

Running Head: AVERSIVE RACISM

Racial Issues and Jury Decisions:

A Study of Aversive Racism.

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the Master's of Arts degree in Counseling Psychology.

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COMPLETION OF THESIS

MEMO TO DIRECTOR OF GRADUATE STUDIES:

This is to certify that on May 11, 1998
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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to ascertain if Caucasians jurors can be influenced by the perceived presence of African Americans jurors, in regards to court proceedings. The main objective was to determine whether racism is prevalent in an aversive form in jury decision-making among Caucasians. Aversive racism occurs when Caucasians publicly express equality for all people, but possess negative feelings and values toward African Americans. The study involved a mock jury simulation case and attempted to determine whether the majority race of the jury or the race of the defense lawyer influence Caucasian jurors' decisions about guilt or innocence of an African American defendant. The White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Carter, 1990), and the New Racism Scale (Jacobson, 1985) were used to assess racial attitudes. The results indicated that Caucasian participants found the defendant not guilty, and viewed the defendant in a positive and non-racial way. Correlational analyses of the racial attitudes scales paralleled findings of Carter (1990). Specifically, more female participants hold less racial beliefs, and endorsed racial equality and understanding more than male participants.

Racial Issues and Jury Decisions:

A Study of Aversive Racism.

Despite a notable decrease in overt forms of racism and discrimination, research demonstrates an increasing trend toward subtle racism (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986; Wolfe and Spencer, 1996). In addition, Foley and Pigott (1997) point out a greater focus of today's society is on racial relations between African Americans and Caucasians. This is due to the onset of recent criminal and civil trials involving racial overtones, in the American court system. Past jury simulation studies revealed that Caucasian jurors have found African American defendants more guilty than their Caucasian counterparts (Ugwuegbu, 1979; McGlynn, Megas, and Benson, 1976). Nevertheless, recent studies have found some similar results but also contradictory findings (Foley and Pigott, 1997; Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986; Dovidio, 1993).

The diversity of opinions center around the guilt or innocence of African Americans as judged by Caucasians. This difference also occurs when African Americans judge Caucasians for crimes. The research results point to various explanations; however, the overwhelming theme behind the interpretations of bias against a group that is unlike themselves, involves the concepts of in-group/ out-group bias (Ugwuegbu, 1979; Whitehead, Smith, and Eichhorn, 1982). However, recent studies show evidence that the majority of Caucasians are accepting of African Americans, and supportive of their issues (Wolfe and Spencer, 1996). A potential explanation to the influences of masking true racist beliefs could be the theory of aversive racism (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986; Dovidio, 1993; Wolfe and Spencer, 1996).

An examination of in-group/ out-group bias, demonstrated that members of an in-group view themselves as more positive than another group, which is the out-group (Whitehead, Smith,

Eichhorn, 1982). Consequently, Ugwuegbu (1979) considered attributes of in-group bias in two separate experiments with different populations, one African American and the other Caucasian. The independent variables manipulated in both groups were the victim's race, the defendant's race, and the amount of evidence. The study examined whether a difference existed between the two groups in relation to how jurors would judge defendants. Based on the theory of in-group bias, the researcher was investigating whether participants evaluate racially dissimilar defendants as more harsh, and view them more negatively than similar defendants. Also, a juror who is racially similar to a victim would evoke more empathy in that juror, hence, that juror would view the defendant negatively. The researcher exposed both groups to similar cases, only varying in the race of the defendant and victim. Results suggested that Caucasian participants viewed African American defendants as more guilty than Caucasian defendants. Also, both Caucasian and African American jurors held racially dissimilar defendants more guilty than similar defendants. Another finding showed that African Americans gave the African American defendants "the benefit of the doubt" when the evidence was doubtful and strong. This finding was unlike that of Caucasian participants. Similarly, Caucasian participants would give an additional chance to a Caucasian defendant but not to an African American defendant.

The study illuminates the role of in-group bias in jury decisions from both an African American and Caucasian viewpoint. Other studies such as, Foley and Pigott (1997) illustrated that research suggests that mock jurors and actual jurors, judge African American defendants more severely than Caucasian defendants. They noted that Caucasians who are the victims of African American offenders judge these defendants more severely than African Americans who assault other African Americans. The researchers also pointed out that all jurors judged some

defendants more severely when the victim is the same race as the juror.

