The relationship between racial attitudes and racial anxiety in a diverse academic setting: is it black and white?

Chelsea G. McAloon
University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.utc.edu/mps

Part of the Psychology Commons

Recommended Citation
Available at: https://scholar.utc.edu/mps/vol13/iss2/3

This articles is brought to you for free and open access by the Journals, Magazines, and Newsletters at UTC Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Modern Psychological Studies by an authorized editor of UTC Scholar. For more information, please contact scholar@utc.edu.
The face of America’s workplaces and academic settings has become increasingly diverse, making it important to investigate modern racial attitudes and their relationship with interracial interactions. While there has been extensive study of the racial attitudes of Whites, those of Blacks are less frequently examined, especially in relation to interracial anxiety. One-hundred-forty-one White and 95 Black undergraduate students participated in this correlational study, in which they completed separate measures of racial attitudes and interracial anxiety. Results indicated a significant negative correlation between the variables for both Blacks ($r = -0.552, p < .01$) and Whites ($r = -0.574, p < .01$). As hypothesized, this demonstrated that individuals who endorse certain, negative racial attitudes would likely experience more anxiety in an interracial interaction. Findings may have important implications for improving interracial interactions in the workplace and an academic setting.

Racial Attitudes
Since the American Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, there has been an increased focus on the study of racial attitudes. Negative racial attitudes, or racism, may originate from several sources. Similarity-attraction theory (Byrne, 1971) provides one possible explanation for racism by suggesting that people perceived as demographically similar to oneself will, in turn, be perceived as attitudinally similar and thus be evaluated more positively by the perceiver (Goldberg, 2001). Similarly, social identity theory (Tajfel as cited in Goldberg, 2001) posits that people classify themselves based on many characteristics, and to maintain a positive self-image, perceive similar individuals favorably. Finally, Turner (1987)
developed self-categorization theory, which explains that people create multiple selves, or categorizations, to explain the facets of their own personality. In turn, people perceive and place others into categories to make sense of their surroundings (Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998). Categorization aids the individual in making sense of an immense amount of information, but can also prime negative stereotypes, leading to negative perceptions of others. When an individual comes into contact with an unfamiliar person, he or she immediately employs categorization as a means of quickly making sense of this new person. Initial categorizations are usually based on visible, surface-level characteristics such as race, gender, and age (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998). Only after subsequent interaction will categorizations be made according to attitudes or beliefs. People tend to respond more favorably to others who are similar. If a negative categorization of someone perceived to be different is made initially, however, it may be difficult for the perceiver to find deeper level similarities (Monteith et al., 1998).

When the perceiver places an individual in the same category as themselves (in-group), the perceiver evaluates the other person more positively, gives them more positive behavior, sees them as more attractive, and assumes the other person has beliefs similar to their own (Nelson, 2002). These theories of positive perception have important implications for those categorized in dissimilar groups (out-group), as they are likely to be seen less favorably.

Research concerning racial attitudes has been extensive. Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974) explained that self-fulfilling prophecy helps to explain interracial interaction. Self-fulfilling prophecy occurs when an original definition of a situation causes the believer to act in a way to bring about the situation. Word et al. observed the nonverbal behavior of White and Black dyads in an interview situation. They found that Blacks received less immediate nonverbal communication, like physical closeness and eye contact, from White interviewers. Further, recipients of less immediate nonverbal behavior responded in the same manner as the interviewer and thus were judged to perform less adequately in the interview. These findings imply that the perceived “problem” of Blacks’ performance is not inherent to Blacks, but in their interactions with, and enduring perceptions by, Whites (Word et al., 1974).

Katz and Hass (1988) identified a modern shift in American race relations. The modern racial climate may be more accepting, but bias, in the form of racial attitudes and subsequent behavior, still exists. They defined an attitude as “a complex cognitive structure comprised of many individual cognitions in association with one another” (p. 902). The complex structure of White racial attitudes can be conflicting, as Blacks are often perceived as deviant and disadvantaged in today’s society. This paradox creates conflicted feelings of aversion and sympathy in Whites. The conflict reflects conflict between core American values of individualism, which stresses personal freedom, self-reliance, devotion to work and achievement, and communalism, which is comprised of egalitarian and humanitarian values. Individualism, exemplified by the Protestant work ethic, strengthens the White perception of Blacks as deviant. This may be due to the perception that Blacks make disproportional use of welfare and other social support systems as well as the perception that policies such as Affirmative Action give unfair advantages to undeserving, unqualified minorities. These perceived characteristics violate the core American value of individualism, which posits self-reliance and hard work without the aid of others. Humanitarianism-egalitarianism, on the other hand, strengthens the perception of Blacks as disadvantaged by encouraging a positive orientation toward democratic ideals of equality, social justice, and concern for others’ well being. Katz and Hass found these two values to function independently of each other and have a causal connection to attitudes.

In a study of the racial attitudes of college students, Brigham (1993) sought to develop a new scale for the measurement of racial attitudes. He differentiated between “Dominative” or “Old-fashioned” racists who exhibit openly bigoted beliefs, and “Aversive Racists,” who practice a more subtle form of prejudice. Although White racial attitudes have been studied extensively, there had been little focus on the racial attitudes of Blacks. Thus, using established measures of contemporary racism, such as the symbolic racism scale (Kinder & Sears, 1981) and the Modern Racism Scale
(McConahay, 1986), Brigham created two separate scales for the measurement of racial attitudes in both Blacks and Whites. The Attitudes toward Blacks scale is comprised of 10 positively worded and 10 negatively worded items and has demonstrated acceptable internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.88$). This reliability is higher than the existing measures of racial attitudes. The Attitudes towards Whites scale contained six positively worded and 14 negatively worded items ($\alpha = 0.75$). Brigham found that Whites with more previous contact with Blacks had more positive attitude scores. This effect was stronger for Blacks; however, positive previous experience with Whites was not related to attitude scores. Furthermore, the attitude scores for Blacks were more heterogeneous (Brigham, 1993).

