
The Persuasiveness of Racial Arguments as a Subtle Measure of Racism

Donald A. Saucier

Carol T. Miller

University of Vermont

These studies provide evidence of the reliability and validity of a new indirect measure of racism, the Racial Argument Scale (RAS). On the RAS, participants rate how well arguments support conclusions that are positive or negative toward Blacks rather than their agreement with the arguments and conclusions. These studies show that the RAS has good internal consistency, high levels of test-retest reliability, good convergent validity with other self-report measures of racism, and does not correlate with social desirability or right-wing authoritarianism. Furthermore, these studies show that the RAS predicts behavioral measures of racism and that the RAS is able to predict positivity and negativity toward Blacks that is not measured by other self-report measures of racism. These studies suggest that the RAS is a reliable and valid measure of racial attitudes.

Keywords: attitudes; racism; prejudice; scale; measurement

The accurate assessment of racial attitudes has been an elusive quest. Overt evidence of racism has decreased in recent years (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991, 2000), but racism remains robust in more subtle forms that individuals may be hesitant to express (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986). These subtle forms of racism may be expressed in ambiguous situations where the behavior can be justified by motives other than racism. The effects of subtle racism have been observed in people's decisions about whom to hire for employment (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; McConahay, 1983) or to vote for in a campaign (McConahay, 1982; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981), about how to treat someone who is ill (Bach, Cramer, Warren, & Berg, 1999; Schulman et al., 1999), and in helping, aggressive, and nonverbal behavior (see Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980, for a review).

Several explicit self-report measures have been designed to measure subtle racism, including the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) (McConahay et al., 1981), the

Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale (ATB) (Brigham, 1993), and the Pro-Black and Anti-Black Attitude Questionnaire (Katz & Hass, 1988). The MRS (McConahay et al., 1981) has achieved widespread use in the measurement of racist attitudes since its creation. Both early and relatively recent studies showed the MRS measured racism and predicted racist behavior (Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001; Devine & Elliot, 1995; McConahay, 1982, 1983, 1986; Monteith, 1996; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

Although initial studies reported that the MRS was uncorrelated with social desirability (i.e., with giving a nonprejudiced response) (McConahay, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981), new evidence suggests that scores on the MRS are related to social desirability (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995).

Partially in response to the limitations of direct self-report attitude measures, the use of implicit measures of racial attitudes has experienced a recent surge in popularity. These measures often use response time latencies for the ability to correctly identify positively valenced words as positive and negatively valenced words as negative after being primed with White or Black stimuli (Fazio et al., 1995; Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, & Kardes, 1986) or when the words are paired with White or Black stimuli (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz,

Authors' Note: We would like to thank Beth Gladis, Katherine Bolton, Craig Wingate, and Josh Phillips for their help in data collection and entry. We also would like to thank Nicole Doucet for conducting all telephone interviews and Stirling Sampson for rating copyedits. We would also like to thank Margo Monteith, Janet Sigal, and Richard Smith for their comments on various drafts of this article. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Donald A. Saucier, who is now at the Department of Psychology, University of Kentucky, 204 Kastle Hall, Lexington, KY 40506-0044; e-mail: dasauc2@uky.edu.

PSPB, Vol. 29 No. 10, October 2003 1303-1315

DOI: 10.1177/0146167203254612

© 2003 by the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc.

1998). Participants' levels of racism are shown by their faster times on trials with stereotype-congruent pairs (i.e., negative words with Black stimuli and positive words with White stimuli) than on trials with stereotype-incongruent pairs (i.e., positive words with Black stimuli and negative words with White stimuli). These differential response latencies appear related to the automatic associations (Fazio et al., 1995) and implicit attitudes (Greenwald et al., 1998) that individuals possess regarding Blacks and show that it is easier for people with higher levels of prejudice to make a stereotype-congruent pairing than a stereotype-incongruent pairing during the tasks. The attractiveness of the implicit measures derives largely from the indirect methods they employ in the measurement of prejudice. Several studies have employed these paradigms, or similar paradigms, in the measurement of prejudice (e.g., Blair & Banaji, 1996; Cunningham et al., 2001; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995; Locke, MacLeod, & Walker, 1994; Wittenbrink et al., 1997).

Despite the benefits of the implicit measures in measuring prejudice that is beyond participants' conscious control, the implicit measures, which are often computer-based, are relatively cumbersome and complex. As a result, the implicit measures are often difficult to use for widespread assessment compared to self-report measures, which require no special equipment and can be easily administered to groups of people. This is not to say that all implicit measures of prejudice can be so characterized. The Linguistic Intergroup Bias (LIB) (von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997) and the Stereotypic Explanatory Bias (SEB) (Sekaquaptewa, Espinoza, Thompson, Vargas, & von Hippel, in press) are paper-and-pencil measures of implicit prejudice that measure individuals' tendencies to describe and explain stereotype-congruent events and stereotype-incongruent events in different ways.

In addition, although evidence has shown that the implicit measures do quite well in predicting behaviors that are performed relatively automatically, such as non-verbal behavior (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Dovidio et al., 1997; Sekaquaptewa et al., in press), these measures have been less successful in predicting overt racist behaviors that are assumed to be under conscious control, including expressing negative beliefs about Blacks (Devine, 1989). Examples of overt racist behaviors that were not predicted by implicit measures include ratings of the Rodney King verdict (Fazio et al., 1995), jury decisions, and evaluations of Black interaction partners (Dovidio et al., 1997). In contrast, self-report measures of prejudice did predict these controlled behaviors (Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al., 1997; Fazio et al., 1995).

For these reasons, we propose a measure, the Racial Argument Scale (RAS), that intends to accurately measure racial attitudes through an indirect path, measuring how much individuals believe that arguments support positive and negative conclusions related to Blacks. Individuals will not report how much they personally agree with the arguments, only how much the arguments support the conclusions.

Although participants are not asked how much they agree with the arguments directly, research on the process of biased assimilation suggests that this indirect tactic may be successful in measuring individuals' own personal attitudes. Biased assimilation is the process by which individuals examine and interpret information so that it supports the positions that they already endorse. An early study showed that participants who supported and opposed capital punishment presented with identical information used the information to support their prior views. Information supporting capital punishment was rated as having been more well conducted by participants who supported capital punishment than by participants who opposed capital punishment, and vice versa (Lord, Ross, & Lepper, 1979). This effect also was found in other studies (Lord, Lepper, & Preston, 1984; Miller, McHoskey, Bane, & Dowd, 1993). It appeared that ratings of the information reflected the attitudes of the participants rather than actual content of the information.