Furthermore, Sagar and Schofield (1980) studied in-group bias by examining the effects of racial stereotypes and cultural differences of sixth grade males in their interpretation of ambiguous social aggressive acts. They exposed African American males and Caucasian males to ambiguous stimuli. The stimulus showed interactions between either Caucasian students and African American students, or a mixed interaction of these students. In each case, either an African American or a Caucasian was an aggressor, or the target of the aggressor. Results showed a tendency for participants to view the behaviors of the African American actors as more mean/ threatening than Caucasian actors. African American participants also noted this bias toward African American actors. However, both types of participants viewed the actor as more “rude, mean, thoughtless, playful, threatening, and less likable” than the targets, in spite of race. Sagar and Schofield (1980) replicated a study conducted by Duncan (1976). Duncan’s (1976) study examined how students viewed an ambiguous aggressive act. Either a Caucasian or an African American student orchestrated this act. Of the forty-eight participants who observed an African American actor commit the act, thirty-five believed that the act was violent. On the other hand, when participants observed a Caucasian actor commit the same act, only six judged that actor as violent. Both experiments illustrate a bias against African American defendants, despite the ambiguity of the information (Sagar and Schofield, 1980; Duncan, 1976).

Research concerning jury simulation as it relates to racism is lacking studies that involve racist behaviors beyond the in-group/ out-group hypothesis. Specifically, the role of race in how it influences individual beliefs when exposed to an out-group. A form of racism proposed by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) could be a factor in the prejudice decisions. Aversive racism

occurs when Caucasians publicly express equality for all individuals, but possess negative feelings and values toward African Americans. Aversive racists recognize and empathize with African American struggles and past injustices. Dovidio (1993) proposed that certain inconspicuous characteristics identify aversive racist. First, aversive racists approve of unbiased and moral treatment of all individuals. Second, aversive racists maintain unconscious negative feelings toward other races. Third, these feelings produce anxiety and discomfort when interaction with African Americans is unavoidable, because of concerns of appearing prejudiced. Fourth, aversive racists believe established social rules and affirm their equality beliefs during interracial interaction. Finally, aversive racists express their negative feelings in oblique ways to rationalize their beliefs. Aversive racists do not discriminate against African Americans if the discrimination would be apparent to others. Therefore, the aversive racists will discriminate in ways that protect themselves from believing that their behaviors are racially motivated. These attitudes allow Caucasians to avoid personal confrontation with their genuine racist feelings and beliefs, which guards their perceived image as non-prejudice individuals. Therefore, aversive racists are more likely to be liberal, and thus consider themselves as not being discriminatory, racist, or prejudice.

Aversive racists will protect their self images by expanding their reaffirmation of positive behaviors toward African Americans, such as their beliefs in equality and non racial attitudes. Whereas, when their self images are not in jeopardy, aversive racists' underlying negative beliefs, feelings, and attitudes, are conveyed in indirect and self justifying fashions. Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) point out that individuals convey aversive racism when Caucasians reluctantly have to interact with African Americans. Caucasians do not express their

beliefs through violent behaviors, but indirectly. In relation to mock jury trials, perhaps a Caucasian juror who is lead to believe that he or she is on an all Caucasian jury may discriminate against an African American defendant. As Rokeach and Vidmar (1973) pointed out, prejudice beliefs that individuals possess in everyday life are not left outside the courtroom.

It could be argued that an aversive form of racism is the cause of racism in the court system. Several studies involving racial connections between certain characteristics of participants in mock jury cases and the influence on jurors' decisions, overwhelmingly support the notion that African Americans are discriminated against, in the criminal justice system. Selecting from the tenets of aversive racism, it is being hypothesized that most of the results in the studies were related to the fact that the majority of jurors were Caucasian. Aversive racists will not jeopardize their image if participants believe that they would be exposed to ridicule by individuals of another race. Perhaps the participants knew that most of the other participants in the studies were also Caucasian. This could have lead participants into a sense of security, because, there were no African Americans to judge their responses as prejudice. On the other hand, Caucasian participants who were exposed to a more diversified groups would want to preserve their images as being non-prejudice.

