

The Measurement of Racial Resentment: Conceptualization and Content

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Abstract: There is an ongoing debate about the nature and measurement of contemporary racial attitudes. This dialogue is shaped around the degree to which new racism measures actually tap negative racial beliefs. Racial resentment (RR) is one construct that has been criticized on such grounds. To date, Kinder and Sanders (1996) have proposed the only measure of RR, which is in large part “additive”—mostly based on an alternative construct, symbolic racism. We enter this discussion by proposing an alternative method of measuring RR, one that is more *explicit* (ERR). Using a convenience sample of students, we employed an anonymous computerized data collection method to assess the validity of measures. The results indicate our ERR measure show strong promise as indicators of underlying racial resentment.

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Introduction

Few areas of research have been focused more intensely than on the area of race and racial attitudes. There is a great deal to show for it as we now know a great deal about racial perceptions and how complex they are (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith, 1997; Duckitt, 1994; Mendelberg, 2000; Peffley and Hurwitz, 1997; Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo, 2000; Sniderman and Piazza, 1993). However, the changing nature of racial attitudes has brought about some controversies regarding the measurement of newer forms of racism (Feldman and Huddy, 2005; Henry and Sears, 2002; Sniderman, Crosby, and Howell, 2000).

One of the more recent conceptualizations of racism is racial resentment (RR). Racial resentment is very similar to other subtle racism concepts in that it is hypothesized to consist of beliefs related to blacks undeserved demands, coupled with negative beliefs about stereotypes—related to the work ethic—of blacks (Kinder and Sanders, 1996). However, recent analyses suggest RR is more strongly associated with conservatism than racial prejudice (Felman and Huddy, 2005).

Most research criticizing the measurement of RR has focus on its connection to ideology through individualistic beliefs (Schuman, 2000). While researchers have shown that RR and its close relative symbolic racism (SR) have robust effects on racial policy, even when controlling for ideology or individualism (Kinder and Mendelberg, 2000; Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Sears et al., 1997), there remains some skepticism regarding RRs core meaning (Feldman and Huddy, 2005).

Part of the challenge with contemporary measure of racism is that most whites are unwilling to admit they themselves are racist, and therefore attempts to measure racism must be suggestive, rather than explicit. As a result, theoretical interpretations of the effects of new racism, as well as the substantive nature of the new forms, are often cast with doubt (Feldman and Huddy, 2005; Sniderman and Tetlock, 1986; Schuman, 2000). In response to these concerns, we take a slightly different orientation to the RRs argument. We see the problem not in terms of RRs connection to individualism, but in the measurement of RR itself.

We propose that in order to adequately address the nature of racial resentment, we must consider alternative ways to measure it. This means straightforwardly asking about the source of the resentment (e.g., race), the effects from the source (e.g., resentment), and the reasons for resentment (e.g., unfairness or beliefs about deservingness). Thus, we seek to test the strength of a different set of items designed to gauge what we call *explicit racial resentment* (ERR). Accordingly, in this paper we test the validity of ERR, and examine the correlates of both ERR and RR attitudes.

New Racism in America

Forms of “new racism”—which includes symbolic racism, modern racism, and racial resentment—are characterized by a support for the belief that blacks are demanding and undeserving, blacks can improve their position if they just work harder, they do not require any form of special government assistance, and that discrimination and racism are a thing of the past

(Henry and Sears, 2002). This is different than “old-fashioned” racism which is based on the notion that blacks are biologically inferior and undeserving of equal status in America. According to Kinder and Sanders (1996), racial resentment emerged during the civil rights movement when mostly southern politicians took a political stance against racial policies. These political positions were shaped by an ideological (but racialized) view that blacks’ failures in society were due to their own inability to capitalize on social and economic opportunities that existed in America. Thus, a new racial prejudice was created, one founded on the premise that blacks do not try hard enough to overcome their problems and receive benefits that they have not earned. While this viewpoint contains a negative racial orientation, it also contains individualistic views tied to conservatism and the protestant ethic (Kinder and Sanders, 1996), all of which are tied to the new forms of racism.