Other studies also demonstrated biased assimilation in the processing of arguments to support one's original position regarding rape accusations (Wiener, Wiener, & Grisso, 1989), nuclear facilities (Plous, 1991), affirmative action (Miller et al., 1993), and requirements for essay examinations (Giner-Sorolla & Chaiken, 1997). It is important to note that biased assimilation occurs only when information is ambiguous enough to reasonably justify diverse perspectives (Anderson & Kellam, 1992).

The measure we propose is based on the assumption that biased assimilation of information also occurs when people evaluate information related to race. For instance, when told that the number of Blacks graduating from college is rising, an individual with racist attitudes may attribute the rise to unjust affirmative action and "quota" policies, whereas an individual with less racist attitudes may celebrate the increased diversity on college campuses. Indeed, research shows that individuals will demonstrate biased assimilation of information based on how well that information fits their attitudes toward another group. Thistlethwaite (1950) showed that individuals higher in prejudice against Blacks made decisions consistent with their prejudice about how well statements about Blacks logically followed inferential arguments. Furthermore, Munro and Ditto (1997) showed that participants who scored higher on a measure of prejudice against homosexuals rated stereotype-

consistent arguments better on several dimensions than stereotype-inconsistent arguments. Specifically, high-prejudiced participants rated studies supporting the stereotype that homosexuality was associated with cross-gender behavior and psychopathology as more convincing, more well done, and of higher quality than studies disconfirming the stereotype. These findings suggest that the extent to which people positively evaluate information that supports prejudiced beliefs and negatively evaluate information that attacks prejudiced beliefs can be used as an indirect self-report measure of prejudice. Specifically, we hypothesized that when presented with a series of arguments that support positive and negative statements about Blacks, individuals' racist attitudes will be demonstrated by the extent to which they rate negative arguments toward Blacks as supportive of the negative conclusion and by the extent to which they rate positive arguments toward Blacks as less supportive of the positive conclusion. By not asking individuals to report their levels of agreement with the arguments, we may avoid the effects of social desirability and political correctness in individuals' responses, yielding a more accurate assessment of their racial attitudes. This procedure is reminiscent of the ratings of validity of statements about Blacks that followed inferential arguments used by Thistlethwaite (1950). However, whereas Thistlethwaite (1950) successfully demonstrated the phenomenon on which our scale is based, we hope to extend those findings by offering a scale that uses the phenomenon to measure racial attitudes that is more sensitive than other commonly used self-report measures of prejudice.

In the studies that follow, we examined the internal consistency (Study 1) and test-retest reliability (Study 2) of a scale we developed based on the above reasoning. We also examined its relationship to existing direct measures of prejudice (Studies 1 and 4), with which we expected our scale to be moderately correlated. Furthermore, we examined the relationship of our indirect measure with social desirability (Studies 3) and right-wing authoritarianism (Study 5) and investigated the relationship of the argument ratings with argument agreement (Study 6). Finally, we examined the ability of our scale to predict overt behavior (Study 7) and negativity toward Blacks beyond that predicted by other direct prejudice measures (Study 8).

STUDY 1

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Two hundred and forty-eight White undergraduates (191 women and 57 men) from an introductory research methods and statistics class at a Northeastern university

participated in a mass administration of the measures in exchange for class attendance credit.

PROCEDURE

Participants completed questionnaire packets that consisted of the MRS and the RAS during their regularly scheduled lecture time. Participants were informed, by consent forms that served as cover sheets for the questionnaire packets, that their participation was strictly voluntary and that they would still receive attendance credit if they chose not to complete the surveys. No participants declined to participate.

The MRS (McConahay et al., 1981) consists of seven items that measure racism by asking participants to indicate their agreement with statements referring to Blacks on a 5-point scale. The MRS yields scores that could range from 7 to 35, with higher scores indicating higher levels of racism.

The RAS consisted of a series of 16 short paragraphs that argue positions regarding topics relevant to Blacks. The topics were selected to represent various contemporary social issues that involve the treatment of Blacks. These issues were selected because each issue is or has been the subject of unresolved societal debate. As such, the issues have some inherent ambiguity and are prone to being assimilated in a biased fashion to support the individuals' beliefs. Therefore, the ratings of the arguments can serve as an indirect assessment of racism. Nine of the arguments advocated positions that were positive toward Blacks. These arguments promoted a pro-Black position to address the issues of African American studies in college, the biased descriptions of professional athletes, the lack of Black politicians, sickle cell anemia, the lack of Black actors in lead movie roles, the need for cultural sensitivity in education, hate crime legislation, the death penalty, and the prosecution of O.J. Simpson. Seven of the arguments advocated positions that were negative toward Blacks. These arguments promoted an anti-Black position to address the issues of SAT scores, the Rodney King case, welfare legislation, the presidential apology for slavery, Kwanzaa, IQ scores, and the United Negro College Fund.

A conclusion statement followed each paragraph. Please refer to the appendix for the positive and negative arguments and accompanying conclusions. The participants were asked to read each argument and then to rate how well the argument supported the conclusion offered (*not how much they agreed with the argument*) on a 5-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Because the items do not ask for the participants' own levels of agreement, it was expected that the participants would not feel that they must inhibit racist responses. The responses to the positive arguments were reverse-coded and the scores were totaled to yield scores that could

range from 16 to 80, with higher scores indicating higher levels of racism.

Results and Discussion

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF RAS

Principal component analysis with varimax rotation performed on the RAS revealed the emergence of four components with eigenvalues greater than 1 that combined to account for 50% of the variance. The first factor accounted for 17% of the variance, and six of the nine ratings of the persuasiveness of positive arguments loaded only on this factor. The second factor accounted for 17% of the variance, and all seven of the ratings of the persuasiveness of negative arguments loaded only on this factor. The third factor accounted for 9% of the variance, with two of the remaining positive arguments loading on this factor, and the fourth factor accounted for 7% of the variance, with the remaining positive argument loading on this factor.