The extensive literature on racial attitudes aided in the understanding of the antecedents and consequences of prejudice. Newer studies have departed from the traditional, explanatory approach to studying racial attitudes and instead focused on possible means for reducing bias and its effects. A person’s attitudes aid in orienting the individual to the environment by helping to organize newly acquired information. Individuals may not, however, be aware of the powerful effects of these often-covert beliefs. Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner (2002) suggest that individuals possess implicit and explicit attitudes, which can affect behavior in different ways. Implicit attitudes are more difficult to monitor and control, as they manifest below the level of consciousness. Explicit attitudes reflect more deliberate, considered actions. When the individual has enough time to think about his or her actions, he or she often relies on explicit attitudes. When time or motivation is lacking, however, implicit attitudes are employed. Dovidio et al. hypothesized that Whites use their explicit, self-reported attitudes to determine overt behavior such as friendliness in interracial interaction. Implicit attitudes were expected to influence Blacks’ impression of the interaction. They used Brigham’s (1993) racial attitudes scales as a self-report measure of explicit racial attitudes, and response latency and observed bias in nonverbal behavior as a measure of implicit bias. They found the Attitudes toward Blacks (ATB) score to be related to specific bias and nonverbal friendliness to be related to implicit prejudice. An ATB score indicating negative racial attitudes (low score) was related to overtly expressed racial bias while friendly nonverbal behavior like smiling was related to low levels of prejudice on implicit measures. Bias in self-perceived friendliness was related to explicit prejudice and verbal behavior, but not implicit attitudes. The confederates’ perception of the encounter, however, was related to implicit attitudes. The results indicate that Whites and Blacks relied on different sources of information to form impressions of the interaction (Dovidio et al., 2002).

Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) hypothesized that intergroup contact reduced prejudice, especially when members of the group had common interests, professions, or other similarities. They described intergroup contact as “actual face-to-face contact with members of a clearly defined group” (p. 752). They stressed the impact of “optimal conditions” which were described as having three criteria: 1) equal status in the situation, 2) cooperation, and 3) support from authority, the law or custom. By measuring the level of intergroup prejudice in varying conditions of contact, Pettigrew and Tropp found that intergroup contact typically reduced prejudice by improving the attitude toward participants and the out-group. Although this effect occurred in a variety of situations, the effect size finding was higher in designed, “optimal” conditions, demonstrating the influence of the three criteria. Optimal conditions were not found to be essential to the effects of intergroup contact, however, one criterion, institutional support, was found to be a strong predictor. They attributed these findings to the familiar concept that familiarity breeds liking. When the groups appeared more comfortable and familiar with one another, less anxiety and uncertainty were reported (Pettigrew & Tropp).

Vescio, Gervais, Heidenreich, and Snyder (2006) investigated the effects of prejudice and social influence on responses to out-group members. People in high power positions are likely to stereotype people of lower status because they either lack the cognitive skills to individuate others or lack the motivation to maintain power differentials. Positions of power are comprised of three factors: particular goals, internalized goals, and contributions...
of subordinates. Beliefs about the subordinates’ strengths and weaknesses create schemas for behavior in the power interaction, known as social influence strategies. Typically, people in power are either weakness-focused (beliefs about impeding goal strategies of subordinates) or strength-focused. These perspectives may be linked to stereotypes and bias (Vescio et al., 2003). Vescio et al. hypothesized that a response of high prejudice would vary as a function of social influence strategy. Their results indicated that high prejudice, strength-focused individuals asked more questions of the subordinate to find their strengths, assigned more valued skills tests, evaluated the employee better, assigned more valued tests, and estimated better employee success. High prejudice, weakness-focused individuals, on the other hand, behaved the most negatively toward Blacks, gave fewer opportunities to Blacks, and gave more negative evaluations. These findings have important implications for understanding the complex dynamic between interracial employers and subordinates. Identifying the focus and prejudice level of employers may help predict the fashion in which they will treat and interact with their employees. In this fashion, potential conflict may be reduced or prevented.

Aversive Racism

Recent research on racial attitudes has focused not on the development of traditional bias, but on a new form of prejudice known as aversive racism, a subtle, contemporary form of racial prejudice (Dovidio, 2001). The idea of aversive racism originated, in part, with the study of modern racism, a response to the shifting climate of race relations. McConahay (1986) explained that anti-Black feelings and racial conflict exist in modern society, but their expression has changed from explicit discrimination and hatred to a more covert expression of prejudice. McConahay defined modern racism as “the expression in terms of abstract ideological symbols and symbolic behaviors of the feeling that Blacks are violating cherished values and making illegitimate demands for changes in the racial ‘status quo’” (p. 95). Modern racism is based on three ideas: 1) discrimination no longer exists because Blacks now have freedom to compete in education and the workforce, 2) Blacks are pushing too hard, too fast to get equal opportunities, which is unfair to Whites, and 3) gains made by Blacks are undeserved. Modern racists consider “racism” to be the old-fashioned type; they do not consider themselves to be racist. Additionally, modern racists believe that discrimination no longer exists. They value equality and equal opportunity, but not freedom of opportunity. This may explain the conflict over equal opportunity legislation (McConahay).

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986, 2005; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004) are responsible for much of the published research on aversive racism. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) explained that aversive racists overemphasize positive behavior when they are challenged in situations or, they may actually be racist, just in subtle ways. Aversive racism is the product of adaptation in an egalitarian society and of cognitive mechanisms to deal with stereotypes. This can result in discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and fear during interracial interactions. The sources of aversive racism are connotations of Black and White, physical appearance of the in- and out-group, motivation to appear superior, and value dissimilarity. Even if Whites directly reject racial stereotypes, it is difficult to ignore the societal differences between the races such as infant mortality rates, standard of living, socioeconomic status, and life expectancy. Whites statistically have the advantage in all of these aspects, which can often lead to a feeling of superiority over Blacks (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Aversive racists want to appear fair and egalitarian, thus discrimination is most likely to occur in ambiguous situations in which social norms and proper conduct is ill defined. In these situations there is a lack of structure to define appropriate action, which can often allow aversive racists to rationalize their behavior by attributing their prejudice to factors other than race (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

