

# Chapter 4

## Caucasians

### Overview

White Americans are the largest racial group in the United States. At approximately 224 million they make up 74% of all Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). This number includes those that reported Caucasian only to the Census and those that reported Caucasian as well as some other race. The term “Caucasian” refers to people having ancestry in any of the original people of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa in addition to individuals that identify as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Near Easterner, Arab, or Polish. As is case for most racial/ethnic groups, women comprise a higher percentage of the Caucasian population than men. The median age of the White population is 39.1, slightly older than the median age off the general population at 36.7 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008).

Most of the race-related research of any type conducted in America has been done so with White populations. Hence it is not surprising that the majority of social science research has focused on the perceptions and attitudes of Whites. Moreover, most of the race-related studies which have focused on White racism, discrimination practices, stereotyping, and prejudice have focused on their relationships with others. However, research is still rather limited on their relations with racial and ethnic groups other than Blacks. In this chapter, we review measures of inter-racial phenomena of racial prejudice/attitudes. A total of nine scales are reviewed for this chapter.

### Reference

U.S. Census Bureau. (2008). *2006–2008 American Community Survey 3-year estimates*. Selected Population Profile in the United States, S0201. <http://factfinder.census.gov>

### Inter-racial Measures

We reviewed nine measures of inter-group relationship among Caucasians:

1. Attitudes Toward Blacks Scales (ATB) (See Chapter 3)
2. Attitudes Toward Whites Scale (ATW) (See Chapter 3)

3. New Racism Scale (Jacobson, 1985)
4. Race and Politics Survey (Levine, Carmines, & Sniderman, 1999)
5. Psychosocial Cost of Racism to Whites (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004)
6. Pro-Black and Anti-Black Attitudes Questionnaire (Katz & Hass, 1988)
7. Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981)
8. Being White in America Scale (Bahk & Jandt, 2004)

### ***The New Racism Scale (Jacobson, 1985)***

The New Racism Scale (NRS) is a self-report measure that assesses feelings and beliefs of symbolic racism toward African Americans. Symbolic racism reflects feelings that African Americans are unfairly getting ahead of Whites through government action.

*Description:* The NRS consists of 7 items. The response format for each item is based on a 3 to 4-point scale depending on the question. Scores for the NRS are calculated by summing the item responses and total scores range from 7 to 26. Higher scores indicate more symbolic racist attitudes and lower scores indicate less symbolic racist attitudes. The scale is self-administered.

*Sample:* Data came from a national survey sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1978 and included 1,584 respondents who were identified as White.

*Reliability:* Cronbach's alpha for the final 7-item NRS was .70.

*Validity:* The NRS was statistically significantly related to a measure of traditional racism ( $r = .49$ ) providing evidence of construct validity.

*Comments:* There is moderate evidence of reliability and validity. Subsequent studies using college student samples report Cronbach's alpha scores of .62 (Carter, 1990), .60 Pope-Davis & Ottavi, (1994), and .70 (Silvestri & Richardson, 2001). Carter (1990) found that the scale correlated with White identity. However, Jacobson (1998), in a study of college students found that three items (1, 6, 7) did not load on a single factor and eliminated them from the analysis.

*Location:* Jacobson, C. K. (1985). Resistance to affirmative action: Self-interest or racism. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 29, 306–329.

### **Selected Publications**

- Carter, R. T. (1990). The relationship between racism and racial identity among White Americans: An exploratory investigation. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 69, 46–50.
- Jacobson, C. (1998). Religiosity and prejudice: An update and denominational analysis. *Review of Religious Research*, 39, 264–272.
- Pope-Deavis, D. B., & Ottavi, T. M. (1994). The relationship between racism and racial identity among White Americans: A replication and extension. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 72, 293–297.

Silvestri, T. J., & Richardson, T. Q. (2001). White racial identity statuses and NEO personality constructs: An exploratory analysis. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 79*, 68–79.