Examination of the scree plot of the initial eigenvalues showed that a substantial drop occurred in the eigenvalues after the first and second factors. This observation combined with the failure of the items that loaded on the third and fourth factors also to load on either of the first two factors led to the decision to delete these items from the scale. Following deletion of these three items, the overall scale consisted of the persuasiveness ratings of six positive arguments and seven negative arguments. The Cronbach's alpha for the individual subscales was .76 and .72 for the ratings of the positive and negative arguments, respectively. The scale yielded an overall Cronbach's alpha of .74 (see the appendix for the items). This indicates that despite the inclusion of items reflecting a variety of positive and negative race-related arguments, the internal consistency of the overall scale is good.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RAS AND MRS

Total scores were calculated for the RAS by reverse-coding the persuasiveness ratings of the positive arguments and then summing the ratings for the 13 items. This yielded a possible score range of 13 to 65. The participants' RAS scores ranged from 14 to 53, with a mean of 32.48 ($SD = 6.23$). The participants' MRS scores ranged from 7 to 20, with a mean of 11.81 ($SD = 3.88$). A significant relationship was found between participants' scores on the RAS and the MRS ($r = .414, p < .001$). This shows that the persuasiveness ratings of racial arguments are related to participants' racist attitudes as measured by the MRS. The magnitude of the relationship is moderate, indicating that the scales are not redundant measures. This suggests that the rating of the persuasiveness of positive and negative arguments toward Blacks can

serve as an indirect assessment of participants' racial attitudes related to, but not the same as, modern racism.

STUDY 2

The test-retest reliability of the RAS was assessed. Participants completed the RAS on two occasions and their scores were correlated.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Eighty-four White undergraduates (69 women and 15 men) enrolled in either a research methods and statistics course or a history of psychology course participated in exchange for attendance credit.

PROCEDURE

The RAS (consisting of the 13 items that survived the factor analysis in Study 1) was administered to participants during their regular class meetings on two separate occasions. The second administration of the RAS occurred 2 weeks after the first administration of the RAS.

Results and Discussion

The RAS scores were scored by reverse-coding the persuasiveness ratings of the positive items and then summing the ratings for all 13 items. The mean RAS score for the first administration was 30.70 ($SD = 6.62$). Cronbach's alpha was .70 for the entire scale and was .72 and .75 for the positive and negative arguments, respectively. The mean RAS score for the second administration was 30.95 ($SD = 6.52$). Cronbach's alpha was .71 for the entire scale and was .74 and .76 for the positive and negative arguments, respectively. The relationship between the scores at the first and second administrations was highly correlated ($r = .81, p < .001$). This suggests that the RAS has good test-retest reliability.

STUDY 3

To ensure that the RAS was not vulnerable to social desirability influences, participants completed the RAS and a social desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964) so that the relationship between the RAS and the motivation to provide socially desirable responses could be assessed.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Two hundred and thirty-five White undergraduates (182 women and 53 men) from an introductory psychology and a research methods and statistics class at a Northeastern university participated in mass administra-

tions of the measures in exchange for research participation or class attendance credit.

PROCEDURE

Participants completed questionnaire packets that included the RAS and a social desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). The social desirability scale consists of 33 true-false items designed to assess participants' need for social approval in testing situations. The scales were scored by assigning scores of "1" to answers that were socially desirable (e.g., answering "false" to the statement "I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my own way") and scores of "0" to less socially desirable answers. This yielded a possible range of scores from 0 to 33 on the social desirability scale, with higher scores indicating higher need for social approval in testing situations.

Results and Discussion

The RAS scores were scored by reverse-coding the persuasiveness ratings of the positive items and then summing the ratings for all 13 items. The RAS scores ranged from 13 to 47, with a mean of 32.46 ($SD = 6.22$). The Cronbach's alpha for this sample was .67 for the entire scale and was .75 and .72 for the persuasiveness ratings of positive and negative arguments, respectively. The participants' social desirability scores ranged from 2 to 28, with a mean of 13.18 ($SD = 5.02$). There was no significant relationship between participants' scores on the social desirability scale and their total scores on the RAS ($r = -.03, p > .05$) or on the ratings of positive ($r = -.11, p > .05$) or negative arguments ($r = .05, p > .05$) singly. This indicates that the RAS scores are not influenced by the participants' desire to provide socially desirable answers in testing situations.

STUDY 4

To further assess the convergent validity of the RAS, participants completed the RAS, the MRS, the ATB (Brigham, 1993), and the Pro-Black and Anti-Black Attitude Questionnaire (PAAQ) (Katz & Hass, 1988).

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Fifty White undergraduates (22 men and 28 women) from an introductory psychology class participated in exchange for research credit.

PROCEDURE

Participants reported at assigned times to experimental sessions where they completed the RAS, the MRS, the ATB, and the PAAQ. Six random scale orders were used to create the questionnaire packets, and no significant order effects emerged.

The ATB (Brigham, 1993) consists of 20 items that measure racism by asking participants to rate their agreement with statements referring to Blacks on a 5-point scale. The ATB yields scores that could range from 20 to 100, with higher scores indicating higher levels of prejudice.

The PAAQ (Katz & Hass, 1988) consists of two subscales that measure positive ("pro") and negative ("anti") attitudes toward Blacks (PAQ and AAQ, respectively). Each subscale consists of 10 items for which participants report their level of agreement on a 5-point scale. Scores on each subscale could range from 10 to 50, with higher scores on the PAQ indicating more positive attitudes toward Blacks and higher scores on the AAQ indicating more negative attitudes toward Blacks.

Results and Discussion

Correlational analyses showed that the RAS was significantly correlated with each of the other racism measures at moderate levels (see Table 1 for correlations between the scales and for scale means and standard deviations). This replicates and extends the evidence supporting the convergent validity of the RAS shown in Study 1.

STUDY 5

Because the MRS uses statements related to political views and the treatment of Blacks in society by the government, scores on the MRS may be related to, and possibly confounded by, attitudes of right-wing authoritarianism. For this reason, both the RAS and the MRS were completed by participants who also completed a measure of right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1988). The relationships between these measures were calculated with the purpose of evaluating the discriminant validity of the racism measures.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Ninety White undergraduates (35 men and 55 women) from introductory psychology, social psychology, and statistics courses participated voluntarily during their scheduled class times.