Purpose

An in-group/ out-group bias has demonstrated that individuals will categorize themselves into in-groups and classify others into out-groups. The aversive racism theory indicates that aversive racists will tend to protect their self images by maximizing their reaffirmation of positive behaviors toward African Americans, such as their beliefs in equality and non racial attitudes. However, when their self image is not in jeopardy, aversive racists' underlying

negative beliefs, feelings, and attitudes are conveyed in indirect and self justifying fashions.

This study proposes that when Caucasian participants read a scenario depicting a crime that an African American possibly committed, their decisions will be influenced by the race of the jurors and defense lawyers. Therefore, the purpose was to explore the degree to which aversive racism will affect in-group/ out-group bias.

The present study, hypothesized that Caucasian participants would be more likely to find the African American defendant as guilty when exposed to other Caucasian jurors than if participants are exposed to African American jurors. Therefore, Caucasians who are exposed to a higher number of Caucasians can more easily express racial attitudes than if exposed to African Americans. The use of all Caucasian participants will in theory maximize in-group/ out-group bias. Specifically, given a participant who is exposed to an African American jury and an African American lawyer aversive racist beliefs will less likely to occur, than if participant are exposed to a Caucasian jury and a Caucasian lawyer.

Method

Participants

Ninety-three Caucasian Salisbury State University students, thirty-two males and sixty-one females, participated in this study. The mean age of these students was nineteen and one half years. Participants were randomly assigned to serve in one of the six conditions in the 3 X 2 factorial design. Due to the limited number of minority participants in the available population, Caucasian participants' data was utilized, and the researcher excluded minority participants' data from the experiment. The researcher obtained demographics from each participant which included age, gender, ethnicity, and class rank. The participants were randomly chosen for the

study from a pool of potential participants required to fulfill a psychology department research standard.

Materials

Scenario

The materials that were used as stimuli are from previous studies and were manipulated with permission from Foley and Chamblin (1982), and McGlynn, Megas, and Benson (1976). The materials were adjusted somewhat to meet the needs of the present study. The stimulus material was designed to be as ambiguous as possible while describing a criminal act that participants could interpret as being committed by the defendant or not. The defendant's characteristics, the crime scenario, and witness testimonies were kept constant throughout all conditions. The only variables in the scenarios that change are the independent variables consisting of jury characteristics and lawyer characteristics.

White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale

The main focus of this study was to determine whether racism is prevalent in jury decision making among Caucasians. The White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale was one instrument implemented to obtain this information. The White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) measures Caucasian racial attitudes utilizing a Likert-type scale (Carter, 1990) for five different sub-scales. Helms (1984) considered that the development of beliefs and attitudes of Caucasians about their racial identity is related to attitudes toward African Americans. Pope-Davis and Ottavi, (1994) point out that this scale measures five attitudes of white racial identity development, arranged in a hierarchical developmental fashion. The five sub-scale attitudes measure a variety of attributes that Caucasians possess at different degrees. Therefore, the

higher the score in any given attitude stage the more likely an individual endorses those attitudes associated with that stage. Helms (1984) suggested that Caucasians within the higher levels of identity have improved relationships with members of other races.

According to the theory individuals go through these stages at different point in life. The hierarchical arrangement begins with the first stage, Contact, where individuals are unaware of racial and cultural themes. Therefore, they will most likely avoid African Americans, but eventually they will begin to associate themselves with that race. Once Caucasians begin to befriend African Americans, they move toward disintegration. Disintegration is a personal realization of how significant racial issues influence society. Caucasians in this stage will become aware of their own “Whiteness” as well as interracial interactions. However, when these individuals overemphasize their relationships with African Americans, they can be rejected by the same race they are trying to earnestly befriend. Caucasians who are rejected, despite their efforts to form relationships with African Americans, will move into the reintegration stage. This stage involves idealizing everything perceived as Caucasian, while slandering things that are perceived as African American. Although, if these individuals accept the differences and accept their uniqueness of being white, then they will move into the next stage of racial identity development. This stage is called Pseudo-Independence. Individuals at this level internalize their identity of whiteness and the belief in personally being involved with correcting the consequences of racial problems. However, at this stage, it has not been translated into action. Caucasians will move to the final stage called autonomy when interactions and understanding increases. Autonomy is marked by racial interaction and racial equality.