### ***New Racism Scale***

1. Do you feel Blacks in this country have tried to move (3) too fast (2) too slow, or (1) at about the right pace?
2. Would it upset you personally (4) a lot (3) some but not a lot (2) only a little, or (1) not at all if Blacks moved into their neighborhood?
3. It's been said that if Black children went to school with White children, the education of White children would suffer. The reason given is that the Black children would hold back the White children. Do you believe that or not? (1 = Don't believe, 2 = Not sure, 3 = Believe)
4. Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change. (1 = disagree, 2 = not sure, 3 = agree)
5. If a fully qualified Black whose views were acceptable to you were nominated to run for president, how likely do you think you would be to vote for that candidate? (1 = Very likely, 2 = Somewhat likely, 3 = Not likely, 4 = Not at all likely)
6. Whether you agree or not with the idea of affirmative action, do you think Blacks are given special consideration and hired before Whites for jobs? (4 = Frequently, 3 = Occasionally, 2 = Hardly ever, 1 = Never at all)
7. How about in higher education institutions – that is, colleges and universities? Do you think Blacks are given special consideration and admitted before Whites in higher education institutions? (4 = Frequently, 3 = Occasionally, 2 = Hardly ever, 1 = Never at all)

### ***The 1991 Race and Politics Survey (Levine, Carmines, & Sniderman, 1999)***

The 1991 Race and Politics Survey includes a set of questions to assess Caucasian beliefs about the personal attributes of African Americans.

*Description:* The 1991 Race and Politics Survey questions on race were designed to measure positive and negative racial stereotypes. The scale consists of 14 questions designed to measure positive traits (9 items: 5–13) and negative traits (5 items: 1, 2, 3, 4, 14). Responses range from a *very inaccurate description of most Blacks* (0) to a *very good description of most Blacks* (10). Though not discussed, it appears that the total score is obtained by reverse coding the negative items; the higher the score, the more positive the belief. The scale was administered using a telephone interview.

*Sample:* The sample for this study was taken from the 1991 National Race and Politics telephone survey (random-digit) conducted by the Survey Research Center

of the University of California, Berkeley. The analysis included only the 1,841 White respondents.

*Reliability:* Not Reported.

*Validity:* Using confirmatory factor analysis, the authors conclude that a unidimensional model is appropriate and that the scale is measuring stereotypes on a positive–negative continuum.

*Comments:* Little psychometric work has been done on this scale. Federico (2006) found a more nuanced relationship that suggests that negative and positive attributions are independent from each other given political ideology; this suggests that the two subscales may be used.

*Location:* Levine, J., Carmines, E. G., & Sniderman, P. M. (1999). The empirical dimensionality of racial stereotypes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 63, 371–384.

### **Selected Publications**

Federico, C. M. (2006). Ideology and the affective structure of Whites' racial perceptions. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 70, 327–353.

### ***The 1991 Race and Politics Survey***

Now I'll read a few words that people sometimes use to describe Blacks. Of course, no word fits absolutely everybody, but as I read each one, please tell me using a number from 0 to 10 how well you think it describes Blacks as a group. If you think it's a *very good* description of most Blacks, give it a 10. If you feel a word is a *very inaccurate* description of most Blacks, give it a 0.

Item wording: On a scale from 0 to 10, how well do you think it describes most Blacks?

1. How about "aggressive or violent?"
2. (How about) "lazy?"
3. (How about) "irresponsible?"
4. (How about) "complaining?"
5. (How about) "dependable?"
6. (How about) "friendly?"
7. (How about) "keep up their property?"
8. (How about) "good neighbors?"
9. How about "intelligent at school?"
10. (How about) "smart with practical, everyday things?"
11. (How about) "law abiding?"
12. (How about) "determined to succeed?"
13. (How about) "hardworking?"
14. (How about) "boastful?"

### ***Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004)***

The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) Scale is used to assess psychosocial costs Whites experience as members of the dominant group in a society marked by racism.