PROCEDURE

Questionnaire packets were distributed during undergraduate classes. Participants were told that their participation was not required but was completely voluntary. The RAS, the MRS, and the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA) (Altemeyer, 1988) were administered. The RWA is a measure on which participants rate their levels of agreement to statements relating to right- and left-wing political ideology on 11-point scales (-5 to 5). Composed of 30 items, the RWA yields scores that

TABLE 1: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Between Racism Scales

Measure	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. RAS	34.50	4.92	—				
2. MRS	11.76	3.53	.42**	—			
3. ATB	34.52	7.17	.57***	.65***	—		
4. PAQ	34.64	4.75	-.38**	-.30*	-.24	—	
5. AAQ	22.00	5.69	.52***	.42**	.52***	-.34*	—

NOTE: RAS = Racial Argument Scale, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, ATB = Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale, PAQ = Pro-Black Attitude Questionnaire, AAQ = Anti-Black Attitude Questionnaire.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

could vary from -150 to 150, with higher scores indicating higher levels of right-wing authoritarianism.

Results and Discussion

Results showed that, consistent with Studies 1 and 3, the RAS and the MRS were significantly correlated. However, whereas the MRS and the RWA were significantly correlated, the RAS and the RWA were not related (see Table 2 for the correlations and for the means and standard deviations of the scales). The relationship between the MRS and RWA is not surprising; the MRS was created so that attitudes toward Blacks could be expressed in the context of political views (McConahay et al., 1981), but Study 4 indicates that the RAS, unlike the MRS, may be a measure of racism that is not confounded by right-wing authoritarianism.

STUDY 6

The ratings made for how well arguments supported conclusions on the RAS were compared to the participants' levels of agreement with the arguments and conclusions and to the participants' ratings of how convincing the arguments were to them personally. We predicted that these ratings would be significantly correlated, indicating that the use of argument-support ratings is an effective measure of racial attitudes.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Fifty-three White undergraduates (37 women and 16 men) enrolled in a elementary statistics course participated in exchange for attendance credit.

PROCEDURE

The RAS was administered to participants during their regular class meetings. Similar to the preceding studies, participants were asked to rate how much the arguments supported the accompanying conclusions. In addition, participants were asked to report how much they agreed with the arguments and conclusions and how convincing the arguments and conclusions were to

TABLE 2: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Between Racism Scales and Political Conservatism

Measure	M	SD	1	2	3
1. RAS	34.39	5.22	—		
2. MRS	11.68	3.94	.27*	—	
3. RWA	-31.45	36.71	.17	.31**	—

NOTE: RAS = Racial Argument Scale, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

them personally. All ratings were made on 5-point scales from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

Ratings for participants were summed, after reverse-coding their responses to positive items, to yield three total scores. One score represented the argument-support ratings that were used in Studies 1 through 5. The other scores represented participants' agreement with the arguments and conclusions and participants' ratings of how convincing the arguments and conclusions were to them personally. Higher total scores to each set of responses indicated higher levels of racism.

Results and Discussion

Correlational analyses showed that the participants' total scores for argument support, agreement, and personally convincing were significantly related. Argument-support ratings ($M = 32.23$, $SD = 6.57$) correlated highly with agreement ratings ($M = 27.26$, $SD = 8.54$) ($r = .80$, $p < .001$) and personally convincing ratings ($M = 28.75$, $SD = 8.04$) ($r = .87$, $p < .001$), and agreement ratings were correlated highly with personally convincing ratings ($r = .92$, $p < .001$). These results indicate that using the indirect tactic of asking participants to indicate how much racist arguments support racist conclusions is an effective method of measuring participants' racist attitudes.

STUDY 7

To assess the predictive validity of the RAS, the relationship between the participants' scores on the RAS and a subsequent behavioral measure of racism was

assessed. Participants were contacted and asked to participate in a supposedly unrelated telephone survey that would provide information to a Black student organization or to a student organization without a race label. It was expected that higher scoring participants on the RAS would agree to complete the survey less frequently when it was for the Black student organization than when it was for the student organization without the race label. It was expected that lower scoring participants on the RAS would not agree to complete the survey at different frequencies for the Black student organization and the student organization without the race label. This procedure of measuring racism by using telephone calls to record participants' levels of agreement for helping Blacks and non-Blacks has been widely used in prior research (Clark, 1974; Crosby et al., 1980; Franklin, 1974; Gaertner, 1973; Gaertner & Bickman, 1971; Katz, Cohen, & Glass, 1975).

Method

PARTICIPANTS

One hundred and eighty-two White undergraduate students (112 women and 66 men) from an introductory psychology course completed the RAS at mass administrations in partial fulfillment of their research participation requirement. All participants were given the opportunity to provide their phone numbers and first names so that they could be contacted in the future to participate in additional studies for additional research credit.

Of the initial sample of 182 participants, 105 (58%) provided information by which they could be contacted for the telephone survey. Comparisons of the RAS scores received by participants who did ($M = 33.85$, $SD = 5.30$) and who did not provide their telephone numbers and first names ($M = 34.81$, $SD = 5.86$) revealed no significant differences, $t(179) = 1.15$, $p > .05$. Of the 105 participants who provided contact information, 97 (92%) were reached successfully by telephone. The 8 participants who were not reached successfully were called a minimum of 6 times at various times over several evenings. In all, 53% of the initial sample were contacted for the follow-up telephone survey.

PROCEDURE

Beginning 2 weeks after the administration of the RAS questionnaires, a female experimenter used the contact information provided to telephone each participant in the evening between 5 p.m. and 9 p.m. A male experimenter conducted the mass administrations of the RAS. By using a female experimenter to conduct the telephone interviews, it was hoped that participants would be less likely to suspect that these interviews were an extension of the initial RAS questionnaire session. An

off-campus telephone line was employed in this study for the same reason to avoid the distinctive "on-campus ring" that may have aroused suspicion. The calls were made throughout a 2-week period on Sunday through Thursday evenings. The experimenter was blind to the participants' RAS scores during all telephone interviews.

When the telephone was answered, the experimenter asked to speak to the participants using the first names the participants provided on the RAS. The experimenter introduced herself and stated that she was calling on behalf of a student organization "that strives to match high school students demonstrating good academic potential with scholarships that allow them to attend some of the finest colleges and universities in this country." She continued the cover story with an explanation that the participants' names and phone numbers were drawn at random from a student directory. She then asked the participants if they would be willing to spend a few minutes answering questions about their university to provide information for the organization. If the participants agreed to answer the survey, the experimenter asked them to rate their university on 38 items covering topics such as the dormitories, dining halls, admissions process, alcohol use, and the academic environment. Following these questions, the experimenter thanked the participants for their time and ended the survey. After all telephone survey data were collected, the participants were telephoned again and debriefed.¹ No participants reported any distress about their participation and no participants reported that they suspected the telephone survey was related to the RAS questionnaires that they completed earlier.