The White Racial Attitudes Identity Scale consists of fifty items, ten in each sub-scale

that measures attitudes on a five-point scale extending from strongly disagree to strongly agree (Carter, 1990). Each individual receives a mean score for the five levels of racial identity. The higher the score, the higher the attitudes endorsed in that level. Consequently, individuals who score high in the levels of pseudo-independence and especially autonomy are less racist than individuals who score high in the stages of disintegration, reintegration, or contact. Carter (1990) reported internal consistency reliability coefficients using Cronbach alphas, from a previous study (Carter, 1988), of .53 for contact, .77 for disintegration, .80 for reintegration, .71 for pseudo-Independence, and .67 for autonomy scales.

Pope-Davis and Ottavi, (1994) investigated the racial predictability of the scale, to ascertain whether or not white racial identity attitudes are related to racism. Their results indicated that these attitudes are predictive measures of racism, especially among Caucasian males. Carter (1990) reported research involving the association between “white racial identity attitudes and racism,” using the New Racism Scale and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale. The results of Carter’s study also revealed that white racial identity attitudes do predict racist beliefs. However, as with the Pope-Davis and Ottavi study, Carter found a difference in the level of these attitudes between males and females. Specifically, males showed a positive relationship in regards to reintegration and racism. This indicates that the more Caucasian males have reintegration attitudes, the most likely they have racist beliefs. On the other hand, females were found to have a negative relationship with respect to contact. This reveals that Caucasian females with decreased contact attitudes are likely to have racist beliefs. These results coincide with females having more pseudo-independence and autonomy attitudes, than disintegration and reintegration attitudes.

New Racism Scale

The New Racism Scale was also used in this study to assess racial beliefs. The New Racism Scale (NRS) was developed by Jacobson (1985) and consists of seven items. The total score, for each individual can range from a score seven to a score twenty-six. These scores are obtained according to the choices participants endorse in each question. The higher the score the more likely an individual favors racist beliefs. Jacobson (1985) obtained an internal consistency reliability of .70. Jacobson used one thousand four-hundred twenty-nine participants to obtain a standard deviation of thirty-nine with a mean score of 15.9. The seven questions are comprised to elicit Caucasian racial attitudes toward African Americans. Jacobson published the scale and scoring procedures in his 1985 study.

Design and Procedures

Fourteen to fifteen participants were randomly assigned in one of six conditions, in this 3 X 2 factorial design. The conditions that the participants were randomly assigned include: (a) All Caucasian Jury/ Caucasian Defense Lawyer; (b) All Caucasian Jury/ African American Defense Lawyer; (c) All African American Jury/ Caucasian Defense Lawyer; (d) All African American Jury/ African American Defense Lawyer; (e) Racially Mixed Jury/ African American Defense Lawyer; (f) Racially Mixed Jury/ Caucasian Defense Lawyer. Participants were provided with the stimulus materials, and verbally informed about the purpose of the study, and given instructions. The dependent variables measured the following regarding the defendant: (a) Guilt versus Innocence; (b) an eight-point scale that measures confidence in the verdict; (c) If found guilty, the number of years the defendant should be sentenced; (d) an eight-point scales that measure how the defendant is viewed, good/ bad, likable/ unlikable, rich/ poor, sick/ well,

unfriendly/ friendly, guilty/ not guilty, violent/ not violent. In addition, eight-point scales that measures skillfulness of both the prosecution and defense lawyers. For the eight-point scales, the higher the number the more positive the response. After finishing the questions to the scenario, participants completed the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the New Racism Scale.