Dovidio (2001) described the nature of contemporary prejudice. Prejudice, he said, is “unfair negative attitudes toward a social group or a person perceived to be a member of that group” (p. 829). Racism, on the other hand, is a more
encompassing concept. Feagin and Vera (as cited in Dovidio, 2001) explained that racism goes beyond prejudice and discrimination. It is an acceptance of racist ideology and "the power to deny other groups dignity, opportunities, freedoms and rewards available through a socially organized set of ideas, attitudes and practices" (Dovidio, 2001, p. 829). Dovidio tracked the development of the understanding of prejudice in three waves. The first wave (1920s-1950s) perceived prejudice as psychopathology, a dangerous deviation from normal thinking. Research on prejudice at the time was focused on measuring and describing the problem, understanding the source, and monitoring changes over time. The second wave considered prejudice to be rooted in normal processes. Research focused on how socialization and societal norms transfer into prejudice. Social identity, intergroup paradigm, social cognition, and social categorization were also examined. The prevailing question was no longer "who is prejudiced?" because prejudice was considered to be the norm. Because bias exists in the "well-intentioned" and there is dissonance between self-reported attitudes and prevailing prejudice, the question became, "who is not prejudice?" The third wave addresses the multidimensional nature of prejudice. Researchers used new technology to investigate processes originally considered hidden by earlier theorists. The third wave investigated implicit and explicit attitudes to help distinguish traditional racists from aversive/modern racists from non-prejudiced individuals. This wave is more focused on interpersonal and intergroup dynamics (Dovidio, 2001).

The investigation of aversive racism began during the second wave of research identified by Dovidio (2001). It is the subtle, contemporary form of racial prejudice. Dovidio posited that overt expressions of prejudice were declining due to Civil Rights and other laws that have made discrimination illegal. Bias, however, is still present in indirect, unintentional ways. Aversive racism is rooted in normal, individual and group adaptive processes that help them orient to the environment. Egalitarian values and a non-prejudiced self-concept conflict with the presence of negative racial feelings and beliefs (through normal socialization and categorization) that is subconscious. Aversive racists discriminate unintentionally when they can attribute prejudice to other factors such as questionable job qualifications (Dovidio, 2001).

Dovidio (1977/2001) demonstrated the existence of aversive racism in several empirical studies. The first category of research was in emergency interventions. This was modeled after studies of diffusion of responsibility by Darley and Latané (as cited in Dovidio, 2001). Dovidio’s findings showed that, when they were the only bystander, Whites helped other Whites more than Blacks (95% v. 83%). When other witnesses were present, however, the results were different. When Whites were present with other witnesses, there was even less help for Blacks. In fact, Whites helped Blacks half as often as they did other Whites (38% v. 75%). When another witness was present, Whites felt less responsibility for helping, as they could easily diffuse responsibility to the other individual. Social norms were less clearly defined in this situation, thus expression of prejudice was more evident. Another category of research investigated selection decisions (Dovidio, 2000/2001). More bias was expressed when the selection decision was unclear. The researchers observed simulated selection decisions of strong, moderate or weakly qualified Black or White participants. When the qualifications were unclear, Whites recommended a Black job candidate less often than a White one (45% vs. 76%). Still, however, there was no direct measure for aversive racism (Darley & Latané as cited in Dovidio, 2001).

Dovidio and Gaertner (2004) added to the concept of aversive racism. Whites find Blacks "aversive" because of feelings of uneasiness, fear, and disgust in interracial interactions. They also find the possibility of being labeled "racist" aversive. Dovidio and Gaertner explain that traditional racism still exists, and there are people who are not prejudiced, but there is a large proportion of the population that represents the aversive form of racism. The latter exemplify prejudice that is pro-in-group, not anti-out-group. They differentiate between aversive racism and other contemporary racial biases. Symbolic racism "emphasizes that beliefs about individualism and meritocracy that
become racialized motivate opposition to policies designed to benefit racial and ethnic minorities” (Dovidio & Gaertner, p.6). Modern racism utilizes conservative ideologies to justify discrimination. Aversive racism, however, focuses on politically liberal individuals who espouse openly non-prejudice, but express unconscious racial bias in subtle, indirect and rationalized ways. Characteristic responses of aversive racists include endorsement of fair and just treatment for all, avoidance due to unconscious uneasiness, anxiety and disengagement when interracial contact is unavoidable, adherence to rules and codes of behavior in order to appear egalitarian and subtle expressions of bias feelings. In this study, the researchers also proposed ways to combat the effects of aversive racism. First, unconscious attitudes must be addressed so that, with practice, people can be trained to respond without stereotyping. This action would also appeal to aversive racists’ desire to be non-prejudice. Secondly, aversive racists should address their own self-motivation and regulation. Finally, in-group bias must be redirected to form a common in-group identity to reduce racial bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2004).

Interracial Anxiety
As previously mentioned, individuals possessing racist attitudes often experience anxiety when confronted with interracial interactions. Anxiety, as defined by Leary (1983), is an “aversive, cognitive-affective reaction characterized by autonomic arousal and apprehension regarding impending, potentially negative outcomes” (p. 67). Anxiety often occurs in social settings due to the prospect or reality of personal evaluation (Schlenker & Leary, 1982). This social anxiety may result from skills deficit, perception of personal inadequacies, classical conditioning, or differing personality traits. Individuals create self-images or schemas, based on personal goals, which they attempt to portray in social settings. Anxiety occurs when the individual (a) is uncertain of how to create the desired impression, (b) feels incapable of getting preferred reactions, (c) thinks he or she will not project the quantity of the image, or (d) thinks an event will occur that will harm his or her self-esteem. Anxiety can be characterized by reticence, hesitation in speech, minimal self-disclosure, and withdrawal (Schlenker & Leary, 1982).