Manipulation of the racial composition of the student organization. The name of the organization that the experimenter provided was the only manipulated variable in the telephone surveys. The experimenter stated that she was calling on behalf of the National Association for Promising African American Students or on behalf of the National Association for Promising Students (no race was specified). The experimenter used a random number sheet to randomly assign participants to conditions for the organization name. Each organization was described in exactly the same way using the description described above. All other aspects of the interview were scripted identically.

Dependent measures. The experimenter recorded whether the participants agreed to complete the telephone survey.

Results and Discussion

A three-way frequency analysis was performed on the participants' willingness to answer the telephone survey.² The dependent variable was dichotomous; partici-

participants did or did not agree to answer the telephone surveys. The independent variables also were dichotomous for the organization that the survey benefited (Black organization or organization without a race label) and for participants' RAS scores (above or below the median). Hierarchical log-linear analysis revealed that at least one one-way association among the variables was significant and that the three-way association between the variables was significant but that no two-way associations among the variables were significant (see Table 3). Tests of partial associations revealed a significant one-way goodness of fit association showing that participants did not agree to complete the telephone surveys at equal rates, $\chi^2(1) = 33.12, p < .0001$. Significantly more participants agreed to complete the telephone survey overall (78.4%) than did not agree to complete the telephone survey (21.6%).

The significant three-way association indicated that participants scoring above the median on the RAS and participants scoring below the median on the RAS completed the telephone surveys at different rates depending on whether the organization helped by the survey was Black or was not given a race label (see Figure 1). Specifically, participants who scored below the median on the RAS did not complete the survey at different rates for the two organizations, $\chi^2(1) < 1$. However, participants who scored above the median on the RAS completed the survey more frequently when the organization was given no race label than when the organization was Black, $\chi^2(1) = 7.38, p < .01$. These results demonstrate the predictive validity of the RAS. The participants who scored higher on the RAS were more likely to discriminate against a Black organization by refusing to complete telephone surveys more frequently for the Black organization than they did for an organization without a race label. Participants who scored lower on the RAS did not show evidence of discrimination and agreed to complete the telephone surveys at near identical rates for the Black organization and the organization without a race label.

STUDY 8

The ability of RAS scores to predict negativity toward Blacks that is not measured by other self-report measures was assessed in this study. Individuals' scores on the RAS were used to predict the feedback they provided on essays supposedly written by White and Black authors after controlling for the relationships with the MRS and ATB. It was predicted that the RAS would predict negativity in the feedback given for essays by Black authors beyond that predicted by the other racism measures.

TABLE 3: Hierarchical Log-Linear Analysis on Organization Label, RAS Group, and Agreement to Complete Telephone Survey

<i>K</i>	df	<i>LR</i> χ^2	<i>Pearson</i> χ^2	<i>Iteration</i>
3	1	4.77*	4.42*	3
2	4	8.86	8.24	2
1	7	42.91***	37.35***	0
1	3	34.05***	29.12***	0
2	3	4.09	3.82	0
3	1	4.77*	4.42*	0

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

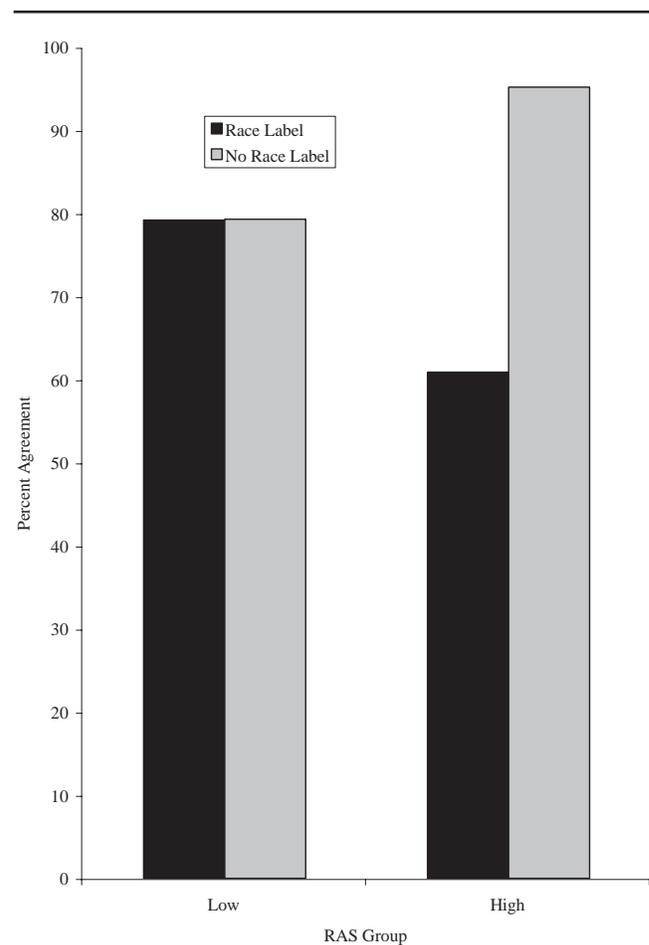


Figure 1 Percentage agreement to complete the telephone survey by RAS group and the label used to describe the organization.

NOTE: RAS = Racial Argument Scale.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

One hundred and four White undergraduate students (90 women and 14 men) from an introductory psychology course participated to partially fulfill their research participation requirement.

PROCEDURE

Participants reported to research sessions at assigned times where they were told that they would be asked to complete two unrelated studies. In one study, participants completed packets of questionnaires that contained the RAS, MRS, and ATB among filler items and other filler measures (e.g., a mood scale). The other study presumably examined the ability of college students to act as peer tutors. Accordingly, the experimenter told participants that they would be given essays written by other college students and that they would read and copyedit the essays, correcting any mistakes that they found, just as a peer writing tutor would. The experimenter distributed the same essay to all participants. The essay, a revised version of the essay used by Harber (1998), was of low quality, with numerous grammatical and punctuation errors. At the top of each essay, the race of the author was varied. Half of the randomly assigned essays were supposedly written by "Keisha" (her last name was covered to reinforce the cover story) who reported that she was "African American," and half were supposedly written by "Heidi" who reported that she was "White." Participants did not report suspicion about the connection of the copyediting task to the questionnaires. The experimenter then debriefed the participants and thanked them for participating.

