

REASSESSING RACISM: VALIDATION OF THE BLACK LIVES MATTER SCALE  
AS A MEASURE OF MODERN RACISM

A THESIS

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## DEDICATION

To God,

“For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works which God prepared beforehand so that we would walk in them.” (Ephesians 2:10)

To my Mom, for teaching me what is to be His and to be loved.

To my sisters, for bringing me joy on the hard days and laughter always.

To my friends, for being there for me through the tears and the caffeine.

To every moment and person, both good and bad, for getting me to this point and showing me the goodness of God.

“Now I know that God causes all things to work together for the good of those who love God, to those who are called according to His purpose.” (Romans 8:28)

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## ABSTRACT

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### REASSESSING RACISM: VALIDATION OF THE BLACK LIVES MATTER SCALE AS A MEASURE OF MODERN RACISM

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The Civil Rights Movement was a response to discrimination against Black individuals (Scheman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985). The movement resulted in desegregation and shifts in societal racial attitudes (Scheman et al., 1985). In response to the movement, researchers developed scales to measure the impact of changes on attitudes. Results identified a new, covert form of racism, termed modern racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; McConahay & Hough, 1976). Just as discrimination against Black individuals sparked the Civil Rights Movement (Scheman et al., 1985), current discrimination, namely the killings of unarmed Black men, has sparked the Black Lives Matter Movement. In response, the Black Lives Matter Scale was created to investigate modern racism under the scope of the movement. The current focused on the validation of the Black Lives Matter Scale. Results indicate that the measure is a reliable and valid measure of modern racism. Implications and future directions are discussed.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Unfortunately, -isms are an undeniable reality of human nature and occur as a result of even the most inconsequential group differences (e.g., groups based on believed visual perception based on false feedback from the researcher; Tajfel, 1970). Yet, the differences are not always inconsequential. One example of this is the United States' history of racism towards Black individuals. Racism is characterized by negative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that disparage members of a particular race based on their membership in the targeted race (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Racism against Black individuals in America can be traced back to the era of slavery. The institution of slavery laid the bedrock for the later systemic discrimination Black individuals faced post-slavery throughout the Jim Crow era (Sears, 1988). Additionally, the nature of slavery, the laws permitting it, and the cultural norms surrounding it shaped the ways in which racism was conveyed through behaviors and attitudes (McConahay & Hough, 1976). Yet, the 20th century, the Civil Rights Era, witnessed changes in legislation addressing racial discrimination and shifts in social norms surrounding racial bias.

Though every legislative and societal step towards equality was important, the significance of some warrants specific mention. Knowledge of these legislative and societal changes is essential for understanding the nature of racism prior to the Civil Rights Movement, and changes that occurred as result of the movement. For example,

American historians recognize the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregation within public education was indeed unconstitutional as the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement (Scheman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985). Following the ruling, Black individuals attempted to join *White-only* public schools and major college universities (Scheman et al., 1985). Despite the court ruling, these individuals were often met with resistance (Scheman et al., 1985). Tension grew as White individuals, especially in the Deep South, worked to block integration of the races and Black individuals held demonstrations in response. In one instance, a group of young Black demonstrators were met with extreme discrimination and violence to such a degree that President Kennedy initiated what would become the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Scheman et al., 1985). Changes in legislation and social norms were pervading the country, and a new form of racism emerged.

Researchers referred to the new form of racism as, *modern* or *symbolic* racism, using the terms interchangeably. (Henry & Sears, 2002; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Henry, 2003). The argument was that racism had not declined, rather individuals began to convey racism symbolically through beliefs regarding Black individuals' work ethic and experience of discrimination, and the rate at which change is demanded (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). The emergence of modern racism is a direct result of the changes born from the Civil Rights Movement (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976). The laws, social demonstrations, and public outcries that forced behavioral changes in treatment of Black individuals led to changes in the nature of

negative attitudes and behaviors toward Black individuals (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976).

Recently, outcries against racial discrimination have risen again. Specifically, Black individuals have spoken out against the killings of unarmed Black men such as Trayvon Martin and Eric Garner (Desmond, Papachristos, & Kirk, 2016; Lim, 2016). One channel through which Black individuals have spoken out is via the Black Lives Matter Movement. Researchers identify the demands for recognition of racial discrimination and for change during the Civil Rights Movement as key factors in the emergence of modern racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003). Black individuals in the movement are calling for societal recognition of the continuing prevalence of racism and demanding changes that rectify the disadvantages and dangers modern racism poses. Thus, it could be that individuals' response to the Black Lives Matter Movement is a current reflection of modern racism.

As evidenced by media coverage, the movement has been met with high opposition (e.g., the movement has been labeled as a terrorist group, the movement has been labeled as racist and anti-American (FOX Web Staff, 2015; Lim, 2016) and attitudes towards the movement are diverse. Despite high media coverage, there is little investigation within the field of psychological research on the Black Lives Matter Movement. The current study aims to close this gap and argues that attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter Movement are complex, modern expressions of racist attitudes toward Black individuals. A contextual explanation of racism against Black individuals in America, including the evolution of racial prejudice against Black individuals, will be

discussed. Additionally, the evolution of measures of racial prejudice will be discussed in conjunction with the discussion on the evolution of racial prejudice.

### **Evolution of Racial Prejudice**

Research within the fields of social and political psychology mirror the important issues within the sociopolitical climate of the country. This is demonstrated by changes in research on racial attitudes, as well as operational definitions and measurements of racism over time. Results from this research have identified two distinct forms of racism, old-fashioned racism and modern or symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; McConahay & Hough, 1976). Though both forms of racism include negative attitudes towards Black individuals, they are distinct due to the source of the negative beliefs. As societal norms shifted throughout Jim Crow and Civil Rights, the nature and source of negative attitudes also shifted. Consequently, numerous scales and task-oriented measures have been developed to illuminate these distinct attitudes (Brigham, 1993; Henry & Sears, 2002; Katz & Hass, 1988; McConahay et al., 1981).

### **Evolving Prejudice in Context**

Development of varying forms of assessment is linked to changes in racial attitudes and the prevailing type of racism over time. Specifically, changes in the type of explicit measures used to assess racism and the popularization of implicit measures is tied to marked changes in academic and societal theories, beliefs, and attitudes. To fully understand the nature of these developments and the necessity of the current study, one must first understand the historical contexts in which previous racial attitude measures

were developed and the present-day context, respectively (Scheman et al., 1985; Sears & Henry, 2003).

## **Old-fashioned Racism**

### **Importance of Historical Context**

Understanding the early history of racism in America is essential to understanding the nature and definition of both old-fashioned and modern racism (Scheman et al., 1985; Sears & Henry, 2003; Sears, 1988). The sociopolitical atmosphere influences research in social psychology, including attitude measures that further knowledge in the field. One method used to measure attitudes is through self-report measures. To assess attitudes within a certain sociopolitical atmosphere, one must design self-report measures that hone in on nuances of the atmosphere. This is clearly observed in research on old-fashioned and modern racism (Brigham, 1993; Henry & Sears, 2002; Katz & Hass, 1988; McConahay et al., 1981). The defining attitudes and characteristics of each form of racism are clearly represented in the items included in scales developed to assess the constructs.

### **Early History**

At the end of the slavery era, racism was undeniably present throughout the country, especially in the south (Scheman et al., 1985). During this time, ideas espoused such as Herbert Spencer's (1864) *survival of the fittest*, were deeply embedded in academic and social thought (Claeys, 2000; Scheman et al., 1985). These ideas were central to the theory of social Darwinism (Claeys, 2000; Dennis, 1995). Social Darwinism is the view that some humans were innately and biologically inferior to others

(Claeys, 2000). This theory was an unfortunate misunderstanding of Darwin's original theory of evolution by natural selection (Claeys, 2000). Consequently, White Americans viewed Black individuals as biologically, intellectually, and socially inferior beings (Jackson & Weidman, 2005; Jaynes, 2011; Scheman et al., 1985; Shields & Bhatia, 2009). Viewing Black individuals as biologically inferior beings stunted progress towards eradicating discrimination against Black individuals. Social Darwinism implied that Black individuals would always be inferior due to biology and thus discrimination would always be justifiable.

Social Darwinism served as a key justification for and propulsion of the Jim Crow era that took place following the abolition of slavery (Claeys, 2000; Dennis, 1995; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Jim Crow refers to legalized discrimination against Black individuals via segregation and permissance of brutality against Black individuals at the hands of citizens and government officials alike (Scheman et al., 1985). The segregation, physical maltreatment, and systemic oppression that characterized the Jim Crow era seemed fair and warranted under the biologically superior mindset that drove the laws.

### **Defining Old-fashioned Racism**

Individuals such as East and Jones (1919) classified "negro" inferiority to "the white" as "reality" (p. 253). Negative attitudes, rooted in misguided beliefs in biological superiority, created an academic and political atmosphere of segregation embraced by White individuals (East & Jones, 1919; Glass & Stern, 1986; Jackson & Weidman, 2005; Scheman et al., 1985). Examples are documented in the infamous Jim Crow laws that

legalized segregation in school and public places and outlawed interracial marriage. Further examples include the history of lynching and the brutality Black individuals faced. Discrimination against Black individuals saturated society and was viewed as legitimate in all spheres of society (Scheman et al., 1985). The state of the country during this era is the essence of old-fashioned racism. Specifically, old-fashioned racism is characterized by both psychologist and historians as the promotion of de jure segregation, blatant acts of discrimination, and beliefs that Black individuals are biologically and intellectually inferior (Scheman et al., 1985; McConahay & Hough, 1976).

### **Measuring Old-fashioned Racism**

Research studying old-fashioned racism, has been critiqued for the questionnaire items that do not relate to old fashioned racism in measuring levels of old-fashioned racism. Specifically, old-fashioned attitudes regarding segregation and biological inferiority are assessed as well as attitudes regarding black individuals' work ethic (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Henry, 2003; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). The problem is the fact that ideas of poor work ethic are not associated with old-fashioned racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Henry, 2003; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998). Thus, the more frequently cited measure of old-fashioned racism is the Old-fashioned Racism Scale (OFR; McConahay et al., 1981), due to it only containing items that align with the definition of old-fashioned racism.