Stephan and Stephan (1985) explain that intergroup anxiety results from contact with out-group members either before interacting with people from a different culture or within the culture, as with different races or social differences. Intergroup anxiety can occur between members of any socially defined group. Three factors contribute to intergroup anxiety: prior intergroup relations (both the quantity and quality), prior intergroup cognitions (stereotypes, prejudice, etc), and situational factors. Intergroup anxiety can have profound consequences on the individual and the group such as avoidance, bias, and emotional and evaluative reactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Islam and Hewstone (1993) also investigated the effects of contact on intergroup anxiety. The research stemmed from Allport’s contact hypothesis, which states that decreased prejudice or liking of the previously disliked group may occur under the right conditions. Results indicated that quantitative contact had an effect on out-group variability, the perception of out-group members as individuals rather than simply “different.” A greater degree of out-group variability was associated with decreased intergroup anxiety. Both quantitative and qualitative previous contact was found to reduce anxiety, but the effect was stronger for qualitative contact (Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biemat, and Brown (1996) explain that anxiety results when an individual is unsure about the proper code of conduct in a given situation. Often, the anxiety one feels in such a situation may be misattributed to negative views on the out-group. This makes negative outcome expectancies for future interactions more likely. The researchers also found that a lack of knowledge of the out group, lack of contact with the out-group, and a concern about appearing unfair is determinants of individual differences in intergroup anxiety. All determinants contribute to outcome expectancies in future interactions (Britt et al., 1996).

Anxiety frequently occurs in interracial interactions. Plant (2004) explained that negative outcome expectancies, mediated by previous
contact, directly affected anxiety. Negative outcome expectancy at Time 1 was associated with high anxiety at Time 2. For Blacks, anxiety was found to result from expectancies about Whites' racism, not their own bias (Plant, 2004). Plant and Butz (2006) focused on avoidance in interracial interactions. Avoidance may be defined as either overt, behavioral avoidance or anxiety. Avoidance results from awkward or unpleasant expectations about interracial interactions. In keeping with aversive racism research, avoidance can stem from a perceived inability to make a desired impression in a situation. In Whites, avoidance is demonstrated through non-verbal behavior, which is often interpreted by out-group members as personal rejection. Individuals frequently attribute their own avoidance of interracial interaction as fear of personal rejection due to race, but out-group avoidance of them as a lack of interest, a concept known as pluralistic ignorance. The researchers found that negative expectancies resulted in negative self-efficacy about upcoming interactions, greater anxiety, and greater desire to avoid the interaction. When examining a same-race interaction, less anxiety was found than in an interracial interaction. More anxious and awkward behavior was also observed with negative efficacy feedback in interracial interaction (Plant & Butz, 2006).

Ickes (1984) studied interracial interaction by observing spatial and visual behaviors of Black and White dyads. He considered as variables the disposition of White participants to initiate or avoid interaction with a Black participant, as well as the sex and race of the participants. In White-Black interactions, White participants talked and smiled more and looked more often and for a longer period of time. Whites also perceived themselves and their partner as being more involved in the interaction than did Blacks. Additionally, Whites perceived both partners in the interaction to have influenced each other more, to use each other’s behavior as a guide to their own. They experienced the interaction as more uncomfortable, awkward, and forced. Ickes found participants who avoided interaction to experience more concern and anxiety in the interaction. Race as a variable of the interaction was more salient for Whites when their partner and the experimenter were Black. Whites reported to experience more awkward and difficult interactions. Thus, in same-race interracial dyads, Ickes found that race is an important influence on behavior and perception. When the interaction is mandated by the situation, Whites be more involved, but experience more stress. Finally, individual differences in tendency to approach or avoid, mediates the effects of the interaction.

Understanding interracial interactions has important implications for enhancing group performance and relationships in the workplace, an academic setting and social interactions in general. Harrison, Price, and Bell (1998) explained that by 2000, 80% of new entrants in the workplace would be women or minorities. Because gender and race are easily perceived variables, categorization and stereotypes are often automatically utilized. Initial superficial categorization based on observable, surface-level variables such as race and sex is more subject to similarity-attraction and bias. As people get to know each other, however, actual information about out-group members replaces stereotypes. In a study of group performance, Harrison et al. found that initially, homogeneous groups performed better than heterogeneous groups. Over time, however, performance in both groups improved and this effect occurred faster in heterogeneous groups. Thus, if diverse groups are allowed time to establish deep-level similarities based on attitudes and values, not surface-level similarities, performance may be improved.

Watson, Kumar, and Michaelson (1993) found that in the long-term, diversity yields a variety of viewpoints. At the beginning of their longitudinal study, ethnically diverse groups had more difficulty agreeing and working together, but by the end of the study, diverse groups performed better at problem identification and generating alternate solutions. Overall performance, however, was the same for both groups at the end of the study.

The present study extends the literature on racial attitudes and anxiety in interracial interactions. The researcher conducted a bi-directional correlational study using Brigham’s (1993) Racial Attitudes Scales, which encompass the notion of aversive racism, and Plant and Devine’s (2003) Racial
Anxiety Questionnaire. Although many studies have investigated the concepts, and some have linked the two, very few studies have focused explicitly on the relationship between racial attitudes and anxiety. It is especially important to include the consideration of aversive racism to incorporate the changing climate of contemporary race relations. Based on previous findings linking racist attitudes to behavioral changes in interracial interactions, racial attitudes are expected to influence racial anxiety.

**Hypothesis 1 (H1):** Racial attitudes will be negatively correlated with racial anxiety. Such that negative racial attitudes (low score) will be correlated with high levels of racial anxiety in interracial interactions (high score).

Blacks have traditionally been a minority; for this reason, they are more likely to have had more contact experience with Whites than Whites would have had with Blacks. Due to the findings of Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), which explain that previous contact reduces prejudice and therefore, anxiety, I propose that Black participants will report lower levels of racial anxiety.

**Hypothesis 2 (H2):** Black participants will report lower levels of racial anxiety than Whites.

The present study also investigates the attitudes and anxiety of both Blacks and Whites. While there has been extensive study of the racial attitudes of Whites, those of Blacks are less frequently examined, especially in relation to interracial anxiety. Plant and Devine (2003) looked specifically at the racial anxiety of Whites. They evaluated the participants’ previous interactions with Blacks, their outcome expectancies, anxiety and hostility that resulted from such interactions and their desire to avoid future interactions. In accordance with their proposed model, Plant and Devine found that White participants who experienced previous positive contact with Black people had “more positive outcome expectancies” (Plant & Devine, p. 793). Additionally, White participants who reported previous interaction anxiety were more likely to anticipate inter-group anxiety when expecting an interaction with a Black person. Plant and Devine also concluded that the desire to “create a positive impression heightens anxiety in social settings” (p. 799). While the findings of the Plant and Devine study are important for the understanding of intergroup racial anxiety, it fails to consider racial anxiety in Blacks. Further, it only considers previous interracial contact, not racial attitudes, thus the findings exclude any explicit consideration of aversive racism. Considering the increasing diversity in today’s workforce and in society in general, it has become necessary to further study the forces contributing to interracial dynamics for both races.