Two independent coders who were blind to the experimental conditions rated the hostility of the overall editing made by the participants on the essays. For example, editing rated lower on hostility generally reflected appropriate correction of grammatical errors and offered suggested revisions or constructive feedback. Editing rated higher on hostility often contained more flamboyant marking of corrections and/or negative comments about the author. These ratings were highly reliable ($r = .82, p < .001$).

Results and Discussion

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of the RAS scores to predict the hostility of the edits made to Black versus White authors above and beyond that predicted by MRS and ATB scores.³ For the analysis, all scores on the racism measures were standardized and the author race was dummy coded. We entered author race along with MRS and ATB scores in the first step of the analysis, the product terms that carried the interaction between author race and MRS and ATB scores in the second step, the RAS scores in the third step, and the product term that carried the interaction between author race and RAS scores in the final step. Results showed that the first, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .07, F(3, 94) = 2.34, p > .05$, second, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .02, F(2, 92) < 1$, and third, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .00, F(1, 91) < 1$, steps of the analysis did not improve the model's prediction of the hostility of the

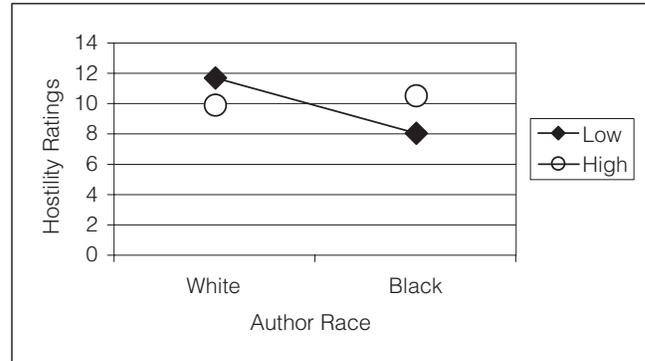


Figure 2 Projected means for the hostility of edits given to White and Black authors by participants with high (1 SD above the mean) and low (1 SD below the mean) RAS scores after controlling for MRS and ATB scores.

NOTE: RAS = Racial Argument Scale, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, ATB = Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale.

edits. However, the final step did significantly improve the model, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .05, F(1, 90) = 5.63, p < .05$.⁴ Figure 2 illustrates this interaction. Participants who received higher scores on the RAS showed more hostility toward Black authors than did participants who received lower scores on the RAS after controlling for the (nonsignificant) prediction of hostility provided by the MRS and ATB.

Simple effects analyses to further probe this interaction were performed using the procedures described by Aiken and West (1991). These analyses revealed that low scorers on the RAS "bent over backward" to show less hostility to Black authors than they showed to White authors ($\beta = .43, p < .01$), whereas high scorers on the RAS did not show different levels of hostility to White and Black authors ($\beta = -.07, p > .05$). These results are consistent with Harber's (1998) finding that many participants showed more positive responses to Black than to White essay authors and with von Hippel et al.'s (1997) finding that low-prejudiced participants showed less negativity in explicit ratings of threat about Black targets than about White targets. Similarly, the amount of hostility shown in the essay copyedits, an explicit response, appeared to be controlled by low scorers on the RAS.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The results of these studies suggest that the RAS is reliable and valid as an indirect measure of racial attitudes. These studies show that the RAS has good internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and convergent validity in its relationship with other self-report measures of racism. Furthermore, these studies show that the RAS does not correlate with measures of social desirability or right-wing authoritarianism yet does relate to participants' levels of agreement with the racial arguments and conclu-

sions. Finally, Studies 7 and 8 demonstrated the predictive validity of the RAS by showing that individuals who received high and low scores on the RAS also differed on a behavioral measure of racism, with Study 8 showing the incremental validity of the RAS above other self-report racism measures.

The RAS shows that the process of biased assimilation (Lord et al., 1979) can be used as an indirect measure of racism. By using individuals' ratings of arguments that support pro- and anti-Black conclusions, the beliefs held by the individuals can be accessed indirectly. Individuals who report that pro-Black arguments are low in supportiveness, whereas anti-Black arguments are high in supportiveness, are also more likely to exhibit racist behavior. Previous work has shown that biased assimilation can occur in the differential processing of stereotypic arguments by prejudiced individuals (Munro & Ditto, 1997), but these studies were the first to use the process to measure prejudice.

The addition of the RAS to the existing repertoire of prejudice measures is important because it combines the portability and simplicity of other self-report measures with a method that uses the process of biased assimilation to measure racism indirectly. Individuals are not asked to report their own levels of agreement with the arguments or conclusions on the RAS but instead are asked to report how much the arguments support the respective conclusions. This method is less direct than other existing explicit self-report measures that do ask individuals directly to report their agreement with race-related statements such as the MRS (McConahay et al., 1981), the ATB (Brigham, 1993), and the PAAQ (Katz & Hass, 1988). In addition, although the RAS may be less direct in its method of assessment than explicit self-report measures, the RAS was shown in these studies to correlate with these explicit self-report measures and with behavioral measures of racism and to predict levels of positivity and negativity toward Blacks that were not predicted by other direct self-report measures.

Furthermore, because the RAS has the advantage of being relatively indirect, it may be useful in situations in which respondent reactivity or social desirability effects could pose problems if more direct measures of prejudice such as the MRS are used. Although some research shows that the MRS continues to measure racism successfully (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Monteith, 1996; Wittenbrink et al., 1997), the addition of another measure can only aid in the self-report assessment of prejudice, especially given that attitudes related to right-wing authoritarianism could confound scores on the MRS (Study 5) and the validity of the MRS has been challenged (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995).

The chief advantage of the RAS is that it gives people an opportunity to express racism without explicitly agreeing with racist-sounding statements. One drawback of the measure is that even though participants were instructed not to rate whether they agreed with the conclusions of the arguments included in the scale, some of them may have interpreted the items in this fashion. The results of Study 6 suggest that this is not the case. Participants gave lower ratings of agreement for the arguments and conclusions than they did for the argument-conclusion ratings. However, even if some participants did interpret the items in this way, the RAS can still be argued to measure racism in a less direct fashion than many other explicit self-report measures because it does not ask individuals to report their attitudes directly.