According to “new racism” scholarship, current forms of racial resentment represent the evolution of racial attitudes. Overt, “Jim Crow”, racial hostility is no longer tolerated in society, yet negative racial attitudes still exist with regard to public policy support (Kinder and Sanders, 1996), political candidates (Sears et al., 1997), in response to media ads (Mendelberg, 2001), and subsequently in the acceptance of stereotypes of blacks (Bobo and Kluegel, 1997). While there is some consistency to the content of newer racial attitudes, how they have been characterized varies. Below, we briefly describe the main conceptualizations leading to the development of the racial resentment construct.¹

Modern Racism

According to modern racism (MR) theorists, the nature of racism and prejudice have changed from “old-fashioned” racism—characterized by desegregation, and racial inferiority—to modern racism—characterized by affective aspects acquired during childhood, beliefs and emotions which are harder to change. Thus, while many whites have given up older forms of racism, they still harbor negative aversive feelings towards blacks (see Crosby, Bromley, and Saxe, 1980). These negative racial emotions influence new issues of the era, including those not overtly racial (e.g., crime and welfare spending, spending to help big cities, etc.). However, many whites do not see these “modern” feelings as racist, and tend to justify their positions on non-racial grounds. These principled issues include the busing of school children, and support for various government programs to aid the poor.

McConahay (1986) provided four main beliefs central to MR: 1) racial discrimination is no longer a problem in the US; 2) blacks are pushing their goals too hard and too fast; 3) their (blacks) tactics and demands are unfair; and 4) the recent gains and attention they have received are undeserved. The questions that gauge these core idea are listed in the appendix.

Symbolic Racism

¹ We recognize that there are several other important conceptualizations related to newer forms of racial animus, including “subtle racism/prejudice” (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995; 1997), “aversive racism” (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986), “racial ambivalence” (Katz and Hass, 1988), “racial apathy” (Forman and Lewis, 2006), and “laissez-faire racism” (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith, 1997). Each of these substantive contributes to the understanding of racial attitudes, however, their role in American politics is less developed, and beyond the scope of this research.

Similar to MR, symbolic racism (SR) is characterized by a combination of beliefs that blacks are attempting to get things they don't deserve and the notion that pre-adult beliefs still dictate one's racial viewpoint. Thus, SR is a blend of anti-black affect and belief in traditional American values related to the Protestant Ethic. In the words of Kinder and Sears (1981) "symbolic racism is a form of resistance to change in the racial status quo based on moral feelings that blacks violate such traditional American values as individualism and self-reliance, the work ethic, obedience, and discipline" (p. 416).

Measurement of SR is very similar to that of modern racism. However, proponents argue that the items have an abstract symbolic character that is unrelated to [white] respondents' personal lives, yet closely connected to their moral code and social ideals (Sears, 1988). Thus, many have contrasted symbolic racism with behavior based on threats to respondent' personal "self-interests." In general, symbolic racist beliefs are well associated with many features of American politics (Sears et al., 1997).

Although people differ in their strength of symbolic racist feelings, Sears (1988) has suggested that in our society, it is probably almost impossible for anyone of any race to escape some degree of anti-black feeling based on long standing patterns of racial assumptions. Thus, it is common for people to avoid believing they are "racist" by rationalizing that blacks deserve to have all the rights of citizenship, but "should not push themselves where they are not wanted" or that "white people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods" (Sears, 1988).

Racial Resentment

Kinder and Sanders (1996) operationalized the notion of racial resentment (RR), and attempt to "distinguish between those whites who are generally sympathetic toward blacks and those who are unsympathetic" (p. 106). Their concept and measures are almost similar to those that comprise SR; however, the RR measures tap into the broader cognitions that promote the expression of subtle racial hostility without violating democratic norms of racial antipathy. Similar to the SR items, the RR questions are stated as assertions (i.e., the extent of agreement or disagreement with an assertion) (Petty, RENNIER, and Cacioppo, 1987), and have the following characteristics: 1) they focus on blacks as a whole, 2) they have a strong evaluative component designed to reveal racial antipathy without referencing white supremacy; they focus on character (e.g., effort, determination, and enterprise) rather than racial superiority.