Further evidence of the OFR (McConahay et al., 1981) scale's ability to assess old-fashioned attitudes is found in the review conducted by Ray (1988). The review discussed the F-scale, which assesses attitudes on a variety of subjects. Specifically, the

items assess the degree to which individuals espouse to values and beliefs that are considered “old-fashioned” (Ray, 1979; Ray, 1988). Findings consistently demonstrate the ability of the F-scale to predict old-fashioned racism (Ray, 1979; Ray, 1988). Ray (1988) argued that the consistency in predicting racism is attributable to the scale’s ability to capture overarching promotion of old-fashioned values. It is precisely this finding that limits the current use of the OFR to measure current racial attitudes.

As shifts occur in what is considered socially acceptable, it is increasingly difficult to assess explicit old-fashioned attitudes due to social desirability (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Sears & Henry, 2003). Additionally, it is increasingly ineffective to use measures assessing old-fashioned attitudes to measure attitudes in modern times. Individuals who maintain old-fashioned attitudes towards a variety of social issues also tend to ascribe to old-fashioned attitudes and beliefs regarding race. These old-fashioned attitudes have become distanced from the societal attitude norm. Additionally, research demonstrates that despite moderate correlations between old-fashioned and modern measures of racism, these are two separate factors that measure two distinct constructs (Gilens, 1995; McConahay, 1986; Virtanen & Huddy, 1998).

## **Modern Racism**

### **Sociopolitical Shifts**

Eventually, the stances on race shifted among intellectuals, and the once promoted idea of Black individuals being biologically inferior was denounced in academia (Glass & Stern, 1986; Gould, 1981; Jackson & Weidman, 2005; Sitkoff, 1978). Shifts were prompted by global sociopolitical events and data-based critical analyses of

previous thought. Specifically, the Holocaust and World War II opened scholars' eyes to the level of brutality racist ideology rooted in beliefs of biological inferiority could breed (Jackson & Weidman, 2005; Scheman et al., 1985). Additionally, individuals such as Stephen Jay Gould (1981) assessed years of data and theory and demonstrated its failure to support conclusions of biological inferiority. Despite this change in theoretical position, successive decades of Jim Crow laws demonstrated society's resistance to embracing the same changes observed in academia. The racial conflict in the country escalated continuously. Racial conflict drove research on racial discrimination, including the production of several studies investigating the nature of racist attitudes of the time, the behavioral consequences that predicted them, and vice versa.

Data collected during the late 20th and early 21st century indicated the emergence of a new form of racism, modern, also known as symbolic racism. Modern racism emerged with the growing momentum of the Civil Rights Movement (McConahay & Hough, 1976; Scheman et al., 1985). The movement strived for the legislative securement of social and political equality for Black Americans. Civil Rights activists called for changes in the segregation laws and blatant systemic oppression of Black individuals. Black individuals' demand for changes, exhibited through resistance to Jim Crow laws and political activism and dissent, were met with resistance from White individuals (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Scheman et al., 1985). The historical events and attitudes surrounding the Civil Rights era reshaped politics and society and set in motion the attitudes that would come to define modern racism.

## **Defining Modern Racism**

Early in the literature on modern racism, McConahay and Hough (1976) defined modern racism, synonymous to symbolic racism, as “the feeling that blacks are violating cherished values and making illegitimate demands for change in the racial status quo” (p. 23). Many held the beliefs that Black individuals were not working hard enough, and that their demands were too high (Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Sears & Henry 2003). The idea that Black individuals violate cherished values such as hard work was related to affirmative action (Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Sears & Henry 2003).

Affirmative action is a series of legal measures designed to combat discrimination based on individuals’ race in education and occupation (Scheman et al., 1985; Sears & Henry, 2003). White individuals viewed these actions as legalized competition for job positions and college admittance (Jacobson, 1985). Additionally, welfare programs were viewed as a means by which Black individuals could escape the hard-work-pays-off mentality that was central to American ideology (Jacobson, 1985). Black individuals’ demands for equality and insistence on legal measures that would promote equity were viewed as excessive. Furthermore, these demands seemed to directly contradict the American value of simply working hard to achieve the American dream (Jacobson, 1985).

The pervading idea was that the age of discrimination had ended, and Black individuals were solely responsible for their success or failure (Sears & Henry, 2003). White individuals believed that if Black individuals were willing and worked as hard as their White counterparts, they would be able to get ahead and succeed (Henry & Sears,

2002; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Henry, 2003; Sears, 1988). This attitude is reflective in several measures of modern racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981).

Negative views regarding Black individuals' work ethic and violation of American values was especially present among economically and socially conservative individuals due to the relationship between policy changes and racial advancement (Henry & Sears, 2002; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Henry, 2003; Sears, 1988). As research progressed, the definition evolved to include the aspects of work ethic and social conservatism. Amid the growing definition was the materialization of new measures of modern racism, growing evidence of its relationship to both anti-Black affect and conservative values, and evidence of its distinction from old-fashioned prejudice (Brown, Akiyama, White, Jayaratne, & Anderson, 2009; Kinder & Sears 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003).

### **Measuring Modern Racism**

The items developed to measure modern racism were reflective of changes made regarding Black individuals, both socially and legislatively. In 1976, McConahay and Hough developed several items of modern racism, including *Whites should support Negroes in their struggle against discrimination and segregation*. This item was reverse scored to reflect that denial of discrimination, which is an attitude central to modern racism. Across two studies, McConahay & Hough (1976) found that there was no significant correlation between this construct and old-fashioned racism (see also Brown et al., 2009; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Kinder, 1971).

Kinder and Sears (1981) followed up McConahay's (1976) work, using similar items to assess modern racism. For example, the item *Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more than they deserve*, reflects the negative attitudes held by many towards affirmative action. Specifically, this item is reflective of the politically conservative attitude many held towards the advancement of Black individuals (Henry & Sears, 2002; Kinder & Sears, 1981). Kinder and Sears's (1981) findings further demonstrated the distinctiveness of modern racism from old-fashioned racism. Additionally, results established the predictive power of symbolic racism in political actions such as voting (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Specifically, increased symbolic racism predicted stronger preference for White candidates and decreased tendency to vote for Black candidates. The studies found that modern racism scores consistently aligned with and predicted behavioral measures of racial prejudice (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976).

Although similar items were used throughout the literature on symbolic racism, in 1981, McConahay and colleagues initiated an official measurement. McConahay published this measurement as the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) in 1986. The MRS (McConahay, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981) traced the two major roots of modern racism, anti-Black affect and conservative values, such as objection to affirmative action. Anti-Black affect is defined as a generally negative attitudes and feelings towards Black individuals (Brigham, 1993). Several studies were produced following the production of MRS (McConahay et al., 1981). However, these scales and various scale items do not capture both aspects of the construct, highlighting a broad spectrum of anti-Black affect

more than anything else (Brigham, 1993; Katz & Hass, 1988). One of the key arguments for research on a new form of racism and the production of later modern racism scales revolved around the contextual nature of the scales and the natural changes that occur within the sociopolitical context over time (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sidanius & Lau, 1989). The latest measure of modern racism aimed to answer the concerns and challenges faced in using the MRS (McConahay et al., 1981), including its outdated nature as indicated by questions regarding issues such as segregation (Henry & Sears, 2002).

**Later additions.** An important production during this time was the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K; Henry & Sears, 2002). The scale successfully captured the elements of modern racism outlined in decades of definitions. Specifically, the SR2K (Henry & Sears, 2002) consistently correlated with measures of anti-Black affect, predicted conservative policy preference, and reflected denial of discrimination and negative attitudes towards Black individuals' work ethic. Henry and Sears (2002) developed the SR2K with the goal of introducing a more current and relevant measure of symbolic racism, in place of the decades old MRS (McConahay, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981). Henry and Sears (2002) also developed the scale and conducted several studies, successfully establishing the distinctiveness of modern racism from conservatism. Despite the finding that modern racism is influenced by conservative values, the data demonstrates that the construct and scale assesses a factor above and beyond conservative racial policy preference alone (Henry & Sears, 2002).

Although the MRS (McConahay et al., 1981) was widely used in studies investigating modern racism (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Dovidio, Kawakami, &

Gaertner, 2002; Pratto et al., 1994; Sue et al., 2007) and presented sound psychometric properties, the content of the scale exposed its age. The MRS included matters that had been made negligible (i.e., desegregation) considering legislative changes (Henry & Sears, 2002). For Henry and Sears (2002), the question was not whether the MRS (McConahay et al., 1981) was a good measure of modern racism. Rather, the question was could a new measure that would better reflect the then current sociopolitical climate be formed (Henry & Sears, 2002). A similar question must be raised in light of the Black Lives Matter Movement.

The racial sociopolitical climate in 2002 varied greatly from that of today's racial sociopolitical climate. Specifically, the United States was still grappling with the impact of 9/11, which preceded increases in prejudice toward individuals who identified and appeared as Arab (Cashin, 2010). It is not that Black individuals were no longer experiencing discrimination, rather those who identified or appeared Arab were also experiencing discrimination (Cashin, 2010). Persson and Musher-Eizenman (2005) found that in cases of increased media exposure following 9/11 individuals who identified as Arab were the target of higher prejudice levels than individuals who identified as Black. The attack on 9/11 altered the political climate, and while the nation still exhibits the residual effects (e.g., continued discrimination against individuals who identify as or appear to be Arab (Cainkar, 2006), media exposure of the Black Lives Matter Movement and frequent media mention of police brutality (Desmond et al., 2016) support the argument that the political climate has changed one again.

Regarding race relevant sociopolitical matters, the Black Lives Matter Movement has become increasingly prominent within the Black community. In response, researchers aimed to assess attitudes towards the movement. When considering the way to assess attitudes towards the movement it was essential to consider the type of attitude researchers aimed to measure. Researchers also had to determine the desired nature of the measure to be developed (Terrizzi & Robinson, 2018). Specifically, researchers had to determine whether to assess individuals' explicit or implicit attitudes towards the movement and whether to do so using explicit or implicit forms of assessment. To understand the decisions made, and ultimately the development of the measure, one must understand the differences between explicit and implicit attitudes and measures.