The RAS has been shown to be a reliable and valid measure of racism. Future research should continue to compare the RAS to the other self-report prejudice measures in terms of the relative predictive abilities of the scales to measure different types of discriminatory behavior. In addition, future research is needed to assess the relationship of the RAS and the implicit measures, especially with the paper-and-pencil implicit measures (Sekaquaptewa et al., in press; von Hippel et al., 1997), as well as to evaluate the ability of the RAS to predict other forms of racist behavior such as those behaviors currently predicted by the implicit prejudice measures. Although we did attempt to write items that would not be "time-stamped," it also should be noted that the content of the arguments and conclusions on the RAS may require revision in the future to include contemporary racial issues should specific items eventually become outdated.

In conclusion, we believe the RAS uses the process of biased assimilation to measure racism reliably and validly. Not only does it correlate with self-report measures but the RAS also has demonstrated successful prediction of racist behavior and has demonstrated the ability to predict negativity toward Blacks beyond commonly used racism measures. We believe the RAS will strengthen the arsenal of prejudice measures currently used and will provide accurate measurement of prejudice in the years to come.

APPENDIX

Racial Argument Scale Items

Positive Arguments

Because the world is a diverse place with many different cultures and people, requiring college students to take courses such as African American studies is a benefit to them. These courses provide students with better understandings of

other ethnic groups, cultures, and value systems. This educational experience can enrich students' lives through cultural awareness.

Conclusion: Courses like African American studies should be required in the education of all college students.

Articles written about athletes consistently describe White athletes as "intelligent," "hard-working," and "crafty" and describe African American athletes as "talented," "flashy," and "athletic." These biased descriptions serve to promote the stereotype that African American athletes are not as intelligent as White athletes and fail to credit African American athletes for their intelligence, discipline, and work ethics.

Conclusion: Biased descriptions of athletes should be avoided to stop perpetuating the stereotype that African American athletes are less intelligent than White athletes.

The U.S. government is built on a representative democracy that means that politicians are elected to represent their constituents in making the country's decisions. However, the political construction of power in the United States does not allow adequate representation of African Americans, as shown by the few African American politicians who have attained political positions in the highest levels of our government.

Conclusion: The political parties should allow and support the rise of African American politicians within the parties to guarantee fair representation of African Americans in the government of this country.

Sickle cell anemia is a disease that is inherited by many African American children. The disease is potentially fatal, but research to combat the disease has not been as well-funded as research concerning ailments that influence Whites as well. The differences in funding are inexcusable, especially since sickle cell anemia is a deadly disease, killing many African Americans every year.

Conclusion: Research to combat sickle cell anemia needs to be as well-funded as research for other diseases.

Waiting to Exhale and other major motion pictures starring primarily African American casts have been too infrequent in U.S. theaters. Too often, African American actors and actresses have been relegated to minor roles in Hollywood productions, or to roles as villains, and it is about time that African Americans like Angela Bassett and Denzel Washington can achieve starring roles.

Conclusion: African Americans should be represented in motion pictures in starring roles more frequently than they were in the past.

Recent educational studies have shown that African Americans who do poorly in school may do so because of language difficulties and cultural differences. It has been argued that the use of familiar language and relevant cultural examples in the education of African American children can help to improve the performances that African American children show in school.

Conclusion: School systems should incorporate material into their curricula that is sensitive to African American culture in order to better educate African Americans.

Negative Arguments

Experts have argued that SAT scores for African Americans may be lower than for Whites due to the poorer opportunities available to African Americans for education. However, the SAT is a valid predictor of college performance and no concessions should be made for African Americans. Lower scores mean poorer performance, and a sliding scale would only promote future failure for African Americans with low SAT scores regardless of why they get low SAT scores.

Conclusion: African Americans should not be given leniency for low SAT scores in the college admissions process.

Rodney King was the African American motorist who was beaten by police officers in Los Angeles in an incident captured on video. The incident was broadcast as an unmotivated racial assault on King by the police, but this may not be entirely accurate. King was beaten following a long car chase and resisted arrest upon his capture, and the physical response by the police may have been somewhat warranted.

Conclusion: Rodney King may have at least partially provoked the beating he received from the Los Angeles police officers.

It has been argued that welfare programs are too often exploited by African Americans in this country. Welfare offices in every state appear packed with African Americans applying for and collecting welfare benefits. These high numbers of African American welfare recipients are disproportionate for their numbers in the general population and other racial groups are suffering because they cannot receive benefits.

Conclusion: The numbers of African Americans receiving welfare should be limited to provide benefits for others.

President Bill Clinton issued an apology to African Americans for the institution of slavery that existed in this country more than 130 years ago. Clinton's apology was inappropriate because he and the present government have no connection with the long-abolished practice of slavery and the apology may instead incite current tension in race relations.

Conclusion: President Clinton should not have apologized to African Americans for slavery.

Christians celebrate Christmas, the Jewish celebrate Chanukah, and some African Americans celebrate Kwanzaa, a holiday originating from African culture, during the winter "holiday season." Many people had never heard about Kwanzaa until recently and suggest that since it appears to be a "new" holiday, it must be a second-tier holiday seeking to emulate Christmas without much inherent significance.

Conclusion: Kwanzaa is not a holiday on the same level of importance as Christmas.

It has been shown that White Americans score 15 points higher on IQ tests than African Americans. This difference in

IQ scores has even been shown when other variables such as education levels and socioeconomic status are taken into account.

Conclusion: Whites are more intelligent than African Americans.

The United Negro College Fund helps to pay the tuition and expenses that allow African Americans to go to college. While no doubt benefiting African American students, this organization is unconstitutionally biased in that it does not offer financial assistance to White students as well. Meanwhile, thousands of White students continue to miss out on furthering their education due to financial limitations.

Conclusion: The United Negro College Fund should be forced, by law, to provide financial resources to both White and African American students.

NOTES

1. All debriefing took place after the data were collected to ensure that participants were naïve about the true purpose of the telephone surveys.

2. Logistic regression (using organization as a dichotomous variable and RAS score as a continuous variable to predict the decision to help) was not used in this analysis because the expected values of the cells for refusing to help both the organization with and without the race label was less than 5. This occurred because of the overall tendency for people to agree to help both organizations at high frequencies regardless of the organization labels. This violation of the assumptions for this analysis reduces the power of the analysis to detect the differences between the cell frequencies to an unacceptable degree (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

3. The Modern Racism Scale (MRS), Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale (ATB), and Racial Argument Scale (RAS) were significantly intercorrelated (MRS-ATB: $r = .60, p < .001$; MRS-RAS: $r = .28, p < .001$; ATB-RAS: $r = .35, p < .001$).