Kinder and Sanders (1996) define racial resentment as a new form of racial prejudice that hangs on the contention that "blacks do not try hard enough to overcome the difficulties they face and they take what they have not earned (1996, 105-106)." Racial resentment raises questions about effort and determination on the part of African Americans, as opposed to references regarding genetic or biological differences. RR features annoyance and fury as its central emotional theme, one provoked by the sense that "blacks Americans are getting and taking more than their fair share" (p. 293). Thus, RR is thought to be the connection between whites' feelings towards blacks and their support for American values, especially "secularized" versions of the Protestant ethic. Kinder and Mendelberg (2000) have shown that racial resentment drives opposition to racial policies such as government assistance to blacks and college quota programs.

However, the interpretation and measurement of racial resentment have not been universally accepted (Feldman and Huddy, 2005). According to Bobo (1988), there is not much new about construct such as SR and RR. He argues race prejudice is always a combination of racial hostility and American values.

Measurement of Racial Attitudes and Contemporary Racial Resentment

To the extent that different racial concepts and measures relate to different motivations and behavior, this research relies on the correct measurement of racial attitudes. In theory, resentment is a latent construct, we cannot directly observe or quantify it; rather we measure its levels with multiple item scales. Latent variables imply a specific relationship between it, and the items designed to measure it. With regard to items that tap RR, the cause of the responses to the items should be resentment based on race.

In theory what new racism measures do well is to tap into the post-civil rights beliefs that blacks are getting too much too fast, into racial stereotypes about blacks' potentially negative attributes regarding individual responsibility, and into beliefs about the special treatment blacks receive. What the newer measures have been criticized for is their non-explicit focus on race. More directly, it is argued the new racism (MR, SR, and RR) measures are not always caused by a latent racial construct (Sniderman and Tetlock, 1986; Sniderman, Crosby, and Howell, 2000). This criticism is valid, but results from both the complex nature of contemporary racial attitudes, and the often interpersonal nature of social survey methods—many in the public find it discomforting to appear racist or show racial negativity.

Measurement of Racial Resentment (RR)

When Kinder and Sanders (1996) set out to measure RR they tested a set of items that reflected individualistic resentments, conceptualized around the sense that blacks have been handed advantages, that government has provided these advantages and special favors, and that hard work, personal responsibility and sacrifice, along with self-discipline, no longer matter.² However, none of the items seem to connect the basis of resentment with both blacks and the underlying notion of unfairness. Rather the items make several assumptions about the nature of the special privileges, and the extent to which race is the source of the resentment. Table 1 provides a listing of the items and our comments related their content.

For example, Kinder and Sanders (1996) pose the following question: “Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve.” Disagreement with this question is presumed to indicate racial resentment. However, the item itself only indicates resentment if one believes that blacks have gotten more than they deserve. One could have disagreed with the question and still feel as though blacks have gotten exactly what they deserve, which is not necessarily resentful or racist. In another question, respondents are asked, “Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.” Disagreement with this question also indicates resentment. However, one could disagree with this statement, but still believe that some other structural conditions, other than slavery and

² Specific wording for the 6 item racial resentment scale (Kinder and Sanders, 1996) can be found in the Appendix of this paper.

discrimination, have made it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. Moreover, similar to the first item mentioned, the resentment is implied not explicit. Finally, another measure on the resentment scale asks respondents the extent to which they agree/disagree with the following statement, “Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person.” Disagreement with this item also indicates resentment. Once again, the resentment seems implicit, in that one must first believe that government officials pay more attention to a request or complaint from a black person than a white person, and then must be angry about it. One could disagree with this statement, yet either be angry at government officials, or believe that whites and blacks receive the same treatment.

