24. rent my home from me.
- 25. as my spiritual counselor.
- 26. as my roommate.
- 27. as someone I would date.
- 28. as a dance partner.

Answer questions 29 - 55 on the following scale:

- 1 = I strongly disagree
- 2 = I disagree
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = I agree
- 5 = I strongly agree

- 29. Most people spend too much time in unprofitable amusements.
- 30. Our society would have fewer problems if people had less leisure time.
- 31. Money acquired easily is usually spent unwisely.
- 32. Most people who don't succeed in life are just plain lazy.
- 33. Anyone who is willing and able to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.
- 34. People who fail at a job have usually not tried hard enough.
- 35. Life would have very little meaning if we never had to suffer.
- 36. The person who can approach an unpleasant task with enthusiasm is the person who gets ahead.
- 37. If people work hard enough they are likely to make a good life for themselves.
- 38. I feel uneasy when there is little work for me to do.
  
- 39. One should be kind to all people.
- 40. One should find ways to help others less fortunate than oneself.
- 41. A person should be concerned for the well-being of others.
- 42. There should be equality for everyone -- because we are all human beings.
- 43. Those who are unable to provide for their basic needs should be helped by others.
- 44. A good society is one in which people feel responsible for one another.
- 45. Everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say in most things.
- 46. Acting to protect the rights and interests of other members of the community is a major obligation for most persons.
- 47. In dealing with criminals the court should recognize that many are victims of circumstances.
- 48. Prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations.

- 1 = I strongly disagree
- 2 = I disagree
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = I agree
- 5 = I strongly agree

49. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to ethnic minorities than they deserve.
50. It is difficult to understand the anger of minorities in America.
51. Discrimination against minorities is no longer a problem in the United States.
52. Over the past few years, minorities have gotten more economically than they deserve.
53. Minorities have more influence upon school desegregation than they ought to have.
54. Minorities are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
55. Minorities should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

For the following questions, use the scale indicated.

56. I am a: female 1 male 2
57. Year in college: 1 = Fsh. 2 = Sph. 3 = Jr. 4 = Sr.
58. Age: (17-20) = 1, (21-24) = 2, (25-35) = 3,  
(36-45) = 4, (46+) = 5
59. Race: White = 1, Black = 2, Hispanic = 3,  
Asian = 4, Other = 5
60. How many close friends do you have that are of another race?  
(0) = 1, (1) = 2, (2) = 3, (3-4) = 4, (5+) = 5
61. Approximate yearly income of your parents or guardians:  
1 = \$0.00 - \$14,999  
2 = \$15,000 - \$29,999  
3 = \$30,000 - \$49,999  
4 = \$50,000 - \$74,999  
5 = \$75,000 +
62. What is your religious affiliation?  
1 = Atheist or Agnostic (I question or deny the existence of a God)  
2 = No formal religious affiliation (But I do believe in God)  
3 = Protestant or Catholic  
4 = Latter-day Saint (Mormon)  
5 = Other (Hindu, Islam, Buddhist, etc.)
63. How important is spirituality in your life?  
1 = Not at all  
2 = Somewhat  
3 = Important  
4 = Vital

64. What is your political orientation?
- 1 = Conservative
  - 2 = Somewhat conservative
  - 3 = I have no political orientation
  - 4 = Somewhat liberal
  - 5 = Liberal
65. If you have lived in foreign country, please write the number of years and the name of the country on the answer form.
66. Please write your college major on the answer form.
67. Indicate the highest educational level attained by your parents:
- 1 = Little or no formal education
  - 2 = Public education (High School)
  - 3 = Technical training (Associates degree, specialty certification)
  - 4 = Advanced learning (University graduate)
  - 5 = Professional (PhD, MD, JD, etc)
68. What socio-economic class were your parents when you lived at home?
- 1 = Lower, working class (1st - 20th percentile)
  - 2 = Lower middle class (21st - 40th %)
  - 3 = Middle class (41st - 60th %)
  - 4 = Upper middle class (61st - 89th %)
  - 5 = Upper class (90th - 99th percentile)
69. Would you describe the work your parents do as:
- 1 = Unskilled, manual labor or Unemployed
  - 2 = Clerical or Industrial
  - 3 = Business or Managerial
  - 4 = Technical or Instructional
  - 5 = Professional or Specialized
70. In describing your parents' racial attitudes, would you say they are:
- 1 = Very open, accepting of other races and have other-race friends
  - 2 = Somewhat open, but they don't go out of their way to meet them
  - 3 = "I don't know" or they don't seem to have a set opinion
  - 4 = Somewhat biased, they don't associate with other races
  - 5 = Biased, they avoid people of other races or speak against them

71. How **knowledgeable** do you feel about other cultures and ethnic groups?

1 = Very little (only what I've seen on TV or in magazines)

2 = A fair amount, but I wouldn't be comfortable speaking about it

3 = I know enough to get by, if I were talking with such a person

4 = I could easily lead a discussion on the topic

72 & 73. What region of the country did you grow up in?

72 1 = New England

2 = East coast

3 = South

4 = Mid-west

5 = West coast

(If you lived in another region, please go to #73)

73 1 = Northwest

2 = Utah

3 = Inter-mountain West, other than Utah

4 = Canada

5 = Another foreign country