4. The findings that the ATB and MRS did not predict significant portions of the variance in hostility shown to the White and Black authors but that the RAS did significantly improve the model when the interaction term with author race was entered were consistent with the results of hierarchical regression analyses that used the ATB and the MRS in separate models.

REFERENCES

- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Altemeyer, B. (1988). *Enemies of freedom: Understanding right-wing authoritarianism*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Anderson, C. A., & Kellam, K. L. (1992). Belief perseverance, biased assimilation, and covariation detection: The effects of hypothetical social theories and new data. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18*, 555-565.
- Bach, P. B., Cramer, L. D., Warren, J. L., & Berg, C. B. (1999). Racial differences in the treatment of early-stage lung cancer. *New England Journal of Medicine, 341*, 1198-1205.
- Bargh, J. A., Chen, M., & Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behavior: Direct effects of trait construct and stereotype activation on action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*, 230-244.
- Blair, I. V., & Banaji, M. R. (1996). Automatic and controlled processes in stereotype priming. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 1142-1163.
- Brigham, J. C. (1993). College students' racial attitudes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 23*, 1933-1967.
- Clark, R. D. (1974). Effects of sex and race on helping behavior in a nonreactive setting. *Representative Research in Social Psychology, 5*, 1-6.
- Crosby, F., Bromley, S., & Saxe, L. (1980). Recent unobtrusive studies of Black and White discrimination and prejudice: A literature review. *Psychological Bulletin, 87*, 546-563.
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1964). *The approval motive: Studies in evaluative dependence*. New York: John Wiley.
- Cunningham, W. A., Preacher, K. J., & Banaji, M. R. (2001). Implicit attitude measures: Consistency, stability, and convergent validity. *Psychological Science, 12*, 163-170.
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*, 5-18.
- Devine, P. G., & Elliot, A. J. (1995). Are racial stereotypes really fading? The Princeton trilogy revisited. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21*, 1139-1150.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1991). Changes in the expression of racial prejudice. In H. J. Knopke, R. J. Norrell, & R. W. Rogers (Eds.), *Opening doors: Perspectives on race relations in contemporary America* (pp. 119-148). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. *Psychological Science, 11*, 315-319.
- Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33*, 510-540.
- Dunton, B. C., & Fazio, R. H. (1997). An individual difference measure of motivation to control prejudiced reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*, 316-326.
- Fazio, R. H., Jackson, J. R., Dunton, B. C., & Williams, C. J. (1995). Variability in automatic activation as an unobtrusive measure of racial attitudes: A bona fide pipeline? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*, 1013-1027.
- Fazio, R. H., Sanbonmatsu, D. M., Powell, M. C., & Kardes, F. R. (1986). On the automatic activation of attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 229-238.
- Franklin, B. J. (1974). Victim characteristics and helping behavior in a rural Southern setting. *Journal of Social Psychology, 93*, 93-100.
- Gaertner, S. L. (1973). Helping behavior and racial discrimination among liberals and conservatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 25*, 335-341.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Bickman, L. (1971). Effects of race on the elicitation of helping behavior: The wrong number technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 20*, 218-222.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61-89). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Giner-Sorolla, R., & Chaiken, S. (1997). Selective use of heuristic and systematic processing under defense motivation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*, 84-97.
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. K. L. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 1464-1480.
- Harber, K. D. (1998). Feedback to minorities: Evidence of a positive bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 622-628.
- Katz, I., Cohen, S., & Glass, D. (1975). Some determinants of cross-racial helping behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 32*, 964-970.
- Katz, I., & Hass, R. G. (1988). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55*, 893-905.
- Locke, V., MacLeod, C., & Walker, I. (1994). Automatic and controlled activation of stereotypes: Individual differences associated with prejudice. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 33*, 29-46.
- Lord, C. G., Lepper, M. R., & Preston, E. (1984). Considering the opposite: A corrective strategy for social judgment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47*, 1231-1243.
- Lord, C. G., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. R. (1979). Biased assimilation and attitude polarization: The effects of prior theories on subsequently considered evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37*, 2098-2109.

- McConahay, J. B. (1982). Self-interest versus racial attitudes as correlates of anti-busing attitudes in Louisville: Is it the buses or the Blacks? *Journal of Politics, 44*, 692-720.
- McConahay, J. B. (1983). Modern racism and modern discrimination: The effects of race, racial attitudes, and context on simulated hiring decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 9*, 551-558.
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61-89). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- McConahay, J. B., Hardee, B. B., & Batts, V. (1981). Has racism declined in America? It depends on who is asking and what is being asked. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 25*, 563-579.
- Miller, A. G., McHoskey, J. W., Bane, C. M., & Dowd, T. G. (1993). The attitude polarization phenomenon: Role of response measure, attitude extremity, and behavioral consequences of reported attitude change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64*, 561-574.
- Monteith, M. J. (1996). Contemporary forms of prejudice-related conflict: In search of a nutshell. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22*, 461-473.
- Munro, G. D., & Ditto, P. H. (1997). Biased assimilation, attitude polarization, and affect in reactions to stereotype-relevant scientific information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*, 636-653.
- Plous, S. (1991). Biases in the assimilation of technological breakdowns: Do accidents make us safer? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 21*, 1058-1082.
- Schulman, K. A., Berlin, J. A., Harless, W., Kerner, J. F., Sistrunk, S., Gersh, B. J., et al. (1999). The effect of race and sex on physicians' recommendations for cardiac catheterization. *New England Journal of Medicine, 340*, 618-626.
- Sekaquaptewa, D., Espinoza, P., Thompson, M., Vargas, P., & von Hippel, W. (in press). Stereotypic explanatory bias: Implicit stereotyping as a predictor of discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*.
- Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (1996). *Using multivariate statistics* (3rd ed.). New York: HarperCollins.
- Thistlethwaite, D. (1950). Attitude and structure as factors in the distortion of reasoning. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45*, 442-458.
- von Hippel, W., Sekaquaptewa, D., & Vargas, P. (1997). The linguistic intergroup bias as an implicit indicator of prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33*, 490-509.
- Wiener, R. L., Wiener, A. T. F., & Grisso, T. (1989). Empathy and biased assimilation of testimonies in cases of alleged rape. *Law and Human Behavior, 13*, 343-355.
- Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1997). Evidence for racial prejudice at the implicit level and its relationship with questionnaire measures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72*, 262-274.

Received August 16, 2002

Revision accepted October 31, 2002