*Description:* The PCRW is a self-report measure consisting of 16 items. The PCRW assesses three domains derived from factor analytic work on the scale: White Empathetic Reactions Toward Racism reflecting affective costs of racism (WERTR; 6 items: 1, 3, 6, 20, 14, 16); White Guilt measuring feelings of shame (WG; 5 items: 4, 7, 8, 12, 15); and White Fear of Others assessing fears about other racial groups (WFO; 5 items: 2, 5, 9, 11, 13). Responses are offered on a 6-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6). Subscale scores are calculated by reverse coding 3 items (2, 8, 12) and summing the responses. The authors recommend against using a total scale score. Higher scores reflect more experiences with the psychosocial costs of racism. The scale is self-administered.

*Sample:* The initial scale development and assessment involved three studies. The sample for Study 1 included 361 White participants recruited from undergraduate classes at a mid-size Midwestern university. The sample for Study 2 included 366 White participants recruited from undergraduate classes at a mid-size Midwestern university and undergraduate education classes at a large Midwestern university. The final sample (Study 3) included 35 students chosen from the sample of Study 2.

*Reliability:* Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the PCRW subscales for each sample were: WERTR ( $\alpha = .78; .79; .85$ ), WG ( $\alpha = .73; .70; .81$ ) and WFO ( $\alpha = .63; .69; .78$ ). The PCRW had satisfactory test-retest reliability statistics, except for White Guilt (.69). Two week test-retest scores were: WERTR,  $r = .84$ ; WG,  $r = .69$ ; and WFO,  $r = .95$ .

*Validity:* To assess the subscales' convergent validity, the authors used the Color Blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS), the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI), Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE), and Oklahoma Racial Attitude Scale (ORAS). As hypothesized, the subscales were related to the CoBRAS. The WERTR subscale and the WG subscale were significantly negatively correlated with CoBRAS scores ( $r = -.19$ ;  $r = -.29$ ) and the White Fear of Others factor was significantly and positively correlated with CoBRAS scores ( $r = .19$ ). Relationships with the SEE subscales were more mixed. The WERTR and WFO subscales were statistically significantly related in the expected directions with the SEE subscales but the WG subscale was not related in the expected directions. The PRSW subscales were related as predicted to various subscales of the QDI and ORAS. The PRSW subscales were not statistically significantly related to the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, providing evidence for discriminant validity. The subscale structure derived from an exploratory factor analysis was reproduced with a confirmatory factor analysis providing support for factorial validity.

*Comments:* There is evidence of reliability and validity for the subscales of the PCRW. Subsequent studies with college students, graduate students, counselors, and

employed adults have produced similar reliability measures (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008; Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, & Armstrong, 2006; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008; Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009). The convergent validity of the scale has been demonstrated with a mixed gender employed group of adults (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008); the three subscales were statistically significantly related to color-blind racial beliefs (measured by the CoBRAS) and White Empathy and White Fear of Others were associated with two of the three subscales measuring universal diverse orientation (Milville-Guzman Universality Scale-Short; Poteat & Spanierman, 2008). Discriminant validity was demonstrated as each subscale was unrelated to social desirability (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008). The PCRW avoids a response set by using positively and negatively worded questions.

*Location:* Spanierman, L. B., & Heppner, M. J. (2004). Psychosocial costs of racism to Whites scale (PCRW): Construction and initial validation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 249–262.

### Selected Publications

Poteat, V. P., & Spanierman, L. B. (2008). Further validation of the psychosocial costs of racism to Whites scale among employed adults. *Counseling Psychologist, 36*, 871–894.

Spanierman, L. B., Poteat, V. P., Beer, A. M., & Armstrong, P. I. (2006). Psychosocial costs of racism to Whites: Exploring patterns through cluster analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*, 434–441.

Spanierman, L. B., Poteat, V. P., Wang, Y.-F., & Oh, E. (2008). Psychosocial costs of racism to White counselors: Predicting various dimensions of multicultural counseling competence. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*, 75–88.

Spanierman, L. B., Todd, N. R., & Anderson, C. J. (2009). Psychosocial costs of racism to Whites: Understanding patterns among university students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56*, 239–252.