### **Explicit Attitudes and Measurements**

#### **Explicit Attitudes**

The term *explicit*, regarding attitudes, describes attitudes individuals are aware they have (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). Explicit attitudes are deliberate, though influenced by experiences (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). In the same vein, the influence of explicit attitudes over behavior is deliberate. Specifically, individuals consciously choose to behave in discriminative or non-discriminative ways based on their conscious positive or negative attitudes. For example, Devine (1989) found that individuals who did not want to appear prejudiced against Black individuals did not ascribe automatically activated stereotypes to all Black people. As explicit attitudes are both conscious and deliberate, they are also disclosable. That is, individuals can indicate

what explicit attitudes they hold. The nature of explicit attitudes has influenced the nature of explicit measures.

### **Explicit Measurements**

When utilizing the term *explicit* regarding attitude measurement, researchers are typically referring to self-report measures of attitudes (Dovidio et al., 2002). These measures call for respondents to state plainly their attitudes or feelings regarding a specific subject. The fact that the best way to assess explicit attitudes is simply by asking makes self-reports highly useful in research (Axt, 2017). Yet, participants can disguise their conscious attitudes by answering falsely. This ability increases the influence of social desirability – the tendency for individuals to respond according to what is socially acceptable (Crowne & Marlow 1960). False responding is a phenomenon of which researchers should be aware and can account for in design and methodology. Therefore, risk of false responding does not thwart the use of self-report measures. Instead, researchers have developed measures that assess individuals' attitudes via implicit measurements.

### **Implicit Attitudes and Measurements**

#### **Implicit Attitudes**

The term *implicit*, regarding attitudes, describes attitudes of which participants are not aware (Conner, Perugini, O'Gorman, Ayres, & Prestwich, 2007; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Gawronski & Payne, 2010). In contrast to explicit attitudes, implicit attitudes are not deliberate but the result of socialization experiences (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). Therefore, implicit attitudes are not subject to false responding as individuals are

unaware of the attitude and the root. Dissimilar to explicitly influenced behavior, individuals are not aware of how their implicit attitudes impact their behavior. One may act in a discriminative manner towards an individual or group but consciously report not having negative attitudes towards the group (Loersch, Batholow, Manning, Calanchini, & Sherman, 2015). Additionally, the influence of implicit attitudes on behavior and evaluations is automatic which means individuals cannot control their implicit attitudes or prevent the influence of implicit attitudes (Gawronski & Bedenhausen, 2006; Payne, Cheng, Govorun, & Stewart, 2005). This is true even when individuals are made aware of the implicit attitude (Payne et al., 2005). Subsequently, the nature of implicit attitudes has influenced the nature of implicit measurements.

### **Implicit Measures**

Regarding attitude measurement, *implicit* refers to measures that assess attitudes without participants' awareness of the attitude being assessed (Conner et al., 2007; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Gawronski & Payne, 2010). Participants' lack of awareness is an advantage of using implicit measures, as implicit measures are resistant to the effects of social desirability. Not knowing the attitude being assessed prevents participants from altering responses to such a degree that data would be polluted (Gawronski & Payne, 2010; Payne et al., 2005). Yet, implicit assessment has been met with some critique.

**Critique of implicit measures.** Though explicit attitudes and implicit attitudes are different in nature (e.g., explicit attitudes being conscious and controlled, implicit attitudes being unconscious and automatic), studies have found evidence that explicit and implicit attitudes are correlated and predictive of one another (Hofmann, Gawronski,

Gaschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005). Data also demonstrates that explicit and implicit measures are correlated and sometimes predictive of one another (Hofmann et al., 2005; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). However, some researchers have challenged the use of implicit measures, arguing that they do not align always with explicit measures or predict explicit attitudes (Aberson & Haag, 2007; Gawronski, Deutscher, LeBel, & Peters, 2008; Nosek, 2007). Thus, maintaining access to valid measures of prejudice is vital. Yet, in using explicit measures, accounting for factors that may skew data and limit access to true scores is also vital. One factor to consider in using explicit measures of racial prejudice is the motivation to control prejudice.

*Motivation to control prejudice.* The argument is that when individuals are motivated to control their prejudice reactions (influence of explicit attitudes), they will intentionally modify responses to appear less prejudiced (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Expressly, individuals' implicit and explicit attitudes align when they are not motivated to appear unprejudiced (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). In study conducted by Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, and Vance (2002), the individuals with higher motivation to appear non-prejudice exhibited lower scores on explicit measures of prejudice. Findings such as these aid in understanding the need for self-report measures and the nature of the scales developed within different sociopolitical contexts. Specifically, though implicit measures offer protection against effects of social desirability, the best way to assess attitudes specific attitudes is by asking (Axt, 2017). Findings have also demonstrated explicit measures to be a stronger “predictor of interpersonal behavior and person

perceptions when they consisted of ratings of Black targets” (Oswald, Mitchell, Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013, p. 179). This knowledge both implied the need for and informed the development of the Black Lives Matter Scale (BLMS).

### **Developing the Black Lives Matter Scale**

In developing the BLMS, it was important to consider common attitudes, evidenced by televised media and social media and previous findings on modern racism. Attitudes in the media were, and remain divisive, with some individuals in full support of Black Lives Matter, while others protest the movement (Gallagher, Reagan, Danforth, & Dodds, 2018). Some of the more notable means of protest was through the countermovement, All Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter. Proponents of All Lives Matter argue that all lives deserve equal attention regardless of race (Gallagher et al., 2018). Proponents of Blue Lives Matter argue that the lives of law enforcement officers are under equal (or more) danger, and crimes against officers should be treated as hate crimes (Riddell, 2016; Russell, 2017). The hijacking of the hashtag has faced controversy, and there is well known argument and insistence that one cannot support these movements while supporting Black Lives Matter (Kaste, 2015; Riddell, 2016; Russell, 2017). The strong separation between supporters of Black Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter further supports the argument that at the heart of attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter Movement is in-group/out-group bias for both minimal groups (law enforcement occupation) and identity groups (racial identity) (Tajfel, 1970).

## Denial of Discrimination

This objection to the Black Lives Matter Movement could simply be a novel way in which individuals can ignore and deny the clear discrimination faced by Black individuals in America<sup>1</sup> (Gallagher et al., 2018; Mekawi & Bresin, 2015; Nix, Campbell, Beyers, & Alpert, 2017). Therefore, items were selected that assess attitudes towards the necessity of the movement<sup>2</sup>; “Black Lives Matter is fighting for necessary change.” Additionally, items such as “I would join Black Lives Matter,” were included to reflect those who hold more positive attitudes toward the movement. There are psychometric reasons for including balanced items. Specifically, including both positive and negative items can aid in reducing acquiescence response set which is “the tendency to agree with the questionnaire statements regardless of content” (Winkler, Kanouse, & Ware, 1982, p. 555). In addition to items that assess denial of discrimination, it was also important to include items that reflect views held by conservative individuals without assessing conservative ideology<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The literature indicates that Black individuals, Black men in particular, experience greater discrimination and police brutality (Carbado & Rock, 2016; Hadden, Tolliver, Snowden, & Brown-Manning, 2016; Desmond, Papachristos, & Kirk, 2016). Specifically, Black men are more often the target of excessive force than other groups (Carbado & Rock, 2016) and data support that race remains a primary predictor of police violence against Black men (Hadden et al., 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Items were not based on any certain scale in the literature as there is not currently any other measure of attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement.

<sup>3</sup> Henry and Sears (2002) found that while symbolic racism is a separate factor, conservative values underlie modern racist attitudes. Additionally, the researchers found that conservatism and modern racism are correlated (Henry & Sears, 2002).

## **Conservatism**

Analysis of social media has demonstrated a relationship between All Lives Matter and conservatism. Specifically, individuals who supported All Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter were more likely to be conservative as well and support conservative politicians and politics (Gallagher et al., 2018; Stewart, Arif, Nied, Spiro, & Starbird, 2017). Past research has demonstrated conservatism to be related to, though distinct from modern racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). Analysis of tweets regarding the movements demonstrated high conservative opposition to the movement and support of the belief that Black Lives Matter protesters are unpatriotic (Freelon, Mcilwain, & Clark, 2016). Additionally, supporters of All Lives Matter have argued that the Black Lives Matter Movement is divisive (Gallagher et al., 2018; Stewart et al., 2017). Due to these connections, items such as “Black Lives Matter is responsible for dividing America” and “Black Lives Matter is making America better,” were used to inadvertently assess anti-Black affect and conservative values regarding the movement.

## **Anti-Black Affect<sup>4</sup>**

Anti-Black affect is characterized by generally negative attitudes towards and beliefs about Black individuals (Brigham, 1993). Anti-Black affect is multifaceted and

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<sup>4</sup> Blatant (explicit/overt) negative attitudes toward Black individuals is no longer widely socially acceptable (Sears & Henry, 2003). Thus, being identified as an individual with racial prejudice is not a socially desirable trait. While the MRS and the SR2K assess attitudes toward Black individuals directly, the BLMS indirectly assesses attitudes toward Black individuals in efforts to preemptively overcome the issues raised by social desirability (Crowne & Marlow, 1960). Specifically, the BLMS assesses prejudice toward Black individuals in a subtler way than the MRS and the SR2K, by assessing individuals' level of positivity towards a movement aimed towards the social, educational, economical, and political advancement of Black individuals.

rooted in many of the factors prior mentioned such as negative views of work ethic. An additional root of anti-Black affect in America is the view of Black individual as, and at the very least, more likely to be criminals (Mancini, Mears, Stewart, Beaver, & Pickett, 2012). Specifically, research has found news coverage and reports of crimes involving Black individuals to be disproportionate and there to be increased representation of Black individuals as deviants and criminals in television (Mancini et al., 2012; Entman, 1990; Swain, 2018). This criminalization of Black individuals leads to increases in anti-Black affect, a central component of modern racism. Therefore, items that assess anti-Black attitudes on this level were included: *Black Lives Matter is dangerous*.

## **Purpose and Hypotheses**

### **Purpose**

Racism has evolved over the course of United States history. Changes have included transition from old-fashioned racism, to the development of a new, distinct construct, modern racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay et al., 1981). As racism has evolved, so too have the means of assessing racist attitudes, to include both explicit (i.e. self-report) measures and implicit measures (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995). Changes in assessment were based not only on changes in attitudes, but on shifts within the sociopolitical atmosphere, the time passed between scale development (Henry & Sears, 2002), and the ability to ascertain explicit versus implicit attitudes. In fact, one of the arguments used by Henry and Sears in developing a new measure of modern racism (SR2K) in place of the MRS (McConahay, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981) was the time that had passed since the original scale

development. Neither the development of the BLMS or the current study serves to discredit, challenge, or change the working definition of modern or symbolic racism. Rather, it serves the same purpose as Henry and Sear's (2002) work. The BLMS is intended to serve as a measure of modern racism that reflects the current sociopolitical atmosphere. The purpose of the current study is to establish evidence of reliability and validity for the BLMS. Additionally, an exploratory factor analysis was performed.