**Method**

**Participants**

Two hundred forty-four undergraduate college students at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga participated in the study. Sixty-three were men and 181 were women. Participant ages ranged from 17 to 60 ($M_{age} = 20.34, SD = 5.12$). One hundred twenty-eight individuals were college freshmen, 44 were sophomores, 31 were juniors, and 38 were seniors. Regarding the self-report demographic of race, 141 participants indicated their race as White and 95 as Black or African-American. Although the present study only concerned the racial attitudes and racial anxiety of Blacks and Whites, individuals of other races were allowed to participate in the study. Eight participants identified themselves as Asian, Hispanic or a race other than those listed on the questionnaire. Data collected from these individuals, however, were not included in the final analysis of results.

**Materials**

Participants in this study completed a three-part survey. The first item was a generic demographic questionnaire of the researcher’s design in which participants were asked to self-report their age, gender, college class standing and race (See Appendix A). The final demographic determined which racial attitudes and racial anxiety questionnaires the participants would subsequently complete.

Brigham’s (1993) Racial Attitudes Scales were used for a measure of racial attitudes. Brigham devised two separate twenty-item, self-report scales, which generate a racial attitudes index for both Blacks and Whites. The Attitudes toward
Blacks (ATB) and Attitudes toward Whites (ATW) scales encompass the concept of aversive racism, which allows the researcher to obtain a measure of contemporary racial attitudes. The ATB scale is comprised of 10 positively worded and 10 negatively worded items. Brigham found a Cronbach’s alpha reliability of .88. The ATW scale consists of six positively worded and 14 negatively worded items and generated a reliability of .75. Brigham’s racial attitude scales were designed only for Blacks and Whites. Thus, for the purpose of measuring the racial attitudes of the other minority participants in this study, the researcher modified the ATW scale such that it contained more general racial terms. For instance, the item “Most whites can’t be trusted to deal honestly with blacks” was altered for the minority questionnaire to read, “Most whites can’t be trusted to deal honestly with people of a different race.” The ATW scale was modified for other minority participants because it is their attitudes concerning the majority (Whites), which was the variable of interest. Participants responded to the 20 items on a 1-7 Likert type scale (See Appendix B). The composite score generated from scoring of the scales may range from 20 to 140 with a lower score indicating negative racist attitudes.

Plant and Devine’s (2003) Racial Anxiety Scale was used to obtain a measure of interracial anxiety. As supported by previous literature, the scale investigates several antecedents and consequences of interracial anxiety: hostility, avoidance, intergroup anxiety, outcome expectancies, positive previous experience and amount of previous experience in interracial interactions. Cronbach’s alphas for these subscales ranged from .73-.91. Only the subgroup of questions specifically regarding intergroup anxiety was used for the current correlational results. In this study, the Cronbach’s alpha measure of reliability was determined to be .825 for White participants. The scale, as designed by Plant and Devine, was only intended to be completed by White participants. The researcher determined, however, that the items were generally stated, such that they could be reworded to apply to both Black and minority participants. For the measure of Blacks’ racial anxiety, the original scale was altered to reflect anxiety due to interactions with Whites. Similarly, as with the attitudes questionnaire, the anxiety measure for Blacks was altered to apply to minority participants (See Appendix C). For this study, the Cronbach’s alpha measure of reliability was determined to be .838 for Black participants. Participants responded to the 32 items on a 1-7 Likert-type scale. The measure may be scored in segments, with consideration to each of the six subscales, or completely, to generate a global racial anxiety score. Despite the method of scoring, a higher score indicates higher reported anxiety in interracial interactions.

Procedure
Participants completed survey questionnaires in nine undergraduate college classes (most of which were introductory psychology classes). Prior permission was obtained from the class instructors before distributing materials. Participation occurred in a session conducted either before or after scheduled class time with the exception of one data collection session, which occurred at a time scheduled, by the researcher and class instructor. In this instance, students were informed of the opportunity during class time and instructed to report to the designated room at the specified time. This method was used so as to not interfere with classroom instruction.

After being informed of their rights as research participants, the students first completed the demographic questionnaire. The questionnaire was returned to the researcher such that the following race-appropriate questionnaire could then be given to the participant based on their self-report of race. Participant anonymity was stressed as were the legitimacy of the questionnaires and the importance of honest responses. Afterwards, the participants were debriefed and informed of the nature of the study, to examine the racial attitudes and racial anxiety of students in a modern academic setting.

Results
Raw data was entered into a computer data file then appropriate reverse-scored items were converted for analysis. Composite scores were computed for racial attitudes and racial anxiety for
both Blacks and Whites. A summary of the performance of the participants is presented in Table 1.

To test Hypothesis 1, that racial attitudes will be negatively correlated with racial anxiety, the researcher conducted a Pearson’s correlation on the Racial Attitudes total score and the “Intergroup Anxiety” sub-scale of the Racial Anxiety Scale. A significant negative correlation was found between the two variables \( r = -0.492, p < 0.01 \). Additionally, when the correlation between variables was considered for each race individually, a significant negative correlation was found for both Blacks \( r = -0.552, p < 0.01 \) and Whites \( r = -0.574, p < 0.01 \).

Hypothesis 2, that Black participants would report lower levels of racial anxiety than Whites due to increased previous contact with the majority, was tested using an independent samples \( t \) test to determine a possible difference of mean scores of intergroup anxiety between Whites and Blacks. No significant mean difference of means was found between Blacks’ and Whites’ intergroup anxiety scores.