Results

Verdict Measure Analyses

Verdict

The general loglinear analyses between the verdict measure and the independent variables, of race of jury and race of lawyer, yielded non-significant results. This indicates that the defendant was not convicted at any level of the independent variables. Consequently, the prediction that the racial makeup of the jury, and the race of the defense lawyer would influence participants was not supported by the results. Specifically, there was no difference between the all African American jury, the Mixed jury, and the all Caucasian jury. This was also the case between the African American defense lawyer, and the Caucasian defense lawyer, as well as any combination between the two independent variables. Eighty-seven percent of the participants found the defendant not guilty.

Confidence in Verdict

The confidence of the verdict measure was used to analyze the participants certainty in the verdicts that they gave. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed non-significant result indicating that there was no difference between the groups in their confidence of the verdicts. The majority of participants endorsed a moderately high level of confidence in the verdict with a

mean score of 5.6 out of a total of eight. Therefore, the confidence level suggests that the verdict decisions made by the participants could not substantiate the main hypothesis, indicating that the racial make up of the jury nor the race of the defense lawyer influenced the participants decisions. Further analyses of the confidence measure was evaluated.

The association between the confidence in the verdict, and racist beliefs were analyzed. The correlational analysis between the New Racism Scale and the confidence of the verdict revealed a significant negative correlation, $r = -.26, p = .05$. This indicates that as racism decreases confidence in the verdict increases. However, if participants were found to be less confident in the verdict then they would have held more racist beliefs. These findings were supported by other correlational findings associated with the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale.

The sub-scale disintegration, of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, negatively correlated with confidence of the verdict, $r = -.27, p = .05$. This sub-scale is related with aversive beliefs about African Americans; therefore, it is conceivable that low levels of disintegration attitudes would increase confidence in a verdict. In addition, reintegration is another attitude associated with negative views toward African Americans. This sub-scale correlated negatively with confidence in the verdict, $r = -.28, p = .01$. Consequently, low levels of reintegration would increase confidence in a verdict. Pseudo-independence correlated positively with confidence, $r = .25, p = .05$. This attitude is associated with emerging equality beliefs; therefore, the results indicate a tendency for high levels of pseudo-independence attitudes to be associated with a high degree of confidence for a verdict.

Characteristic Measures Analyses

ANOVA evaluations of the defendant's characteristics revealed only one significant result. The main effect of the defense lawyer's race was for the sick/ well measure, $F(1, 92) = 3.7, p = .05$. The analysis of the sick/ well measure for the defendant's characteristics was not a primary focus of the study. However, the results revealed this main effect was related to the defendant's lawyer. The mean scores implied that the defendant was viewed as more well than sick when the attorney was African American. (See Table 1). Consequently, the presence of an African American lawyer will influence Caucasian jurors in favor of an African American defendant.

Another main effect was associated with the racial composition of the jury for the skillfulness of the plaintiff's lawyer measure. The results of the ANOVA yielded a main effect of, $F(2, 92) = 5.0, p = .05$. Post hoc examination revealed a significant score utilizing the Tukey Test. The difference was between the mixed jury and the all African American jury with a mean difference result of 1.10. The mean scores indicated that participants who were exposed to an all African American jury, perceived the plaintiff's lawyer to be more skillful than when exposed to the mixed jury. (See Table 1). Interestingly, the plaintiff lawyer's race was not mentioned in the stimulus material. In addition, the measure was used to balance the questions with the inquiries for the defendant's lawyer.

White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale

Several of the dependent variable measures related to the defendant correlated with the different levels of the WRIAS. (See Table 2). The goodness measure correlated negatively with the disintegration level of the WRIAS. This negative correlation indicates that as the defendant

is viewed more good than bad, disintegration attitudes decrease. This corresponds with the ideals that disintegration is considered to be related to adverse attitudes toward African Americans; therefore, an individual with a low degree of disintegration would view an African American as being a good person. Other negative correlations between reintegration and the friendliness measure, goodness measure, level of guilt, and level of perceived violence were found. These negative correlations relate to the negative aspect of reintegration. Reintegration can be associated with Caucasians devaluing African Americans accomplishments. Therefore, as the results indicate, if participants endorsed low levels of reintegration then the participants would find the defendant friendly, good, not guilty, and not violent.