### *Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale*

Please respond to the following statements by inserting only one number next to the item from the chart below. *Your possible choices range from 1 to 6. Please answer honestly, as there are no right answers or wrong answers.* Avoid answering as you think you “should” feel or as how you would expect others to answer. All responses are completely anonymous.

Response categories: 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Moderately disagree; 3 = Slightly disagree; 4 = Slightly agree; 5 = Moderately agree; 6 = Strongly agree

1. When I hear about acts of racial violence, I become angry or depressed.
2. I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition (R).
3. I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.
4. Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.

5. I have very few friends of other races.
6. I become sad when I think about racial injustice.
7. Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.
8. I never feel ashamed about being White (R).
9. I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the United States, and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.
10. I am angry that racism exists.
11. I am distrustful of people of other races.
12. I feel good about being White (R).
13. I often find myself fearful of people of other races.
14. Racism is dehumanizing to people of all races, including Whites.
15. I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.
16. It disturbs me when people express racist views.

### ***Pro-Black and Anti-Black Questionnaire (Katz & Hass, 1988)***

The Pro-Black and Anti-Black Attitudes Questionnaire (PAAQ) measures favorable and unfavorable attitudes of Caucasians to African Americans.

*Description:* The PAAQ is designed to measure two conceptually different constructs: pro-Black attitudes, or sympathetic beliefs and feelings toward African Americans, and anti-Black attitudes, or beliefs about deviant characteristics and associated negative affective feelings. Each scale consists of 10 statements designed to reflect Caucasians' impressions about African Americans in various domains such as work, education, family roles, and civil rights. Participants respond to items using a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from *strongly agree* (0) to *strongly disagree* (5) with no neutral point. Each scale includes two items (Pro-Black scale: 4 and 5; Anti-Black scale: 6 and 10) that are worded using negative language; these items are reversed when scored. It appears that the items for each scale are summed though this is not explicitly discussed by the authors. For the Pro-Black scale, the lower the score, the more positive the attitude; for the Anti-Black scale, the lower the score, the more negative the attitude. The scales are self-administered.

*Sample:* The Pro-Black and Anti-Black scales were assessed with various samples of White undergraduate students at a Northeastern university; sample sizes ranged from 59 to 115. The results were then compared to samples from other Northern and Southern universities.

*Reliability:* Cronbach's alphas for the scales were .73 for the Pro-Black scale and .80 for the Anti-Black scale.

*Validity:* Two subscales, Derogatory Beliefs and Ease in Inter-racial Contacts of the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) were used to test convergent and discriminant validity for the Anti-Black scale. The statistically significant relationship for the Anti-Black and Derogatory Beliefs ( $r = .64$ ) and lack of relationship to the Ease scale ( $r = -.02$ ) were as expected. The Pro-Black scale and the Ease scale were statistically significantly related ( $r = .55$ ). Unexpectedly, the Pro-Black scale and the Derogatory Beliefs Scale were correlated until similar items were deleted.

*Comments:* The instruments have some evidence of reliability and validity. Subsequent studies with college students have found similar evidence of reliability (Heider & Skowronski, 2007; Jackson & Poulson, 2005; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997), mixed results about the independence of the two scales (Heider & Skowronski, 2007) and predictive validity of the Pro-Black scale (Heider & Skowronski, 2007). However, the instruments have been assessed with college students and should be evaluated using other samples. In a subsequent article (Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey, & Eisenstadt, 1991) the authors develop a construct, ambivalence, to summarize the two scores; they suggest that ambivalence reflects the degree to which there are strongly held and competing attitudes to African Americans. This score is calculated using normalized scores for each scale and then the product of the normal scores is calculated. The PAAQ avoids a response set by using positively and negatively worded questions.

*Location:* 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.

### **Selected Publications**

Hass, R. G., Katz, I., Rizzo, N., Bailey, J., & Eisenstadt, D. (1991). Cross-racial appraisal as related to attitude ambivalence and cognitive complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17, 83–92.

Heider, J. D., & Skowronski, J. J. (2007). Improving the predictive validity of the implicit association test. *North American Journal of Psychology*, 9, 53–76.