These are not new observations about the RR items created by Kinder and Sanders (1996). Sniderman et al. (2000) argue that the RR items have very little to do with racism, and instead mainly reflect an ideological preference related to government. These concerns are further noted by Feldman and Huddy (2005) who actually find that racial resentment is particularly associated with ideology among conservatives, and only weakly associated with measures of overt prejudice. While Kinder and Mendelberg (2000) have responded to much of this criticism through various analyses of the data using a multivariate approach, the debate over the measurement of RR with the original items has not gone away. Thus, we propose to take a different approach to the study of RR by proposing an alternative measurement of the construct.

Our goal is to take a more direct approach to measuring RR, by being more explicit about the central emotion of “indignation” (Kinder and Sanders, 1996), and by explicitly measuring the basis of the resentment. We are not arguing that the theory and predictions of RR are irrelevant or incorrect, we are simply taking an alternative approach to measuring it.

In the following sections we describe our proposed measures of ERR, and examine the construct validity of the items. First, we will assess the validity and reliability of both the RR and ERR scales, and then we proceed to examine the correlations among our core racial belief—racial resentment—and other known correlates of racial attitudes found in the literature (Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo, 2000) including social dominance (Sidanius and Pratto, 2003), authoritarianism (Altemyer, 1981), dogmatism (Rokeach, 1960), negative affect (Hughes, 1997), interracial friendships (Sigelman and Welch, 1991), and stereotypes (Bobo and Kluegel, 1997).³

Measurement of Explicit Racial Resentment (ERR)

In this section we define the concept of racial resentment, and then list and describe the focus of the items designed to tap ERR. Similar to Kinder and Sanders (1996) we define racial resentment as support for the belief that blacks are demanding and undeserving, and do not require special assistance or favors from the government. Like previous new racism measures, each of the items are posed as assertions, and respondents are asked the extent to which they agree (disagree) with each based on a 4-point scale (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree).

³ DeVillis (1991) describes construct validity as the extent to which a measure is correlated with established measures of other constructs hypothesized and shown to be associated with the latent variable.

Where our items mainly differ is in their explicit connection between the resentment and race. Racial resentment is not racial prejudice (Kinder and Sanders, 1996); rather it is annoyance and anger due to race. Observe the first question presented to respondents.

I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive; other Americans like me have problems too.

This item explicitly considers resentment in terms of what African-Americans get relative to oneself (a non-African American). The item does however imply that African Americans have problems that non-African Americans have. This subtle suggestion gauges the belief that while all races have problems, African Americans are getting more attention and support for their problems relative to other races. Stronger agreement on this item indicates that the respondent believes they are placed at a disadvantage because of African Americans.

African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past.

This item assesses the basis of special privileges for African Americans. It requires the respondent to consider two ideas, 1) that African Americans shouldn't need special privileges, and 2) that slavery and racism are not currently relevant to the situation of African Americans. Stronger agreement with this item indicates that African Americans have little racial group basis—with regard to history—by which to claim special considerations.

How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?

This item measures the extent to which individuals view special privileges for African Americans as unfair because they place the individual in a disadvantaged position for something the individual is not responsible for. More concern with this item implies that the respondent is aware of their current position and that their position is affected by what African Americans potentially get (in terms of special considerations).

For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism as an excuse?

This item taps into the belief that racism is prevalent and affects African American equally. Agreement assumes 1) the individual believes that African Americans use racism too much as a reason for their social position in society, and 2) the individual does not believe that racism is a valid reason for the position of African Americans.

Together these items form our ERR scale. We hypothesize that this scale is better suited for the measure of racial resentment because the items explicitly state the connection between presence of resentment as a result of blacks. Resentment is no longer implicit or associated with individualism per se (Kinder and Sanders, 1996).