### **Hypotheses**

H<sub>1</sub>: Attitudes towards Black Lives Matter will be weakly negatively correlated with old-fashioned attitudes, including old-fashioned racism. Research has demonstrated that modern racism and old-fashioned racism are separate factors but have similar underlying components due to the fact they both assess racial attitudes (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Henry, 2003). This finding will provide evidence of discriminant validity.

H<sub>2</sub>: Attitudes toward Black Lives Matter will be moderately negatively correlated with conservatism. As modern racism has demonstrated a connection to connectivism levels, though a separate construct, a moderate correlation would provide evidence of discriminant validity.

H<sub>3</sub>: Attitudes towards Black Lives Matter will demonstrate strong positive correlation with pro-Black attitudes. As attitudes towards Black Lives Matter are being treated as levels of racism, the more positive one's attitude toward the

movement, the more pro-Black attitudes one would exhibit. This analysis will provide evidence of convergent validity.

H<sub>4</sub>: Attitudes toward Black Lives Matter will be negatively correlated with modern racism and anti-Black affect. Correlations among these constructs will provide evidence of convergent validity.

H<sub>5</sub>: Attitudes towards Black Lives Matter will predict perceptions of Black criminal defendants. Specifically, those with more negative attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter Movement will have more negative perceptions of Black criminal defendants. This will help to establish concurrent validity.

H<sub>6</sub>: There will be a two-way interaction between the race of the criminal and participants' attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement on perceptions of the criminal defendant.

H<sub>6a</sub>: The more negative an individual's attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement, the more negative their attitude will be towards the criminal defendant when the defendant is Black.

H<sub>6b</sub>: Individuals' attitude toward the Black Lives Matter Movement will not impact attitudes toward the criminal defendant when the criminal defendant is White.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODS

#### **Participants**

Participants were undergraduates from Texas Woman's University and consisted of 300<sup>5</sup> (Male,  $N = 33$ ; Female,  $N = 267$ ) undergraduate students between the ages of 18 and 46 ( $M = 19.68$ ,  $SD = 2.76$ ). The sample consisted of 20.3% African/Black/African American individuals, 23.3% White/ Caucasian individuals, 32.7% Hispanic/Latin individuals, 1 % Native American/American Indian individuals, 10.7% Asian/Pacific Islander individuals, and 12% individuals who identified as a racial category other than those provided.

Participants indicated the degree to which their political ideology is conservative or liberal. Majority of the sample (34.7 %) indicated a balanced political ideology, scoring in the center range of possible scores. Participants also selected political parties that most closely reflect and align with their political beliefs. Political parties from which participants could chose included, Democrat, Republican, Libertarian, Independent, and other. In the sample, 61% identified as Democrat, 14.7 % identified as Republican, 4 % identified as Libertarian, 12.7 % identified as Independent, and 7.7 % identified as other.

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<sup>5</sup> See Footnote 6.

The sample size collected is sufficient size for the factor analysis as supported by the findings of Worthington and Whittaker (2006)<sup>6</sup>. Additionally, this is a conservative sample for the correlational analyses. Participants were collected via convenience sampling and were recruited via the university SONA system. This is an online system that provides participants with a unique code to aid in the protection of identity when participating in both in-person and online research.

### **Materials<sup>7</sup>**

#### **Crime Vignette**

The crime vignettes were used in a similar way as voting tasks in past research (see Figure 1) (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay 1976).

#### **Vignette with Black Name:**

Jermaine, a twenty-two-year-old male, used a knife to intentionally injure a victim. The victim, a sixty-year-old female, was treated by a doctor and was hospitalized. Jermaine had never had a steady job. Jermaine had a mental condition and was drunk when he committed the crime. Jermaine had never been convicted before for a violent offense but had been convicted once before for stealing money or property. Jermaine had served one previous sentence of one year in jail.

*Figure 1.* Sample vignette with Black name included.

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<sup>6</sup> Worthington and Whittaker suggest that a sample size of 300 is sufficient for an exploratory factor analysis. Additionally, Worthington and Whittaker (2006) suggested that when communalities are above .50, samples of 150 to 200 are sufficient.

<sup>7</sup> All alpha coefficients are reliability statistics collected on from the sample in the present study, unless otherwise noted.

Specifically, past research has found that modern racism predicts candidate preference and perceptions (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Additionally, the literature demonstrates both a tendency to criminalize Black individuals and impute harsher sentences and judgments for crime related matters (Crawley, Ramos, & Leyva, 2017; Entman, 1990; Mancini et al., 2012; Swain, 2018). For this reason, crime vignettes adopted from Jacoby and Cullen (1989) were used; adaptation is due to personalization of the vignettes through the inclusion of stereotypical Black names and stereotypical White names (see Appendix A to view all variations of the crime vignette) (see Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004 for information regarding standardization and selection of stereotypical Black names and stereotypical White names).

### **Perceptions of Criminal Defendants**

The Perceptions of Criminal Defendants Scale (PCDS; Crawley et al., 2017) was used to assess individuals' attitudes towards the individual featured as the criminal in the vignettes. The scale included a total of 10 ( $\alpha = .76$ ) items; items 1 through 9 are measured on a 6-point Likert scale with 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*). Example items include, "I am fearful of this individual," and "This individual is an evil person." Item 10 is a multi-option single selection response. Specifically, participants are asked to recommend a jail sentence and are given six possible options that vary in severity. Example options include, 1 (*no sentence/no punishment at all*) and 6 (*maximum prison sentence with no possibility of parole*). Two items are reverse scored so that higher scores reflect harsher judgement.

### **Black Lives Matter Scale**

The BLMS was developed by (Terrizzi & Robinson, 2018) and has been included in prior research. Results from these studies demonstrated high reliability for the BLMS. The scale included 12 ( $\alpha = .94$ ) items, measured on a 7-point Likert scale, with 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*). Items in the scale reflect a variety of attitudes, and participants are asked to indicate the degree that they agree or disagree. Example items include, “Black Lives Matter is fighting for necessary change”, and, “I Black Lives Matter is responsible for dividing America.” Five items are reverse coded so that higher score indicate more positive attitudes towards the movement and lower levels of racism.

### **Pro-Black**

The Pro-Black Scale (PBS; Katz & Hass, 1988) was created alongside the ABS as a countermeasure of attitudes towards Black individuals. Specifically, if individuals score higher on the ABS, their scores on the PBS should be lower. The PBS includes 10 ( $\alpha = .82$ ) items, measured on a 7-point Likert scale, with 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*). Example items include “Sometimes Black job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring”, and “Many Whites show a real lack of understanding of the problems that Blacks face.” Two items are reverse coded so that higher scores indicate more positive attitudes towards Black individuals and lower levels of racism.

### **Old-Fashioned Attitudes**

The OFR (McConahay, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981) is a 7-item ( $\alpha = .88$ ) scale measurement of old-fashioned racism, assessed on a 5-point Likert scale. Scores range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The items reflect attitudes and beliefs

that were prevalent during the height of old-fashioned racism, such as times of slavery and the Jim Crow era (McConahay, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981). Example items include “It was wrong for the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in its 1954 decision”, and “Black people are not as smart as whites.” Two items are reverse coded so that higher scores indicate higher levels of old-fashioned racism.

The F-Scale (Ray, 1979; Ray, 1988) is a 14-item ( $\alpha = .80$ )<sup>8</sup> questionnaire measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The items in this questionnaire are intended to assess the degree to which individuals ascribe to attitudes that were considered *old-fashioned* at the time the scale was developed (Ray, 1979; Ray, 1988). Additionally, the F-Scale has consistently been correlated to measures of old-fashioned racism (Ray, 1979; Ray, 1988). An example item includes, “Homosexuals are hardly better than sex criminals and ought to be severely punished.” Seven items on the questionnaire are reverse scored so that higher scores indicate more old-fashioned attitudes.

### **Previous Modern Racism Measures**

The MRS (McConahay et al., 1981) is a brief 6-item ( $\alpha = .75$ ) scale measured on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Some, though surely not all, scale items are socially outdated as it was originally created based on the sociopolitical atmosphere of the Civil Rights era. Example items include, “Blacks

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<sup>8</sup> This alpha coefficient is the reliability statistic found from the original sample that was polled in the development of this scale; this is not a statistic from the present study. The scale did not demonstrate an acceptable reliability ( $\alpha < .70$ , after the removal of several items) within the sample taken for the current study.

have more influence upon desegregation plans than they ought to have,” and “It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America.” The first item, included as an example is reverse coded, so that higher scores indicated higher levels of modern racism.

The SR2K (Henry & Sears, 2002) was designed to address the dated nature of MRS and more clearly measure both aspects of modern racism, political conservatism and anti-Black affect (Henry & Sears, 2002). The scale includes 8 items ( $\alpha = .72$ ) assessed on both Likert and non-Likert scales. Example items include “It’s really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would try harder, they could be just as well off as whites,” and, “Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than deserve.” Four items are reverse coded so that higher scores indicate increased levels of racism. The scale does not present high reliability across all ethnic/racial groups<sup>9</sup> but is consistently high among White individuals ( $\alpha = .77$ ; Henry & Sears, 2002).

### **Other Measures of Racism**

Attitudes Towards Blacks (ATB; Brigham, 1993) is a 20-item ( $\alpha = .88$ ) scale measurement of anti-Black affect, assessed by a 7-point Likert scale. Possible responses range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The scale was designed to measure anti-Black affect, but some items reflect both old-fashioned and modern racism undertones. Example items include “I get very upset when I hear a white person make a prejudicial remark about blacks,” “Generally, blacks are not as smart as whites,” and “Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.” Nine items

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<sup>9</sup> The SR2K is not reliable assessment within Black/African American populations (Henry & Sears, 2002). Additionally, while the scale is reliable among other marginalized races, the highest reliability is demonstrated among White individuals (Henry & Sears, 2002).

are reverse coded so that higher scores indicate higher anti-Black affect and thus higher racism.