Jackson, J. W., & Poulson, J. R. (2005). Contact experiences mediate the relationship between five-factor model personality traits and ethnic prejudice. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 667–685.

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.

### ***Pro-Black Scale***

1. Black people do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do.
2. It's surprising that Black people do as well as they do, considering all the obstacles they face.
3. Too many Blacks still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their skin color.
4. Most big corporations in America are really interested in treating their Black and White employees equally (R).
5. Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against (R).
6. Blacks have more to offer that they have been allowed to show.
7. The typical urban ghetto public school is not as good as it should be to provide equal opportunities for Blacks.



8. This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in Black culture.
9. Sometimes Black job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring.
10. Many Whites show a real lack of understanding of the problems that Blacks face.

### ***Anti-Black Scale***

1. The root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family.
2. Although there are exceptions, Black urban neighborhoods don't seem to have strong community organization or leadership.
3. On the whole, Black people don't stress education and training.
4. Many Black teenagers don't respect themselves or anyone else.
5. Blacks don't seem to use opportunities to own and operate little shops and business.
6. Very few Black people are just looking for a free ride (R).
7. Black children would do better in school if their parents had better attitudes about learning.
8. Blacks should take the jobs that are available and then work their way up to better jobs.
9. One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect.
10. Most Blacks have the drive and determination to get ahead (R).

### ***Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981)***

The Modern Racism Scale (MRS) was developed to assess White racial attitudes toward African Americans that are considered to be less overtly racist.

*Description:* The MRS is a 7-item measure that attempts to explain racial attitudes. Respondents indicate their agreement with each of the items on a 5-point ratings scale ranging from *agree strongly* (2) to *disagree strongly* (-2). The scale is scored by recoding the items from 0 to 4 or 1 to 5 and a total score is calculated by reverse coding items, all the items but item 1. The higher the score, the more negative the respondent's attitude is toward Blacks. The scale has been both used in interviews and self-administered.

*Sample:* We summarize several studies and experiments completed by McConahay and colleagues. McConahay et al. (1981) and McConahay (1983) are based on undergraduate samples while McConahay (1982) includes 739 White respondents, 18 years and older.

*Reliability:* McConahay et al. (1981) report high 6-week test-retest correlations ( $r = .93$  with White experimenter;  $r = .87$  with African American experimenter).

McConahay (1982) reports Cronbach's alpha = .75; McConahay (1983) reports Cronbach's alpha = .86.

*Validity:* McConahay (1982) reports construct validity as the scale correlates with the Sympathetic Identification with a Black Underdog scale ( $r = -.30$ ) and a feeling toward Blacks thermometer ( $r = -.38$ ) and predictive validity regarding voting for a Black versus White candidate. The scale scores predicted hiring preferences (McConahay, 1983).

*Comments:* Similar psychometric results have been found in other studies using the MRS (Lambert, Cronen, Chasteen, & Lickel, 1996 alpha = .88; Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005; alpha = .82; Monteith, 1996 alpha = .76). George and Martinez (2002) reported Cronbach's alpha equal to .82 using six items while deleting the school desegregation item (item 2). Predictive validity has been found in other studies (Lambert et al., 1996 judgement about people; Awad et al., 2005 affirmative action support); and construct validity (Monteith-scale related to other distinctly different measures of prejudice). The scale has been adapted by other researchers by substituting "minority" for "Black" in each statement (Aosved & Long, 2006). Rather than the -2 to +2 scoring of the scale, some studies use a 1-5 scoring. The scale appears to be non-reactive to race of researcher (McConahay et al., 1981).

*Location:* McConahay, J. B., Hardee, B., & Batts, V. (1981). Has racism declined in America? It depends on who is asking and what is asked. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 25, 563-579.