Research Design and Methods

The data utilized in this research come from a series of surveys administered to an Integrative Studies (Social Differentiation and Inequality) course at Michigan State University in the Fall of 2006. As a required course, Integrative Studies Courses, intended to expose entering college students to multidisciplinary treatment of social inequality, drew from a cross-section of students and majors. At least 60 majors were represented that ranged from, but not limited to, Pre-Nursing, Education, Advertising, Psychology, General Business, Mechanical Engineering, Mathematics, Criminal Justice, Pre-Med, and No Preference. Of 208 students enrolled throughout the semester, 74 percent were freshmen, 18 percent sophomores, 4 percent juniors, and 1 percent seniors.

Since most of the racial attitudes research and its measurement of racial has not included African American respondents, we yield the same limitation. Of the 208 students, 129 (62%) were white, 11 (5.3%) black, 11 (5.3%) Asian, and 3 (1.4%) Latino. Pacific Islander and American Indian each had 1 respondent from their respective groups, and 6 respondents (2.9%) said they belonged to some “other” race not listed. Finally, 46 (22.1%) respondents did not provide their racial background when asked. We removed self-identified blacks and those who did not provide a race (assuming they may have been black also). Additionally, there were 98 (65%) females and 51 (34%) males; 2 (1.3%) respondents provided no gender. Our final sample size is 151.

Over a 15-week semester, students at the beginning of each class were administered a short questionnaire (8 to 10 questions) pertaining to their racial beliefs, social environment, socialization experiences, psychological batteries, and demographic background. By breaking-up the monotony of asking a long list of questions and to keep the goal of the survey somewhat hidden, this approach was thought to minimize the extent of response set bias and social desirability effects.⁴ As a component of the instructional and pedagogy in this course, each student was required to purchase an electronic transmitter or Personal Response System (PRS). Much like in a game show where members of the audience register their opinions, PRS is an in-class communication system that uses wireless radio-frequency transmitters to allow students to send answers in response to questions posed by the instructor using Power Point Presentation Software. An electronic hub connected to a laptop computer automatically receives the responses. Using students’ unique transmitter identifiers and personal identification numbers, the data from each class were amassed into a single dataset.⁵ All responses were confidential and private. Because students’ responses were entered on their own personal transmitter, responses were virtually unidentifiable to other students, despite the responses taking place in a class auditorium.

⁴ At the same time, however, the items might have a tougher time cohering without the benefit acquiescence.

⁵ The use of the PRS software and the responses were virtually error free. After a grace period in which students were instructed on the use their electronic transmitters, there were no errors in the transmission of responses. As a check of the validity of instrumentation, the PRS transmitters use an LCD display to show if responses were successfully transmitted. Because each transmitter contains a unique identifier and the students are also required to enter their personal identification number, this prevented students from using another student’s transmitters.

With the exception of a mandatory attendance question, student participation in the survey process was voluntary and no penalties (or threat of penalty) were expressed for lack of response.

Our main dependent variables in the analyses are the RR and ERR measures. We discuss the properties of these scales in more detail below. Our independent variables are diverse, and include demographics, psychological beliefs and orientations, stereotypes, affect, and interracial relationships.

Demographics

We collected set demographic information from the students including race, sex, and self-reported political ideology. The exact wordings of the questions can be found in the Appendix section at the end of this paper. After removing African Americans from the sample, we dummy coded race to indicate Whites (1) versus non-Whites (0). We also dummy coded sex to indicate males (1) and females (0). Political ideology was measured by a 7-point scale self-report which ranged from 1 (Extremely Liberal) to 7 (Extremely Conservative).

Correlates of Racial Attitudes

We also include a number of psychological constructs that have been previously found to correlate with whites' racial attitudes. We measure social dominance orientation (SDO) using a set of items reported in Sidanius and Pratto (2003). Authoritarianism is measured using Altemyers (1981) items. Dogmatism is measured using a sub-set of items from Rokeach's D-scale (Christie, 1991). We also take account of the stereotypical reasons for Black-White socioeconomic differences using six items. All of the above mentioned variables were rescaled to range from zero to one, with higher values indicating more influence by the underlying construct. Finally, we consider a measure of racial affect: a 10-point feeling thermometer question asking students to indicate the extent to which they like (dislike) blacks. We call this "anti-Black affect". In addition, we tapped social distance with other races by asking students to indicate what percentage of close friends and associates belong to different racial/ethnic groups. We call this variable "interracial friendships."