The Anti-Black Scale (ABS; Katz & Hass, 1988) is a 10-item ( $\alpha = .81$ ) measure of negative attitudes towards Black individuals as an assessment of racism levels. Attitudes are assessed on a 7-point Likert scale with answers ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Example items include “One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect,” and “The root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family.” Two items are reverse coded so that higher scores indicate more negative attitudes towards Black individuals.

### **Conservatism**

The Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (SECS; Everett, 2013) is a 12-item ( $\alpha = .74$ ) measure of individual levels of conservatism. Specifically, the measure includes items that describe issues conservatives tend to support or oppose (Everett, 2013). The 12 items can be broken down into two subscales including, social conservatism ( $\alpha = .73$ ) and economic conservatism ( $\alpha = .70$ ). Overall Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .88$ , demonstrating high reliability. Participants are instructed to rate the degree to which they view the issue listed in each item as negative (0) or positive (100); greater scores indicate greater positivity toward the issue. Example items include, “Traditional values (S)”, where ‘s’ is used to indicate a social issue, and “Fiscal responsibility (E)”, where ‘e’ is used to indicate an economic issue.

Patriotism is viewed as a traditional American value, and subsequently, as related to conservatism (Everett, 2013). For this reason, the Patriotism Questionnaire (PQ; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989) was included as a measure of conservative values. The scale consists of 12 items ( $\alpha = .90$ ), measured on a 5-point Likert scale with 1 (*strongly disagree*), and 5 (*strongly agree*); higher scores indicate higher levels of patriotism (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). An example item is “I am proud to be an American.” Five items are reverse scored so that higher scores indicate higher levels of patriotism.

## **Procedures**

### **Study Access**

Participants gained access to the survey by first signing up for the study via the university SONA system. Upon signing up for the study, participants were provided with the study URL link. This link provided access to PsychData, a secure online system, through which participants completed the study. Prior to participating, individuals were asked to provide consent, then began the study.

### **Study Composition**

There were two main components involved in the present study. Each task aimed toward establishing the psychometric properties of the BLMS and understanding how attitudes towards the movement relate to individuals’ attitudes toward others based on race. The two components included a vignette (adapted from Jacoby & Cullen, 1989) assessment and completion of a series of self-report measures. All participants were first presented with the vignette followed by a series of random ordered self-report measures. The vignette viewed by participants determined which condition participants were in.

## **Condition Assignment**

The study included three<sup>10</sup> conditions based on minor variations in the vignette content. Participants were randomly assigned to one of these three conditions by the PsychData system, immediately after consenting to participate in the study. Specifically, the name of the individual mentioned in the vignette was different; there was a condition with a Black name, a White name, and one with no name given.

Condition one included a vignette detailing a crime committed by an individual with a stereotypically Black name. Condition two included a vignette detailing an identical crime committed by an individual with a stereotypically White name. Condition three included a vignette detailing a crime committed by an individual whose name was not provided in the vignette. Vignettes were the same in all aspects except for the specified name of the individual featured in the vignette. Participants were only exposed to a single vignette. After reading the vignette, participants completed the PCDS (Crawley et al., 2017). The vignette was not visible during the completion of the PCDS (Crawley et al., 2017).

## **Self-Report Measures**

Following the crime vignette task, participants completed a series of self-report measures. Across the three conditions, the self-report measures were placed into different randomized orders to prevent order effects (Krosnick, & Alwin, 1987; Schuman, Presser,

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<sup>10</sup> Though the original proposal specified the inclusion of only two condition, three conditions were created for the current study in efforts to comply with the procedures proposed in the submitted and approved IRB application. Analysis of the vignette only included participants in the Black name and the White name condition in compliance with the originally proposed analyses.

& Ludwig, 1981). Specifically, participants completed all self-report items at the same time, but the order in which the measures were completed varied randomly across each of the three conditions. These self-report measures were presented in a randomized order to prevent order effects (Krosnick, & Alwin, 1987; Schuman et al., 1981). The series of self-report measures assessed a variety of attitudes, including old-fashioned and modern racism, conservatism, and disgust. For a complete list of measures and measure items, see Appendix A.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

#### Analysis

##### **Reliability**

Prior to data analysis, conditions required for all performed analyses were checked. Specifically, homogeneity of the items was assessed by conducting a reliability analysis. The internal consistency has been established in previous data collection on the BLMS and revealed high reliability with a Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of .94. However, reliability was reassessed on data collected for the current study as well via a Cronbach's  $\alpha$ . Data from the present study further support that the BLMS is a highly reliable measure (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .94$ ) with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes towards the movement and less racism. All items were correlated and no outliers were found.

##### **Factor Analysis**

**Analytic plan.** Due to non-specification of a priori assumptions on the number of common factors, an exploratory factor analysis was used to assess the structure of the BLMS (Farbrigar, Wegener, MacCullum, & Strahan, 1999). The maximum likelihood extraction method was used due to the ability to test the significance for factors and correlations (Farbrigar et al., 1999). A scree plot, which uses the eigenvalues to determine substantial drops between factors, was used to determine the number of factors to retain (Farbrigar et al., 1999). Farbrigar et al. (1999) advises that when conducting research in social psychology, especially on attitudes, that the oblique rotation be used.

Oblique rotation allows for correlations between factors (Farbrigar et al., 1999). This is important as social attitudes, though not the same, are often related. Therefore, the Promax rotation option (in SPSS) was selected as it acts as an oblique rotation and allows for items to be correlated<sup>11</sup>.

**Analysis.** First, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted, taking into considerations the conditions stated above. A Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin of .95 demonstrated the sample was well suited for the maximum likelihood exploratory factor analysis. Bartlett's test of sphericity demonstrated that the variables were sufficiently correlated for analysis to proceed ( $\chi^2(66, N = 300) = 2680.97, p < .001$ ). Only a single factor emerged with an Eigenvalue above 1; specifically, the Eigenvalue was 7.44. This single factor accounted for 62.03% of the variance. The scree plot further supported the extraction of a single factor (see Figure 2.). The test of goodness of fit supports that a single factor is adequate to explain the covariances based on the present data,  $\chi^2(54, N = 300) = 233.00, p < .001$  (see Table 1).

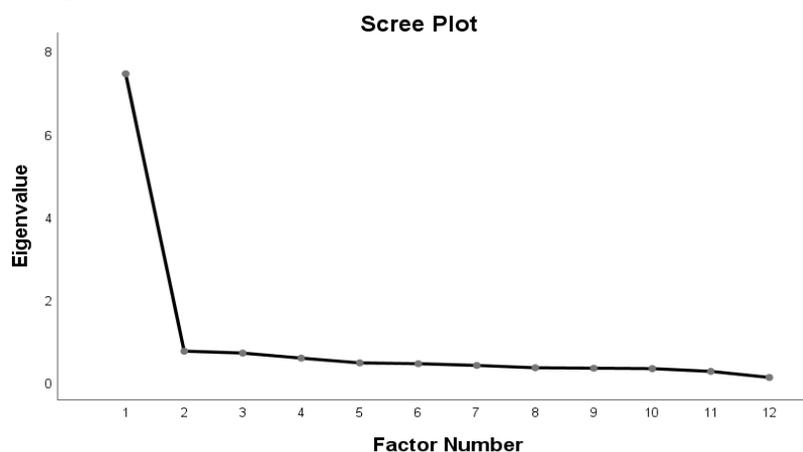


Figure 2. Scree plot indicating a single factor structure for the BLMS.

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<sup>11</sup> The oblique Promax rotation was used as it allows for items to be correlated.

Table 1  
*Black Lives Matter Scale Factor Loadings*<sup>12</sup>

Items	Factor 1
4. Black Lives Matter spreads an important message.	.92
3. Black Lives Matter is fighting for justice.	.91
6. I sympathize with Black Lives Matter.	.82
12. I would join Black Lives Matter	.78
10. Black Lives Matter is fighting for necessary change.	.75
8. Black Lives Matter is making America better.	.74
1. Black Lives Matter is a hate movement. (reverse scored)	.73
9. Black Lives Matter is dangerous. (reverse scored)	.71
7. I am afraid of Black Lives matter. (reverse scored)	.71
2. Black Lives Matter is a peaceful movement.	.70
5. Black Lives matter is responsible for dividing America. (reverse scored)	.69
11. I don't understand Black Lives Matter. (reverse scored)	.64

## Validity

**Discriminant validity.** The first hypothesis addressed discriminant validity and supposed that attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter Movement would have a weak, negative correlation with old-fashioned attitudes, including old-fashioned racism. The second hypothesis predicted there would be a moderate negative correlation between individuals' attitudes towards Black Lives Matter and their levels of conservatism. These hypotheses served to establish discriminant validity (see Table 2).

<sup>12</sup> The EFA failed to produce a rotation as only one factor was extracted. The unrotated factor loadings are given in the table.

The BLMS was not significantly correlated with the OFR,  $r = .09, p = .11$ . The BLMS was not significantly correlated with the F-Scale,  $r = -.10, p = .10$ . The BLMS was significantly correlated with the SECS,  $r = -.18, p < .001$ . Higher scores on the SECS indicated higher levels of conservatism. The more conservative an individual was, the more negative their attitude was toward the Black Lives Matter Movement. The correlation between the PQ scores and the BLMS was also significant,  $r$

Table 2.  
*Correlation Matrix Between Measures of Prejudice and Conservatism*

	OFR	F-Scale	PQ	SECS	MRS	SR2K	ABS	ATB	PROB
BLM	.09	-.04	-.31**	-.18**	-.55**	-.64**	-.43**	.60**	.55**
OFR		-.14**	-.01	.01	-.16**	.04	-.10	.07	.09
F-Scale			.19**	.07	.19**	.04	.11	-.04	-.04
PQ				.47**	.29**	.32**	.18**	-.05	-.31**
SECS					.04	.12**	.01	.08	-.11*
MRS						.54**	.41**	-.60**	-.46**
SR2K							.42**	-.59**	-.51**
ABS								-.44**	-.26**
ATB									.50**
<i>M</i>	3.39	4.45	3.29	55.18	2.65	1.92	3.31	5.65	4.80
<i>SD</i>	1.21	1.04	.70	19.79	1.00	.48	.97	.86	.96

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ . The F-scale required the removal of several items prior to reaching an acceptable level of reliability. OFR = Old-fashioned Racism Scale; PQ = Patriotism Questionnaire; SECS = Social and Economic Conservatism Scale; MRS = Modern Racism Scale; SR2K = Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale; ABS = Anti-Black Scale; ATB = Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale; PROB = Pro-Black Scale.