### Selected Publications

- Aosved, A. C., & Long, P. (2006). Co-occurrence of rape myth acceptance, sexism, racism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance. *Sex Roles*, 55, 481-492.
- Awad, G. H., Cokley, K., & Ravitch, J. (2005). Attitudes toward affirmative action: A comparison of color-blind versus modern racist attitudes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 1384-1399.
- George, W. H., & Martinez, L. J. (2002). Victim blaming in rape: Effects of victim and perpetrator race, type of rape, and participant racism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 110-119.
- Lambert, A. J., Cronen, S., Chasteen, A. L., & Lickel, B. (1996). Private vs. public expressions of racial prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 32, 437-459.
- 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 face, racial attitudes, and context on simulated hiring decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9, 551-558.
- Monteith, M. J. (1996). Contemporary forms of prejudice-related conflict: In search of a nutshell. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22, 461-473.

### ***Modern Racism Scale***

1. It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America.
2. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.
3. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
4. Over the past few years Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
5. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to Blacks than they deserve.
6. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
7. Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.

### ***Being White in America Scale (Bahk & Jandt, 2004)***

The Being White in America Scale (BWAS) measures the extent to which a person perceives White people to be privileged compared with other racial groups in the United States.

*Description:* The BWAS consists of 25 items to assess perceptions of “Whiteness.” Whiteness is defined as “having distinctness, dominance, normalcy, privilege, superiority, and unsociability in US society (Bahk & Jandt, 2004, p. 60).” Responses are offered on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). There are five reversed scored items in the BWAS (items: 2, 8, 16, 21, 22). Scores for the BWAS are obtained by summing the item scores and then attaining an average score, with higher scores reflecting a stronger belief that White people are more privileged than other racial groups. The scale is self-administered.

*Sample:* Seven hundred (700) undergraduate and graduate students were recruited from a mid-size university on the West Coast. Most respondents were female (70.1%), and the group had an average age of 29.9 years (SD = 10.2). The racial distribution among respondents included 355 Whites, 153 Hispanics, 52 African Americans, 52 Asian Americans, and 13 Native Americans.

*Reliability:* Cronbach’s alpha for the 25 items was .90. Excluding five items (items 2, 15, 16, 21, 23) based on Principal Components Factor analysis (see validity) resulted in a Cronbach’s alpha of .95 for the entire sample, .95 for Whites, and .93 for non-Whites.

*Validity:* While principal components factor analysis produced multiple factors, 21 of the 25 items loaded on the primary factor for Whites and 22 of the 25 items loaded on the primary factor for non-Whites. As predicted, non-Whites scored higher than Whites and there were no gender differences.

*Comments:* There is evidence of internal consistency however little evidence of validity. No other studies could be located. The findings are not generalizable beyond the sample. The BWAS avoids a response set by using positively and negatively worded questions.

*Location:* Bahk, C. M., & Jandt, F. E. (2004). Being white in America: Development of a scale. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 15, 57–68.

## Selected Publications

None

### *Being White in America Scale*

Response categories: 1 = Strongly Disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Not Sure; 4 = Agree; 5 = Strongly Agree

1. White people have privilege in the United States.
2. White people are not much different from the people of other racial groups in the United States (R).
3. White people tend to distance themselves from other racial groups in the United States.
4. Many rules and laws in this society have been formulated according to the standard of White people.
5. When people refer to “American,” it is usually White people that they have in mind.
6. In the United States, being White determines how a person is treated in everyday life.
7. The US society is largely permeated by the values and norms of White Americans.
8. Being White doesn’t mean much in the United States (R).
9. White people are the most powerful racial group in the United States.
10. Whites can achieve the most success economically in the United States.
11. The politics in the United States are dominated by Whites.
12. The current social status of Whites in the United States is almost impenetrable.
13. In the United States, Whites are considered more intelligent than people of other races.
14. White people are regarded as superior to people of other racial groups in the United States.
15. It is quite easy for me to distinguish Whites from non-Whites.
16. Attempting to label Caucasians separately is simply nonsense (R).
17. US Media assume that readers and users are Whites.
18. Whites tend to be over-presented in US television shows and movies.
19. Whites draw more positive attention from news media in the United States.
20. Whites tend to mingle much better with Whites than non-Whites.
21. Whites do not get along with non-Whites (R).
22. Whites feel comfortable with the presence of non-Whites at social gatherings (R).
23. There are always some irreconcilable differences between Whites and non-Whites in the United States.
24. Whites tend to choose to interact with other Whites rather than with non-Whites in social situations.
25. There is a wall between Whites and non-Whites in the United States.