Analyzing Racial Resentment

We examined our explicit racial resentment (ERR) items independent of, and along with the racial resentment (RR) items from Kinder and Sanders (1996), four of which are also a part of symbolic racism (SR) items (Henry and Sears, 2002). Our first goal was to examine the extent to which the items are interrelated forming a single underlying construct. To do so, we ran principle component factor analyses (PCA) for our items, then the previously studied items, and then both sets of items together.⁶ The PCAs produced oblique rotated (Promax) factor structures, and our interpretations were based on the estimated "pattern" matrices (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2006). The results of these analyses are shown in tables 2 and 3.

Validity and Reliability of the Scale

⁶ All items were rescaled to range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating more negative racial attitudes.

The analyses reveal that both measures have relatively high internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha > .60) and loadings (factor loading > .50) with the underlying constructs. The six racial resentment items ($\alpha = .627$) from Kinder and Sanders (1996) actually produced two factors, with moderate reliability scores (factor 1 $\alpha = .589$; factor 2 $\alpha = .487$) and smaller eigenvalues (factor 1=2.18, explained %=36.3; factor 2=1.19, explained %=19.9). Conversely, our racial resentment items formed a single factor (eigenvalue=1.95, variance explained=48.7%) and produced a stronger alpha ($\alpha=.640$).

We also ran confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) hypothesizing single constructs for both RR and ERR. The CFA and fit measures were computed using AMOS 6.0 (Arbuckle and Wothke, 1999). Adequate fit of CFA models is indicated by a non-significant chi-square (χ^2 ; which is sensitive to sample size), confirmatory (CFI) and normed (NFI) fit indices of $\geq .95$ and $\geq .90$ respectively, and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of .08 or less (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2006). We found the ERR model adequately fit the data ($\chi^2 = 1.64$, $df = 2$, $p=.44$; NFI = .97, CFI = 1.00, and RMSEA = .00), but the fit was not as strong for the Kinder and Sanders RR items ($\chi^2 = 18.7$, $df = 9$, $p=.03$; NFI = .79, CFI = .86, and RMSEA = .085). Thus, our initial examination of both resentment measures reveals that our ERR items have a slightly stronger validity and reliability as a measure of resentment than the Kinder and Sanders RR items.

To assess the construct validity, we examined resentment's association with known correlates of racial attitudes. ERR is significantly related to eight of the nine variables examined. As shown in the correlation matrix (Table 4), ERR is significantly and positively correlated with ideology ($r=.200$), SDO ($r=.439$), authoritarianism ($r=.347$), negative stereotypes ($r=.301$), being male ($r=.215$), and being white ($r=.212$). ERR is significantly and negatively correlated with affect towards blacks ($r=-.204$) and having more interracial friendships ($r=-.214$). Alternatively, Kinder and Sanders' RR scale is positively and significantly related to only four—SDO ($r=.419$), authoritarianism ($r=.254$), negative stereotypes ($r=.285$), and being white ($r=.260$)—of the eight hypothesized racial attitude predictors. To the extent that each of these measures is examining their hypothesized latent construct, these correlations indicate strong convergent validity for the ERR scale, and moderate validity for the RR scale. While ERR is significantly related to every item that RR is correlated with, ERR has additional correlations with ideology, racial affect, interracial friends, and being male.

Discussion and Conclusions

The study of racial attitudes over the last 30 years has led to the conclusion that racism has “changed” to be more subtle and covert (Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Sears, 1988; Sniderman and Piazza, 1993). While there is little disagreement over this “new racism” conceptualization, there is large disagreement over how to best gauge its presence and understand its origins. Current measures of racial resentment are criticized for their content and validity (Feldman and Huddy, 2005; Sniderman and Piazza, 2000); yet, the theoretical arguments regarding the need for a better understanding of the newer forms of racism are not questioned (Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo, 2000). Thus, to us the progress of the study of racial attitudes will largely depend on improving the operationalization and measurement of these concepts. Accordingly, we place our research in the center of this discourse by proposing an alternative means of measuring racial resentment.