=  $-.31, p < .001$ . The more patriotic an individual was, the more negative their attitude towards the movement (see Table 2).

**Convergent validity.** The third hypothesis predicted that BLMS scores would be positively correlated with individuals' Pro-Black levels (as with the BLMS, higher scores on the PBS indicate lower levels of racism). The fourth hypothesis predicted that individuals' attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement would be correlated with their levels of anti-Black affect and modern racism. These hypotheses serve to establish convergent validity and were assessed using a series of bivariate correlations.

There was a significant positive correlation between the BLMS and the PBS,  $r = .55, p < .001$ . The more positive an individual was towards the Black Lives Matter Movement, the more pro-Black they were. There was a significant positive correlation between ATB scores and the BLMS,  $r = .60, p < .001$ . Individuals who are more positive toward the Black Lives Movement also demonstrate more positive attitudes toward Black individuals, in general. There was a significant negative correlation between the BLMS and the MRS,  $r = -.55, p < .001$ . Individuals with higher levels of modern racism demonstrated more negative attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter Movement. There was a significant negative correlation between the BLMS and the SR2K,  $r = -.64, p < .001$ . Individuals with higher levels of modern racism (symbolic racism is used interchangeably) demonstrated more negative attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement (see Table 3).

**Criterion validity.** Hypothesis six predicted that individuals' attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter Movement would predict their perceptions of criminal defendants.

Hypothesis seven predicted that the race of the criminal would moderate the hypothesized relationship between BLMS scores and their perceptions of criminal defendants.

Specifically, it was hypothesized that individuals with more negative attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement would perceive the criminal defendant more negatively, especially when the criminal defendant is Black. These hypotheses served to establish concurrent validity and were assessed using a multiple regression with moderation.

Table 3.  
*Analysis of Variance for all Participants' Scores on Racial Measures*

	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Black		White		Other	
			<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
BLMS	16.09	> .001	6.13	1.18	5.02	1.20	5.54	1.06
MRS	12.33	> .001	2.12	.86	2.68	.98	2.83	.99
PROB	3.54	.03	5.09	1.17	4.68	.99	4.76	.83
ATB	3.54	.03	5.84	.86	5.74	.81	5.53	.86
ABS	1.56	.21	3.16	1.12	3.46	.88	3.33	.94
OFR	.70	.50	3.24	1.23	3.33	1.32	3.44	1.16
			<i>N</i> = 61		<i>N</i> = 70		<i>N</i> = 169	

*Note.* Differences between scores on racial measure were investigated based on the race of participants<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Groups lacked significant differences on measures that assess a more blatant form of racism in more direct ways. For example, items from the ABS and the OFR overtly and blatantly assess prejudice. Considering lack of significant difference on blatant measure, the finding of significant differences between groups' BLMS score supports the claim that the BLMS measure the subtle construct of modern racism.

A moderation was used to assess the interaction between BLMS scores<sup>14</sup> and defendant race for all participants<sup>15</sup> in the Black name condition and in the White name condition. Specifically, only individuals in the Black name and White name conditions were included in the analyses; those in the No name condition were excluded. Analyses only included the Black name and White name conditions in efforts to adhere to the originally proposed study design. Additionally, due to the history of racism being rooted in the racial conflict between Black individuals and White individuals (Scheman et al., 1985), it was expected that White defendants and Black defendants would be treated differently<sup>16</sup>. Cases that were not included in the analyses were recoded as system missing. The moderation analyses are the only analyses from which individuals were excluded based on condition.

All assumptions, including variable types required for analysis, including variable types, coding of variables, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity, were

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<sup>14</sup> A one-way between subjects analysis of variance was conducted to investigate possible differences on racial measures based on the race of the participants (see Table 3). The ANOVA demonstrated that Black individuals ( $M = 6.13$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ) were significantly more positive toward the Black Lives Matter Movement than both White participants ( $M = 5.02$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ) and Non-White/Non-Black participants ( $M = 5.54$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ),  $F(2, 299) = 16.09$ ,  $p < .001$ .

<sup>15</sup> A second moderation analysis was conducted based on the differences identified between Black individuals and White individuals on the BLMS (Cohen's  $d = .93$ ). The interaction examined the moderation effect for White participants on the Black/White names and scores on the BLM. Despite substantial differences on BLMS scores between Black and White participants, the interaction was not significant,  $t(47) = .28$ ,  $p = .78$ .

<sup>16</sup> A one-way between subjects analysis of variance revealed that there were no significant differences between perceptions of the criminal defendants based on the race of the participants,  $F(2, 304) = .36$ ,  $p = .70$ . A secondary analysis of variance was conducted only on participants who identified as White. While the analysis was not significant ( $F(2, 69) = 1.47$ ,  $p = .24$ ), it is likely that increasing the sample size will aid in finding an effect. The final decision to exclude participants in the no-name condition is based on observed mean difference in White participants perceptions of the defendants based on defendant race.

checked and met. The outcome variable was continuous and predictor variables included a continuous and a dummy coded dichotomous variable. The assumption of linearity was assessed via a scatterplot and met. The assumptions of multicollinearity and homoscedasticity were also met. The analysis was conducted in SPSS.

The first step of the moderation analysis was creating an interaction term between criminal defendant race and scores on the BLMS. To create the interaction term, the criminal defendant race variable was dummy coded so that 0 (White name) and 1 (Black name). Scores on the BLMS were centered<sup>17</sup> by subtracting the mean from the BLMS scores (this was completed by computing a new variable). After dummy coding the criminal defendant race variable and centering the BLMS scores, the interaction term was created. The interaction term was created by multiplying the dummy coded criminal race variable by scores on the BLMS.

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<sup>17</sup> Scores were centered to standardize the categorical variable.

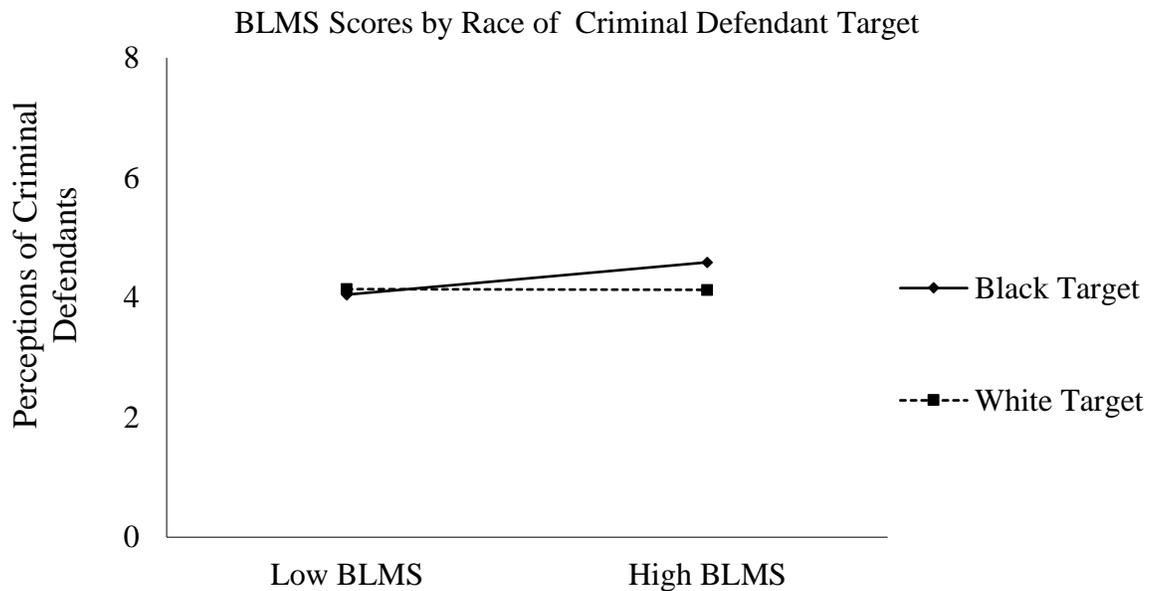


Figure 3. Plot of simple effects for moderation analysis. Analysis included only individuals in the Black name and White name conditions ( $N = 197$ ).

After creating the interaction term, a forced entry, multiple regression with moderation was conducted. The interaction term, the centered BLMS variable, and the dummy coded criminal defendant race variable were entered as predictor variables. Perceptions of the criminal defendant scores were entered as the outcome variable. The results indicated that the model was not significant,  $R^2 = .15$ ,  $F(3,194) = 1.46$ ,  $p = .23$ . The ability of individuals' scores on the BLMS to predict their perceptions of the criminal defendant was marginally significant,  $\beta = .19$ ,  $t(198) = 1.91$ ,  $p = .057$ . There was not a significant interaction between BLMS scores and criminal defendant name on perceptions of the criminal defendant,  $\beta = -.14$ ,  $t(302) = -1.40$ ,  $p = .16$  (see Figure 3).

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

Though Black Lives Matter has been a popular topic in the media over the past few years, little research has been conducted regarding the movement. In light of this lack of research, there is currently no validated measure of attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement. Furthermore, the latest measures of racial attitudes do not assess racial attitudes under the scope of modern racism (Saucier & Miller, 2003; Uhlmann, Brescoll, & Machery, 2010). The present study aimed to close the growing gap in the literature on current measures of modern racism, while simultaneously shedding light on how attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement reflect modern racism. Furthermore, this study aimed to provide a deeper understanding of how attitudes towards Black Lives Matter relate to racial prejudice and the consequences. Specific interest is in the relation of attitudes toward the movement and prejudice within the justice system. The scale demonstrated high internal consistency and, as predicted, was significantly correlated to other measures of modern racism (and measures consistently related to prejudice). These findings support that the BLMS is a reliable and valid measure of modern racism.

#### **Reliable, Single Factor Structure**

The BLMS demonstrated high reliability, which was further supported by its loading onto a single factor structure. Yet, these results are contrary to the predictions that would follow the findings of Henry and Sears (2002) in their development of the SR2K. The SR2K loads approximately equally on two separate factors representing racial

prejudice and conservative ideology<sup>18</sup> (Henry & Sears, 2002). Yet, this finding may be more reflective of the nature and root of the Black Lives Matter Movement as compared to the nature and root of the Civil Rights Movement.