**Discussion**

**Implications**

The results of the present study support Hypothesis 1, that racial attitudes and racial anxiety will be negatively correlated. This finding indicates that there is a significant negative relationship between the two variables, such that, negative racist attitudes (signified by a low score on Brigham’s scale) are directly related to more reported anxiety in interracial interactions (signified by high score on the “Intergroup Anxiety” sub-scale of Plant and Devine’s Racial Anxiety Scale). The empirical support for this hypothesis demonstrates that individuals who overtly endorse certain racial attitudes will most likely experience more anxiety when confronted with an interracial interaction. As expressed by the research of Stephan and Stephan (1985), Plant and Butz (2006) and others, anxiety can have profound effects on behavior, such as avoidance, anxiousness and hostility. Furthermore, anxiety experienced in one encounter may result in the expectation for anxiety and negative consequences in future interactions. This chain of events further contributes to undesirable encounters. In a situation involving interracial interaction, these consequences may be more profound. Because race is a very salient and easily observable characteristic frequently used for categorization of others, anxiety experienced as a result of an interracial interaction can be more easily recalled in a later interaction with someone of the same, anxiety-provoking race. In today’s increasingly diverse society, individuals are interacting more frequently with people of different races. It could be costly to one’s personal and professional appearance if he or she cannot function effectively and amenable in interracial situations.

This issue is further compounded by the concept of aversive racism. While many individuals today harbor racist attitudes, those feelings of animosity are internalized and thus hidden from observers. What is not hidden, however, is the associated anxiety that aversive racists may experience in interracial interactions. The measure of racial attitudes used in the present study encompassed the concept of aversive racism, thus allowing the findings to be applicable to the changing face of modern racism. Thus, even the more subtle attitudes of aversive racists are still significantly correlated with interracial anxiety.

It is interesting to note that while the correlation of racial attitudes and racial anxiety for all participants considered globally produced a significant result, so too was there a significant correlation between the variables when the data for each race was considered independently. This finding indicates that both races are subject to the effects of prejudice and related anxiety. Few earlier studies have considered the relationship between racial attitudes and anxiety in both races. The findings of this study shed light on the complex dynamic of the racial attitudes of the group typically subject to prejudice by the majority. It appears that Blacks, traditionally the minority, who have historically been subject to discrimination, segregation, and unfair treatment, also harbor prejudicial attitudes. Any explanations of race relations should also take into account the racial attitudes and interracial behaviors of Blacks as well.
as Whites. Further research is recommended in this area.

The results of the present study failed to support Hypothesis 2, that Blacks would report lower levels of racial anxiety. The rationale behind this hypothesis was that Blacks, as a traditional minority, would have had more previous contact with the majority than Whites with Blacks. As Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) explain, the quantity of previous contact with people of another race reduces prejudice and therefore, anxiety. The data collected in this study, however, produced no significant difference between the mean intergroup anxiety score for Blacks and Whites. It is possible that the greater amount of interracial contact experienced by Blacks has not been sufficient to reduce anxiety in this sample. In fact, in this study there was no statistical difference between the mean “Amount of Previous Contact” score in Plant and Devine’s Racial Anxiety Scale for Blacks and Whites. This finding is quite interesting considering the diverse nature of the campus at UTC. According to a recent local newspaper article and University statistics, the percentage of Black students enrolled at UTC for the 2006 school year was close to 18% (Herrington, 2007). This statistic marks UTC as one of the most diverse college campuses in the area. The racially diverse nature of this academic environment makes it more likely that the students included in this study have had a sizeable amount of contact with individuals of a different race. Considering this fact and the failure to find support for Hypothesis 2, there is likely a variable other than previous contact responsible for the relationship between racial attitudes and anxiety for Blacks. Researchers such as Greenland and Brown (1999) suggest that it is the quality, not quantity, of previous contact with the out-group that reduces anxiety. In this study, however, both groups had comparable means on the “Quality of Previous Contact” sub-scale of the Racial Anxiety Scale. The failure to find support for Hypothesis 2 suggests that Blacks, despite the probability that they have had more previous contact with Whites, nonetheless experience anxiety when faced with interracial interaction. While the interracial anxiety of Whites has been extensively studied, further examination of the antecedents and consequences of anxiety experienced by Blacks is necessary.

Limitations

The findings of the present study are limited in several ways. First, as with any design involving self-report measures, it is possible that the participants did not disclose their true attitudes and beliefs on the scales. This is particularly true in cases involving potentially sensitive subject matter such as race. Although participant privacy was stressed during data collection, it is possible that individuals did not provide completely honest responses due to fear of appearing prejudiced to the researcher or peers. Reluctance to espouse racial attitudes is directly related to aversive racism, in which individuals do not want to explicitly endorse discriminatory beliefs in order to appear egalitarian. Although Brigham’s (1993) Racial Attitudes Scales encompass aversive beliefs, some items represent the endorsement of overt racist attitudes. It is possible that some aversive racists did not endorse these items, thus generating an inaccurate measure of racial attitudes. Perhaps a measure of behavioral prejudice would be more sensitive to the subtle nuances of aversive racism. This limitation may be a cause for the seemingly large difference between the mean racial attitudes scores for Blacks and Whites. It appears that Black participants endorse more racist attitudes, as the mean score is lower than that of Whites. This disparity in means, however, may be due to differing societal pressures for Blacks and Whites to conceal their racial attitudes. Research on aversive racism has indicated that the racial attitudes of Whites have become more subtle and covert due to a desire to appear fair and egalitarian, but this concept has not been fully explored for Blacks. It is possible that a societal pressure to conceal racial attitudes is less evident or less powerful in the Black community. While White participants may have been unwilling to overtly endorse racist attitudes on a survey, Black participants might not have felt this pressure. Further research is necessary to better understand the social norms controlling the expression of racial attitudes for Blacks.