We propose that the measure of RR needs to be more explicit. By making the measurement more explicit, we believe the construct of resentment becomes more pronounced and has greater validity and reliability. Although we are somewhat limited by our student population, our findings indicate that ERR has greater internal consistency and validity than the Kinder and Sanders RR measure. In addition, ERR exhibits more robust—significantly related to 8 of 9 items—correlations with factors known to be associated with negative racial attitudes than the RR measure, which is significantly related to only 4 out of 9 items. These numbers signal to us that measures of new racism should continue to undergo scrutiny with the goal of improving our understanding of the content, origins, and effects of racial attitudes.

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Appendix

Demographics

Race

What is your race? (White/Caucasian=1, [Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Asian American, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, Other]=0).

* Respondents were also allowed to select “Black/African American” however, they were not included in the analysis.

Gender

Are you male or female? (Male=1, Female=0)

Political Ideology

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Extremely Liberal=1, Liberal, Slightly Liberal, Moderate, Slightly Conservative, Conservative, Extremely Conservative=7)

Racial Resentment

The Kinder and Sanders (1996) Racial Resentment Scale (n=111, $M=3.9$, $SD=.62$, $\alpha=.627$)

1. Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors? (RR: SR)
2. Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (RR: SR) (reverse coded)
3. It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. (RR: SR)
4. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (RR: SR) (reverse coded)
5. Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person. (RR) (reverse coded)
6. Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without if they tried. (RR)

* “SR” indicates that the items are also used in Symbolic Racism measures.

Explicit Racial Resentment Scale (n=116, $M=2.5$, $SD=.52$, $\alpha=.644$)

1. I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive, other Americans like me have problems too.
2. African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past.

3. How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?
4. For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism as an excuse?

Correlates of Racism

Sidanius and Pratto (2003) Social Dominance Orientation (n=91, M=6.1, SD=1.1, $\alpha=.761$)

1. Some groups of people are simply not the equal of others.
2. Some people are just more worthy than others.
3. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.
4. Some people are just more deserving than others.
5. It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.
6. Some people are just inferior to others.
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.
8. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.
9. We should treat one another as equals as much as possible.
10. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
11. It is probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
12. Inferior groups should stay in their place.

Dogmatism Scale (n=88, M=4.3, SD=.79, $\alpha=.666$)

1. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against it. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?
2. A group which tolerates too many differences of opinions among its members cannot exist for long. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?
3. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?
4. Of all the different philosophies that exist in the world there is probably only one that is correct. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?
5. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?
6. Most of the ideas that get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?
7. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?

8. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement?

Authoritarianism Scale (n=84, $M=6.1$, $SD=.69$, $\alpha=.433$)

1. America is getting so far from the true American way of life that force may be necessary to restore it.
2. Too many people today are living in an unnatural, soft way; we should return to the fundamentals, to a more red-blooded, active way of life.
3. One should avoid doing things in public that appear wrong to others, even though one knows that these things are right.
4. No matter how they act of the surface, men are interested in women for only one reason.
5. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
6. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
7. What this country needs is fewer laws and agencies, and more courageous, tireless, devoted leaders whom the people can put their faith in.
8. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for your family and country.
9. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
10. Most of our social problems could be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.

Racial Stereotypes Scale (n=99, $M=3.25$, $SD=.48$, $\alpha=.398$)

1. On the average Blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are mainly due to discrimination?
2. Because most blacks have less in-born ability to learn?
3. Because most blacks don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty?
4. Because most blacks just don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty?
5. Because most blacks enjoy or have no problems with being where they are in life
6. Because most blacks irresponsible in their daily lives

Anti-Black Affect

On a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 being cold (I really dislike this group) and 10 being warm (I really like this group), how would you rate your feelings towards black people?