The SR2K was a measure designed, taking heavily into account the racial climate that developed as a result of political changes such as affirmative action following the Civil Rights Movement (Scheman et al., 1985; Sears & Henry, 2003). Therefore, political ideology was central in the development of the SR2K and in defining modern racism as a construct (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). In contrast, the Black Lives Matter Movement, while aimed at establishing political equity, initially focused on and was rooted in the social injustice suffered by African Americans, particularly at the hands of law enforcement officers (Obasogie & Newman, 2016). Thus, one may expect that items assessing a broad scope of social and economic conservative values may not align on the same factor as attitudes assessing Black Lives Matter. In the same vein, one might expect that items assessing conservative attitudes toward the legal/justice system may align on the same factor as items on the BLMS.

Previous research has demonstrated a relationship between patriotism, conservatism, and support of law enforcement (de Oca & Suh, 2019; Riddell, 2016; Russell, 2017). Furthermore, supporters of the countermovement, Blue Lives Matter, have been found to display more positive attitudes towards police officers, value patriotic beliefs, and maintain conservative ideologies (Riddell, 2016; Russell, 2017). Considering

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<sup>18</sup> Henry and Sears (2002) validation of the SR2K was completed across multiple samples taken from different locations during different years. In one of these samples, all items on the SR2K did load on to a single factor (though not in other samples).

this literature, it could be that there is a shift in the construct of modern racism itself. Essentially, while political action drove the shift in racism during the late 20th century and early 21st century (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Scheman et al., 1985; Sears & Henry, 2003), today's construct of modern racism may deal more closely with social injustice as opposed to legislative injustice.

Further supporting this claim is the fact that while the BLMS did not load onto the same factors as the SR2K, several items from the SR2K loaded onto the same factor as the BLMS. It is possible that the BLMS taps into novel nuances of modern racism as a construct while also assessing many of the foundational components of modern racism, as it was discussed in the early literature on the construct (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Henry & Sears, 2002; McConahay et al., 1981). This further supports the BLMS as a more current and broader means of assessing modern racism without contradicting how the construct has been measured in the past.

## **Validity Findings**

### **Correlations Among Self-Report Measures**

The data supported that the BLMS assesses modern racism as opposed to old-fashioned racism as no significant correlation was found between the BLM and the OFR. One of the most central goals in the early literature on modern racism was clearly establishing that the construct was a distinguishable factor from old-fashioned racism (McConahay et al., 1981). Establishing such a fact was critical in supporting the argument that racism had changed due to the social movement, the Civil Rights Movement (McConahay et al, 1981). As the BLMS was also designed in response to the

emergence of a social movement and to measure modern racism, establishing this same finding in the present study was particularly imperative for establishing discriminant validity.

An additional important finding was that the BLMS was significantly correlated to measures of conservatism and patriotism without loading on the same factors as these constructs<sup>19</sup>. Conservatism is repeatedly recognized as an element of modern racism; yet it is repeatedly found to be a separate factor (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). Assessing the underlying conservative and prejudicial nature of modern racism without negating to measure the construct accurately was a necessary goal in validating the BLMS. That the BLMS shares similar psychometric properties as established measures of modern racism further promotes the BLMS as a measure of modern racism (Henry & Sears, 2002).

The psychometric properties of the BLMS were investigated in ways similar to that of established measures. Validation of previous modern racism measures included analysis of the relationship between modern racism and Black affect (Henry & Sears, 2002). Thus, it was also crucial to investigate the relationship between the BLMS and measures of affect toward Black individuals to establish convergent validity. The findings from correlations used to investigate convergent validity support that the Black Lives

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<sup>19</sup> A secondary exploratory factor analysis was conducted including items from the SECS and the SR2K. This analysis was conducted on the data collected from the current study. Findings indicated that the BLMS items loaded onto a single factor. Additionally, several items from the SR2K, though loading strongly on a separate factor, also loaded approximately equally onto the same factor as the BLMS items. Additionally, several items assessing conservatism loaded onto the Results also indicated that the items measuring conservatism did not load strongly onto the same factor as the BLMS items.

Matter Scale is a valid measure of modern racism. In previous research, modern racism measures have been correlated with measure of racial affect such as the ATB (Brigham, 1993) and the PBS and ABS (Katzs & Hass, 1988) (Henry & Sears, 2002; McConahay et al., 1981). The data from the current study replicates these findings as the BLMS was significantly correlated with the prior mentioned measures. Moreover, the data demonstrate that the BLMS was strongly correlated with both established measure of modern racism (the MRS and the SR2K), which increases support for the BLMS as a modern measure of racism.

### **BLMS and Perceptions of Criminal Defendants**

Contrary to predictions, the BLMS did not predict attitudes towards the defendant, nor was there a significant interaction between BLMS scores and defendant race. Further analysis of differences between attitudes towards the criminal defendant aided in understanding the unexpected findings. There may be several explanations that could shed light on the lack of significant findings. Included among these explanations may be issues with the manipulation that was used.

Firstly, no manipulation check was in place. As the interaction is trending as predicted, it cannot be stated definitely that the manipulation was unsuccessful. Yet, without a manipulation check in place, it is not possible to gauge the degree to which individuals' attitudes were influenced by the race (and stereotypes activated by the race) of the criminal defendant. Furthermore, lack of a manipulation check raises the question as to whether the method of manipulation was most effective for activating racial stereotypes. Importantly, findings on the usefulness of images in comparison to words for

the activation of stereotypes (Carr, McCauley, Sperber, & Parmelee, 1982; Contreras, Banaji, & Mitchell, 2011). While it is likely that the manipulation was successful based on data trends (see Figure 3), inclusion of a manipulation check would have aided in better understanding, explaining, and strengthening findings.

While the manipulation aids in shedding light on the lack of significant findings from the moderation analysis, there are other plausible explanations. Among these explanations is the demographic composition of the sample included in the moderation analysis. The current sample was racially diverse, and a large portion of the sample indicated having balanced (between liberal and conservative) political ideology. Despite the similarity of being collected from a college campus, this level of diversity is widely different from the samples used to validate the most recent measure of modern racism, the SR2K<sup>20</sup>. Specifically, White participants were the most represented race/ethnicity across several samples from which data for validation of the SR21K was collected, while there was a low representation of Black individuals (Henry & Sears, 2002). Additionally, Henry and Sears (2002) found that Black individuals had significantly lower levels of modern racism and that the SR2K demonstrated lower levels of reliability among black participants. The findings of Henry and Sears (2002) support that the diversity of the sample may have impacted the lack of significant findings.

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<sup>20</sup> Several samples were taken in the validation of the SR2K. In each of these samples, a great majority of participants were White. Specifically, in two of the samples, White individuals represented almost half of the sample and in others, White individuals represented no less than a third of the sample (Henry & Sears, 2002). Additionally, in each of the samples, Black individuals represented only about a tenth of the sample.

The equal representation of black individuals in the Black name condition may have acted as a confounding variable. Specifically, considering the findings of Henry and Sears (2002) it is plausible to suspect that no effect would be found among Black participants in the Black name conditions. Furthermore, Henry and Sears's (2002) findings suggest that measures of modern racism produce different results based on race/ethnicity. While the BLMS was found to be reliable among the total current sample, it still may be that no interaction would be found due to the possible confounding variable of participant race/ethnicity.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

#### **Inclusion of Other Construct Measures**

The present study investigated the BLMS as a measure of modern racism. Although several scales that have been used in previous scale validation studies were included in the present study, several scales of interest were not included in the analyses (Henry & Sears, 2002; McConahay et al., 1981; Pratto et al., 1994). For example, social dominance orientation (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994) is a construct that has been related to racial prejudice in previous research (Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011; McFarland, 2010; Pratto & Shih, 2000). Investigating the relationship between SDO and the BLMS and establishing that each would load on separate factors would further contribute to establishing the validity and single factor structure of the BLMS.

#### **Alternate Forms**

The Black Lives Matter Movement was met with resistance in the form of two counter movements, including Blue Lives Matter and All Lives Matter (Gallagher et al.,

2018; Riddell, 2016; Russell, 2017). At present, there are no established measures that assess the constructs that may underlie attitudes towards either countermovement. Availability to such measures would have provided greater understanding of the BLMS and increased the knowledge on how each of these movements and the attitudes associated with these movements are related. Future research should focus on examining how attitudes towards the Blue Lives Matter and All Lives Matter movements relate to attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement and other measures of modern racism.

### **Vignette Alterations**

In the present study, racial salience in the vignettes was manipulated by altering the name that was given to the criminal defendant. Specifically, stereotypically Black names and White names were used; names came from a study conducted by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) which provided statistically significant support that these names are consistently recognized as belonging to Black and White individuals, respectively. However, there was no manipulation check in place for the current study. While this is not a sure indicator that the manipulation was not successful, the inclusion of a manipulation check could only serve to strengthen the findings in subsequent studies. Thus, the inclusion of a manipulation check is strongly suggested in subsequent research.

The use of words (names) as opposed to images of a Black individual and a White individual may have also been a limitation in the present study. Specifically, previous research suggests that the use of a word (name) is not necessarily the most effective way to activate semantic knowledge, which is a factor in the formation and activation of stereotypes (Contreras et al., 2011). Specifically, Carr et al. (1982) found that pictures are

more effective in activating semantic representations. That this present study used words as opposed to images to activate racial stereotypes causes one to contemplate the degree of effectiveness the stereotypical names had in activating racial stereotypes. That is not to say that the stereotypical names did not activate participants' racial stereotypes; rather, it may be that using images in conjunction with the names may produce a stronger and more easily detectible effect. Subsequent research should replicate the study design, altering only the vignette. Specifically, future research should use images (in addition to the stereotypical names) to prime the activation of racial stereotypes and biases.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The discussed study served as an investigation into the psychometric properties of the Black Lives Matter Movement as a measure of modern racism. The results yielded support for the reliability and validity of the BLMS. Much research is still needed in order to fully understand all constructs that may contribute to underlying attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement. Additionally, further research is needed to understand how attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter Movement relate to social racial justice and the treatment of Black/African American individuals within the judicial system. While more research is needed, the present study served a strong first step in establishing a measure of modern racism that is relevant to the current sociopolitical climate and, based on the data, that demonstrates strong psychometric properties.