Another limitation of the present study is the fact that the researcher altered Plant and Devine’s
(2003) Racial Anxiety Scale for the Black participants. Although the items from the original scale were generally worded, such that the terms “Black” and “White” could be exchanged in most cases, it is possible that the newly generate scale is not sensitive to the interracial anxiety experienced by Blacks. Additionally, as with the Racial Attitudes Scales, perhaps the Racial Anxiety Scale does not sufficiently account for the mind-set of aversive racists. As Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) explain, aversive racists typically only exhibit prejudice in situations with ambiguous social norms for behavior. In these instances, the individual can attribute their discrimination to factors other than race. If racial attitudes and anxiety in interracial situations are directly related, it is likely that aversive racists experience prejudice when confronted with the out-group, but are reluctant to attribute those feelings of anxiety to the different race of the other individuals. Aversive racists may have been unwilling to endorse certain items on the Racial Anxiety Scale, which explicitly linked anxious and negative feelings toward the other race.

Suggestions for Future Research

The findings of the present study certainly warrant further exploration into the relationship between racial attitudes and interracial anxiety for both Blacks and Whites. As previously mentioned, it is necessary to develop a bi-directional form of the Racial Anxiety Scale. Rather than altering the original form intended to be distributed to White participants, a separate scale for Blacks could more accurately provide a measure of the anxiety Blacks experience in interracial interactions. Furthermore, incorporating a behavioral measure of aversive racism (such as the diffusion of responsibility studies performed by Dovidio and Gaertner, 2004) might shed more light on the modern form of racism many individuals embody. It might also be interesting to extend this study in a longitudinal nature. This design would allow the researcher to observe changing racial attitudes and their relationship with interracial anxiety. Finally, the present study could be replicated in other organizations, such as the workplace. In this manner, one could examine the attitudes and anxiety that may affect workplace effectiveness and amenable interaction.

References


Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Participant Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Attitudes</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>90.51</td>
<td>108.96</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intergroup Anxiety</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8.98</td>
<td>8.69</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix A

General Demographic Questionnaire

Student Attitudes Survey - Part 1

Please respond to the following questions

Age: ______

Gender:  M       F

Class:  Freshman
        Sophomore
        Junior
        Senior
        Other: ________________

Race:  White
       Black
       Hispanic
       Asian
       Other: ________________
Appendix B

Questions from Brigham’s (1993) Racial Attitudes Scale

All items rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with responses ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7).

*Note: A lower score on the scales indicates higher levels of racist attitudes*

20 *Items for the Multifactor Measure of Whites’ Attitude Toward Blacks (ATB)*

Cronbach’s alpha: (α=.88)

1. If a black were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.
2. If I had a chance to introduce black visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.
3. I would rather not have blacks live in the same apartment building I live in.
4. I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a black in a public place.
5. I would not mind at all if a black family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.
6. I think that black people look more similar to each other than white people.
7. Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the “who-am-I?” confusion the children feel.
8. I get very upset when I hear a white make a prejudicial remark about blacks.
9. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.
10. It would not bother me if my new roommate was black.
11. It is likely that blacks will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
12. I enjoy a funny racial joke, even if some people might find it offensive.
13. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustices blacks suffer at the hands of local authorities.
14. Black and white people are inherently equal.
15. Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.
16. Whites should support blacks in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.
17. Generally, blacks are not as smart as whites.
18. I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.
19. Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both whites and blacks.
20. Some blacks are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.

(Items 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, 17 and 18 are reversed-scored items)
Appendix B (continued)

20 Items for the Multifactor Measure of Blacks’ Attitudes Toward Whites (ATW)
Cronbach’s alpha: (α=.75)

1. Most whites feel that blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
2. I feel that black people’s troubles in the past have built in them a stronger character than white people have.
3. Most whites can’t be trusted to deal honestly with blacks.
4. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
5. Most whites can’t understand what it’s like to be black.
6. Some whites are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.
7. I would rather not have whites live in the same apartment building I live in.
8. I would accept an invitation to a New Year’s Eve party given by a white couple in their own home.
9. It would not bother me if my new roommate was white.
10. Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both whites and blacks.
11. It’s not right to ask Americans to accept integration is they honestly don’t believe in it.
12. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.
13. Most whites fear that blacks will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
14. By and large, I think blacks are better athletes than whites.
15. Local city officials often pay less attention to a request of complaint from a black person than from a white person.
16. When I see an interracial couple I feel that they are making a mistake in dating each other.
17. I have as much respect for whites as I do for some blacks, but the average white person and I have little in common.
18. I think that white people look more similar to each other than black people do.
19. Whites should support blacks in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.
20. If a white were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.

(Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 are reverse-scored items)
Appendix B (continued)

20 Items for the Multifactor Measure of Minorities’ Attitudes Toward Whites (ATW)*

1. Most whites feel that minorities are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
2. I feel that the troubles of minorities in the past have built in them a stronger character than white people have.
3. Most whites can’t be trusted to deal honestly with people of a different race.
4. Over the past few years, minorities have gotten more economically than they deserve.
5. Most whites can’t understand what it’s like to be a different race.
6. Some whites are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.
7. I would rather not have whites live in the same apartment building I live in.
8. I would accept an invitation to a New Year’s Eve party given by a white couple in their own home.
9. It would not bother me if my new roommate was white.
10. Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both whites and people of different races.
11. It’s not right to ask Americans to accept integration if they honestly don’t believe in it.
12. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.
13. Most whites fear that minorities will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
14. By and large, I think people of different races are better athletes than white people.
15. Local city officials often pay less attention to a request or complaint from minorities than from a white person.
16. When I see an interracial couple I feel that they are making a mistake in dating each other.
17. I have as much respect for whites as I do for some people of my own race, but the average white person and I have little in common.
18. I think that white people look more similar to each other than people of other races do.
19. Whites should support minorities in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.
20. If a white were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.

*This scale was adapted from the original ATW by the researcher for use with other minority participants
Appendix C

Questions from Plant and Devine’s (2003) Racial Anxiety Scale

All items rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with responses ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

Questions for the measure of Whites’ anxiety when interacting with Blacks

Amount of Previous Experience With Black People (α = .77)
1. In the past, I have interacted with Black people in many areas of my life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs).
2. The neighborhood(s) I grew up in had mostly White students. (R)
3. The high school I attended had mostly White students. (R)
4. In the past, I have rarely interacted with Black people. (R)

Positive Previous Experience With Black People (α = .73)
1. In the past, my experiences with Black people have been pleasant.
2. Over the course of my life, I have had many Black friends.
3. I have had many positive experiences with Black people.