Interracial Friendships

What percentage of your close friends and associates (people with whom you normally hang-out - including friends back home) are from a different racial or ethnic group?

Table 1. Comparisons of the Items

	Racial Component	Explicit Source of Anger
Kinder and Sanders (1996)		
<i>resent01</i> Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors?	Blacks getting special favors; violation of ethic	No explicit resentment
<i>resent02</i> Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve	Blacks have gotten less	No explicit resentment
<i>resent03</i> Its really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites	Blacks should try harder; support for ethic	No explicit resentment
<i>resent04</i> Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class	System blame	No explicit resentment
<i>resent05</i> Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person	Racial differences do not exist	No explicit resentment
<i>resent06</i> Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried	Welfare programs are unfair, and blacks get the benefits	No explicit resentment
Explicit Racial Resentment		
<i>resentd07</i> I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive, other Americans like me have problems too	Racial unfairness	Special attention
<i>resentd08</i> African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past	Racial unfairness	Special privileges
<i>resentd09</i> How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?	Racial unfairness	Special privileges
<i>resentd10</i> For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism and slavery as excuses?	Racial progress	Attention over race

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Scale Metrics for Racial Resentment (Kinder and Sanders, 1996)

Racial Resentment	Mean	SD	Factor1	Factor2
<i>resent01</i> Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors?	.72	.17	.533	
<i>resent02</i> Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve	.67	.17	.652	
<i>resent03</i> Its really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites	.59	.18		.872
<i>resent04</i> Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class	.58	.16	.795	
<i>resent05</i> Government officials usually pay less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person	.68	.19	.653	
<i>resent06</i> Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried	.64	.17		.722
			Eigenvalues	2.18
			Extracted Variance	36.3
			Alpha=.627	.589
			N=111	126
				119

Note. White students only. All items have been recoded to range from 0 to 1. Cell value = factor loading for item is $\geq .50$, no value = factor loading is $< .50$. Lower scores for items indicate more negative attitudes.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics and Scale Metrics for Racial Resentment (Davis and Wilson)

Racial Resentment	Mean	SD	Factor1
<i>resentd07</i> I resent all of the special attention/favors that African Americans receive, other Americans like me have problems too	.59	.19	.718
<i>resentd08</i> African Americans should not need any special privileges when slavery and racism are things of the past	.63	.17	.592
<i>resentd09</i> How concerned are you that the special privileges for African Americans place you at an unfair disadvantage when you have done nothing to harm them?	.52	.21	.702
<i>resentd10</i> For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism and slavery as excuses?	.73	.18	.768
			Eigenvalues 1.95
			Extracted Variance 48.7
			Alpha=.644
			N=116

Note. White students only. All items have been recoded to range from 0 to 1. Cell value = factor loading for item is $\geq .50$, no value = factor loading is $< .50$. Lower scores for items indicate more negative attitudes.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Variables

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Political Ideology (Conservatism)	3.85	1.46	131										
2 Social Dominance Orientation	6.08	1.14	91	-									
3 Dogmatism	4.29	.79	88	-	.256*								
4 Authoritarianism	6.15	.70	84	-	.317*	.536**							
5 Affect towards Blacks	7.43	1.71	138	-	-	-	-						
6 Support for Negative Stereotypes	3.25	.49	99	-	.373**	.492**	.325**	-					
7 Sex (Male)	.34	.48	149	-	-	-	-	-.235**	.223*				
8 Interracial friendships (percent)	22.11	25.85	130	-	-	-	-	.236**	-	-			
9 Race (1=white, 0=non-white)	.85	.35	151	-	-	.211*	-	-	-	-	-.603**		
10 RR (Kinder and Sanders)	3.9	.62	111	-	.419**	-	.254*	-	.285*	-	-	.260**	
11 ERR	2.5	.52	116	.200*	.439**	-	.347**	-.204*	.301**	.215*	-.214*	.212*	.590**

Note. Correlation coefficients are only shown for those which reach a minimum of .05 level of significance; ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.