Though this study served only as a first step in establishing the BLMS as a new research tool, it is a step that has closed a gap that spans over a decade. The last scale to assess modern racism as it has originally been identified was the SR2K (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). While this scale is presented strong validity and reliability, it is now over 15 years old (Henry & Sears, 2002). The validation of the BLMS is an essential component in understanding modern racism within the current sociopolitical atmosphere of legal injustice and discrimination. Furthermore, the validation of the BLMS updates a decade span in literature focused toward developing measures that

assess modern racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). One of the greatest aspects of the BLMS is the unique way in which it assesses modern racism.

Previous measures of modern racism (and racial attitudes) have made Black individuals and their treatment/advancement the subject of the items included (Brigham, 1993; Katz & Hass, 1988; Henry & Sears, 2002; McConahay et al., 1981). While asking individuals about their attitudes in a direct manner is the best way to truly assess them (Axt, 2017), such inquiries (especially regarding socially unacceptable attitudes) open the door for social desirability and error (Crowne & Marlow, 1960). The BLMS is distinguished from previous measures in that it assesses modern racism via attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter Movement and not towards Black people, in general.

One may argue based on the seemingly indirect nature in which the BLMS assesses modern racism that it does not actually assess the construct at all. However, the data presented from the current study would make posing such an argument difficult. Results from the present research support that the BLMS is a reliable and valid measure of modern racism and demonstrates that attitudes toward a people can be assessed without naming the specific group. Furthermore, findings on the BLMS open the door to a transformation in the way in which explicit measures are conceived; it demonstrates that there is a difference between a direct explicit measure (previous modern racism measures) and an indirect explicit measure (the BLMS). Such a transformation, if broadly successful, could aid in improving research design and counteracting the impacts of social desirability. Essentially, the successful validation of the BLMS opens a wealth of other possibilities for research in the social field; particularly, research on various forms

of prejudice. For example, it may be that similarly formatted scale can be created to assess prejudice toward individuals with disabilities and individuals that identify as LGBTQ, sexism, sizeism, and a multitude of others. While research on the BLMS is only in its beginning stages, the scale already exhibits great promise, both as an updated measure of modern racism and a first step in revamping the way in which researchers construct scales to assess bias/prejudice toward certain groups.

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APPENDIX A

Black Lives Matter Scale

## **Black Lives Matter Scale**

Respond to each statement on a scale of 1 to 7. 1 being (strongly disagree) and 7 being (strongly agree).

1. Black Lives Matter is a hate organization.
2. Black Lives Matter is a peaceful organization.
3. Black Lives Matter is fighting for justice.
4. Black Lives Matter spreads an important message.
5. Black Lives Matter is responsible for dividing America.
6. I sympathize with Black Lives Matter.
7. I am afraid of Black Lives Matter.
8. Black Lives Matter is making America better.
9. Black Lives Matter is dangerous.
10. Black Lives Matter is fighting for necessary change.
11. I don't understand Black Lives Matter.
12. I would join Black Lives Matter.

## APPENDIX B

The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K; Henry & Sears, 2002)

### **The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K) (Henry & Sears, 2002)**

Please answer the following questions according to the scale provided with each question.

1. 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.  
(1, (strongly agree); 2, somewhat agree; 3, somewhat disagree; 4, (strongly disagree))
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.  
(1, (strongly agree); 2, some- what agree; 3, somewhat disagree; 4, (strongly disagree))
3. Some say that black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?  
(1, trying to push too fast; 2, going too slowly; 3, moving at about the right speed)
4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think blacks are responsible for creating?  
(1, all of it; 2, most; 3, some; 4, not much at all)
5. How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?  
(1, a lot; 2, some; 3, just a little; 4, none at all)
6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.  
(1, (strongly agree); 2, somewhat agree; 3, somewhat disagree; 4, (strongly disagree))
7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.  
(1, (strongly agree); 2, somewhat agree; 3, somewhat disagree; 4, (strongly disagree))
8. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.  
(1, (strongly agree); 2, somewhat agree; 3, somewhat disagree; 4, (strongly disagree))

## APPENDIX C

Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981)

**Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Betts, 1981)**

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1 = (strongly disagree)

7 = (strongly agree)

1. It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America (R)
2. Blacks should not put themselves where they are not wanted.
3. Blacks are too demanding in their push for equal rights.
4. Over the past 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. Discrimination against Black is no longer a problem in the United States

## APPENDIX D

Attitudes Toward Blacks (ATB; Brigham, 1993)

### **Attitudes Towards Blacks (ATB; Brigham, 1993)**

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements

*1 (strongly disagree) 2=Disagree 3=Somewhat Disagree 4=Neither Agree or Disagree 5=Somewhat Agree 6=Agree 7 (strongly disagree)*

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

APPENDIX E

Anti-Black Scale (ATB; Katz & Hass, 1988)

**Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988)**

Please indicate the degree to which agree or disagree with the following items.

1 = (strongly disagree)

7 = (strongly agree)

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 businesses.
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)

APPENDIX F

Pro-Black Scale (PROB; KATZ & Hass, 1988)

### **Pro-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988)**

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 than 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

## APPENDIX G

Old-fashioned Racism Scale (OFR; McConahay, 1986)

### **Old-fashioned Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986)**

Indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements on a scale of 1 ((strongly disagree)) to 5 ((strongly agree)).

1. Black people are generally not as smart as whites.\*
2. I favor laws that permit black persons to rent or purchase housing even when the person offering the property for sale or rent does not wish to rent or sell it to blacks.
3. Generally speaking, I favor full racial integration.
4. I am opposed to open or fair housing laws.\*
5. It is a bad idea for blacks and whites to marry one another.\*
6. If a black family with about the same income and education as I have moved next door, I would mind it a great deal.\*
7. It was wrong for the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in its 1954 decision.\*

## APPENDIX H

F-Scale (Ray, 1979; Ray, 1988)

### **F-Scale (Ray, 1979; Ray, 1988)**

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. Homosexuality between consenting adults may be disagreeable but it should not be regarded as a crime.
2. No sane, normal, decent person would ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
3. Many of the radical ideas of today will be the accepted practices of tomorrow.
4. People who want to imprison or whip sex criminals are themselves sick.
5. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas but as they grow up they ought to get over it and settle down.
7. It is all right for people to raise questions about even the most personal and private matters.
8. Insults to our honor are not always important enough to worry about.
9. Sex crimes such as rape and attacks on children deserve more than imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped or worse.
10. Most honest people admit to themselves that they have sometimes hated their parents.
11. Homosexuals are hardly better than sex criminals and out to be severely punished.
12. Sex crimes such as rape and attacks on children are signs of mental illness and such persons belong in hospitals rather than in prisons.
13. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel great love, gratitude and respect for his parents.
14. What the young need most is strict discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country.

## APPENDIX I

Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (SECS; Everett, 2013)

### **Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (SECS; Everett, 2013)**

Please indicate the extent to which you feel positive or negative towards each issue. Scores of 0 indicate greater negativity, and scores of 100 indicate greater positivity. Scores of 50 indicate that you feel neutral about the issue.

1. Abortion (reverse scored). (S)
2. Limited government. (E)
3. Military and national security. (S)
4. Religion. (S)
5. Welfare benefits (reverse scored). (E)
6. Gun ownership. (E)
7. Traditional marriage. (S)
8. Traditional values. (S)
9. Fiscal responsibility. (E)
10. Business. (E)
11. The family unit. (S)
12. Patriotism. (S)

## APPENDIX J

Patriotism Scale (PQ; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989)

### **Patriotism Questionnaire (PQ; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989)**

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being (strongly disagree) and 5 being (strongly agree).

1. I love my country.
2. I am proud to be an American.
3. In a sense, I am emotionally attached to my country and emotionally affected by its actions.
4. Although at times I may not agree with the government, my commitment to the U.S. always remains strong.
5. I feel a great pride in that land that is our America.
6. It is not that important for me to serve my country.
7. When I see the American flag flying I feel great.
8. The fact that I am an American is an important part of my identity.
9. It is not constructive for one to develop an emotional attachment to his/her country.
10. In general, I have very little respect for the American people.
11. It bothers me to see children made to pledge allegiance to the flag or sing the national anthem or otherwise induced to adopt such strong patriotic attitudes.
12. The U.S. is really just an institution, big and powerful yes, but just an institution.

APPENDIX K

Crime Vignette

## **Crime Vignettes**

### **Vignette with Black Name:**

Jermaine, a twenty-two-year-old male, used a knife to intentionally injure a victim. The victim, a sixty-year-old female, was treated by a doctor and was hospitalized. Jermaine had never had a steady job. Jermaine had a mental condition and was drunk when he committed the crime. Jermaine had never been convicted before for a violent offense but had been convicted once before for stealing money or property. Jermaine had served one previous sentence of one year in jail.

### **Vignette with White Name:**

Brad, a twenty-two-year-old male, used a knife to intentionally injure a victim. The victim, a sixty-year-old female, was treated by a doctor and was hospitalized. Brad had never had a steady job. Brad had a mental condition and was drunk when he committed the crime. Brad had never been convicted before for a violent offense but had been convicted once before for stealing money or property. Brad had served one previous sentence of one year in jail.

## APPENDIX L

Perceptions of Criminal Defendants Scale (PCDS; Crawley et al., 2017)

### **Perceptions of Criminal Defendants Scale (Crawley et al., 2017)**

Please answer the next questions about the defendant in the current case.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the first nine

statements using the following scale:

(strongly disagree)=1 Disagree=2 Slightly Disagree=3 Slightly Agree=4 Agree=5 (strongly agree)=6

1. I am fearful of this individual.
2. This individual appears to be cruel.
3. This individual is an evil person.
4. This individual is emotionally cold.
5. This individual deserves mercy.
6. I think this individual would be likely to commit a crime in the future.
7. I believe this individual probably has a prior criminal record.
8. This individual seems trustworthy.
9. I would set the bail very high for this individual.
10. If guilty, what type of sentence would you recommend?
  - a. No Sentence/No Punishment at all
  - b. No Jail Time; Probation and/or Community Service
  - c. Minimum Jail or Prison Sentence With Possible Parole
  - d. Moderate Prison Sentence With Possible Parole
  - e. Maximum Prison Sentence With Possible Parole
  - f. Maximum Prison Sentence With No Possibility of Parole