## Original Scale References

- Bahk, C. M., & Jandt, F. E. (2004). Being white in America: Development of a scale. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 15*, 57–68.
- Jacobson, C. K. (1985). Resistance to affirmative action: Self-interest or racism. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 29*, 306–329.
- 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.
- Levine, J., Carmines, E. G., & Sniderman, P. M. (1999). The empirical dimensionality of racial stereotypes. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 63*, 371–384.
- McConahay, J. B., Hardee, B., & Batts, V. (1981). Has racism declined in America? It depends on who is asking and what is asked. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 25*, 563–579.
- Spanierman, L. B., & Heppner, M. J. (2004). Psychosocial costs of racism to Whites scale (PCRW): Construction and initial validation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 249–262.

## References

- Aosved, A. C., & Long, P. (2006). Co-occurrence of rape myth acceptance, sexism, racism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance. *Sex Roles, 55*, 481–492.
- Awad, G. H., Cokley, K., & Ravitch, J. (2005). Attitudes toward affirmative action: A comparison of color-blind versus modern racist attitudes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35*, 1384–1399.
- Carter, R. T. (1990). The relationship between racism and racial identity among White Americans: An exploratory investigation. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 69*, 46–50.
- Federico, C. M. (2006). Ideology and the affective structure of Whites' racial perceptions. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 70*, 327–353.
- George, W. H., & Martinez, L. J. (2002). Victim blaming in rape: Effects of victim and perpetrator race, type of rape, and participant racism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26*, 110–119.
- Hass, R., G., Katz, I., Rizzo, N., Bailey, J., & Eisenstadt, D. (1991). Cross-racial appraisal as related to attitude ambivalence and cognitive complexity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*, 83–92.
- Heider, J. D., & Skowronski, J. J. (2007). Improving the predictive validity of the implicit association test. *North American Journal of Psychology, 9*, 53–76.
- Jackson, J. W., & Poulsen, J. R. (2005). Contact experiences mediate the relationship between five-factor model personality traits and ethnic prejudice. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35*, 667–685.
- Jacobson, C. (1998). Religiosity and prejudice: An update and denominational analysis. *Review of Religious Research, 39*, 264–272.
- Lambert, A. J., Cronen, S., Chasteen, A. L., & Lickel, B. (1996). Private vs. public expressions of racial prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 32*, 437–459.
- 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 face, racial attitudes, and context on simulated hiring decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 9*, 551–558.
- Monteith, M. J. (1996). Contemporary forms of prejudice-related conflict: In search of a nutshell. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22*, 461–473.
- Pope-Deavis, D. B., & Ottavi, T. M. (1994). The relationship between racism and racial identity among White Americans: A replication and extension. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 72*, 293–297.

- Poteat, V. P., & Spanierman, L. B. (2008). Further validation of the psychosocial costs of racism to Whites scale among employed adults. *Counseling Psychologist, 36*, 871–894.
- Silvestri, T. J., & Richardson, T. Q. (2001). White racial identity statuses and NEO personality constructs: An exploratory analysis. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 79*, 68–79.
- Spanierman, L. B., Poteat, V. P., Beer, A. M., & Armstrong, P. I. (2006). Psychosocial costs of racism to Whites: Exploring patterns through cluster analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*, 434–441.
- Spanierman, L. B., Poteat, V. P., Wang, Y.-F., & Oh, E. (2008). Psychosocial costs of racism to White counselors: Predicting various dimensions of multicultural counseling competence. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*, 75–88.
- Spanierman, L. B., Todd, N. R., & Anderson, C. J. (2009). Psychosocial costs of racism to Whites: Understanding patterns among university students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56*, 239–252.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2008). *2006–2008 American Community Survey 3-year estimates*. Selected Population Profile in the United States, S0201. <http://factfinder.census.gov>
- 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.