Outcome Expectancies (α = .79)
1. I am confident that stereotypes don’t affect how I interact with a Black person. (R)
2. Even if we hadn’t met before, a Black person would expect me to be prejudiced.
3. When interacting with a Black person, he or she would see me as prejudiced no matter what I did.
4. When interacting with a Black person, I would be unsure how to act in order to show him or her that I am not prejudiced.
5. Sometimes stereotypes come to my mind when interacting with a Black person, even when I wish they wouldn’t.
6. If I were interacting with a Black person, regardless of my behavior he or she would interpret my behavior as prejudiced.
7. When interacting with a Black person, I would know what to say in order to come across as non-prejudiced. (R)
8. When interacting with a Black person, I would imagine that he or she would be watching my behavior closely for prejudice.
9. Black people do not look for prejudice in White people’s behavior. (R)
10. I am confident that I can respond without prejudice when interacting with a Black person. (R)
11. Sometimes Black people view normal behavior of Whites as prejudiced.
Appendix C (continued)

**Intergroup Anxiety** \((\alpha = .91)\)
1. I would feel awkward when interacting with a Black person.
2. I would feel uncomfortable when interacting with a Black person.
3. When interacting with a Black person, I would feel relaxed. (R)
4. When interacting with a Black person, I would feel nervous.

**Avoidance** \((\alpha = .86)\)
1. If I had a choice, I would rather not interact with a Black person.
2. If I can avoid interacting with Black people, I do.
3. I like interacting with Black people. (R)
4. I would look forward to interacting with Black people. (R)
5. I would want to avoid interacting with a Black person.

**Hostility** \((\alpha = .81)\)
1. I would find interacting with a Black person annoying.
2. I would be angry if I had to interact with a Black person.
3. I would find interacting with a Black person frustrating.
4. I would feel hostile when interacting with a Black person.
5. Interacting with a Black person would be irritating.

**NOTE:** R = reverse scored.

**Questions for the measure of Blacks’ anxiety when interacting with Whites**

1. In the past, I have interacted with White people in many areas of my life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs).
2. The neighborhood(s) I grew up in had mostly Black students.
3. The high school I attended had mostly Black students.
4. In the past, I have rarely interacted with White people.
5. In the past, my experiences with White people have been pleasant.
6. Over the course of my life, I have had many White friends.
7. I have had many positive experiences with White people.
8. I am confident that stereotypes don’t affect how I interact with a White person.
9. Even if we hadn’t met before, a White person would expect me to be prejudiced.
10. When interacting with a White person, he or she would see me as prejudiced no matter what I did.
11. When interacting with a White person, I would be unsure how to act in order to show him or her that I am not prejudiced.
12. Sometimes stereotypes come to my mind when interacting with a White person, even when I wish they wouldn’t.
13. If I were interacting with a White person, regardless of my behavior he or she would interpret my behavior as prejudiced.
14. When interacting with a White person, I would know what to say in order to come across as non-prejudiced.
15. When interacting with a White person, I would imagine that he or she would be watching my behavior closely for prejudice.
Appendix C (continued)

16. White people do not look for prejudice in Black people’s behavior.
17. I am confident that I can respond without prejudice when interacting with a White person.
18. Sometimes White people view normal behavior of Blacks as prejudiced.
19. I would feel awkward when interacting with a White person.
20. I would feel uncomfortable when interacting with a White person.
21. When interacting with a White person, I would feel relaxed.
22. When interacting with a White person, I would feel nervous.
23. If I had a choice, I would rather not interact with a White person.
24. If can avoid interacting with White people, I do.
25. I like interacting with White people.
26. I would look forward to interacting with White people.
27. I would want to avoid interacting with a White person.
28. I would find interacting with a White person annoying.
29. I would be angry if I had to interact with a White person.
30. I would find interacting with a White person frustrating.
31. I would feel hostile when interacting with a White person.
32. Interacting with a White person would be irritating.

*This scale was adapted by the researcher from the original for use with Black participants

Questions for the measure of other minority participants’ anxiety when interacting with Whites

1. In the past, I have interacted with White people in many areas of my life (e.g., school, friends, work, clubs).
2. The neighborhood(s) I grew up in had mostly White students.
3. The high school I attended had mostly White students.
4. In the past, I have rarely interacted with White people.
5. In the past, my experiences with White people have been pleasant.
6. Over the course of my life, I have had many White friends.
7. I have had many positive experiences with White people.
8. I am confident that stereotypes don’t affect how I interact with a White person.
9. Even if we hadn’t met before, a White person would expect me to be prejudiced.
10. When interacting with a White person, he or she would see me as prejudiced no matter what I did.
11. When interacting with a White person, I would be unsure how to act in order to show him or her that I am not prejudiced.
12. Sometimes stereotypes come to my mind when interacting with a White person, even when I wish they wouldn’t.
13. If I were interacting with a White person, regardless of my behavior he or she would interpret my behavior as prejudiced.
14. When interacting with a White person, I would know what to say in order to come across as non-prejudiced.
15. When interacting with a White person, I would imagine that he or she would be watching my behavior closely for prejudice.
16. White people do not look for prejudice in the behavior of minorities.
Appendix C (continued)

17. I am confident that I can respond without prejudice when interacting with a White person.

18. Sometimes White people view normal behavior of minorities as prejudiced.

19. I would feel awkward when interacting with a White person.

20. I would feel uncomfortable when interacting with a White person.

21. When interacting with a White person, I would feel relaxed.

22. When interacting with a White person, I would feel nervous.

23. If I had a choice, I would rather not interact with a White person.

24. If I can avoid interacting with White people, I do.

25. I like interacting with White people.

26. I would look forward to interacting with White people.

27. I would want to avoid interacting with a White person.

28. I would find interacting with a White person annoying.

29. I would be angry if I had to interact with a White person.

30. I would find interacting with a White person frustrating.

31. I would feel hostile when interacting with a White person.

32. Interacting with a White person would be irritating.