The sub-scale of pseudo-independence positively correlated with the friendliness measure, goodness measure, level of guilt, measure of likeableness, and level of perceived violence. These correlations coincide with the ideals of pseudo-independence. Individuals with the attitudes associated with pseudo-independence believe in correcting the wrongs of racism. Therefore, it is conceivable that if the participants viewed the defendant as good, friendly, not guilty, likeable, and not violent, then they would possess higher levels of pseudo-independence. Other positive correlations were related to the sub-scale of Autonomy. These positive correlations were associated with the friendliness measure, the goodness measure, level of guilt, likeableness measure, and level of perceived violence. These correlations show that as attitudes of autonomy increase, the defendant is viewed more positively. Autonomy is associated with great degrees of attitude for racial equality. Consequently, high endorsement of autonomous attitudes would correspond to viewing an African American as being friendly, good, not guilty, likeable, and not violent.

In summary, the majority of the participants endorsed a more positive than negative view of the defendant when comparing the means of the characteristic measures. This corresponds to results of the study which suggests that participants endorse attitudes of pseudo-independence and autonomy which are associated with positive views of African Americans. Correlations between the levels of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale and the defendant's characteristics showed significant results. These results were found among the characteristics of friendliness, goodness, level of guilt, likeableness, and level of violence, although, these were not significant across all the levels of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale.

Attitudes and Beliefs Scales Analyses

Correlations calculated between the New Racism Scale and the sub-scales of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale yielded findings similar to that of Carter (1990). The New Racism Scale correlated with the sub-scales in both positive and negative ways. (See Table 3). Contact attitudes are associated with lack of awareness of cultural themes. This attitude correlated negatively with the New Racism Scale, indicating as contact attitudes increase racial beliefs decrease. Specifically, as an individual becomes more aware of cultural themes then racial beliefs will decrease. Disintegration and reintegration correlated positively with the New Racism Scale. Therefore, as disintegration attitudes or reintegration attitudes decrease, racial beliefs will decrease. Both sub-scales are associated with negative views of African Americans under certain circumstances. Consequently, participants who possess low levels of disintegration or reintegration will have decreased racist beliefs. On the other hand, pseudo-independence and autonomy sub-scales correlated negatively with the New Racism Scale. These relationships can be interpreted as pseudo-independence attitudes or autonomy attitudes

increase racial belief will decrease. This is to be expected because, the relationships between pseudo-independence and autonomy suggests high levels of these attitudes indicate a belief in racial equality. Therefore, high scores in pseudo-independence or autonomy are associated with low levels of racial beliefs.

Gender Differences

The focus of this statistical analyses changed from the independent variables to examine gender differences. The White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale and New Racism Scale were examined in relation to the participants characteristics. The White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale produced the only significant effects with respect to gender differences. ANOVA analysis for each level of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale yielded significant effects for all scales except contact. As for the other levels of attitude, Disintegration produced, $F(1, 92) = 3.074, p = .05$, Reintegration yielded, $F(1, 92) = 2.953, p = .05$, Pseudo-independence produced, $F(1, 92) = 7.031, p = .05$, and Autonomy generated, $F(1, 92) = 5.078, p = .05$. The analysis of the mean scores, indicated that female participants highly endorsed pseudo-independence and autonomy attitudes. However, male participants largely favored disintegration and reintegration attitudes. (See Table 4). This indicates that females favor racial equality and understanding more than males.

Discussion

Conclusions of the Results

This study used jury simulation examine the implications of aversive racism. The purpose of the study was to evaluate, how the presence of African Americans would influence Caucasians decision making. The study was examining whether or not a group could be

influenced by another group, so they would avoid being viewed as racist. This study was in the context of a jury simulation. The findings indicated non-significant results for each of the independent variables, the racial compositions of the jury, and the race of the defense lawyer. Specifically, the race of the jury whether mixed, all Caucasian, or all African American had no effect on finding the defendant guilty or not guilty. In addition, the race of the defense lawyer whether Caucasian or African American had no influence on the participants in finding the defendant guilty or not guilty. Therefore, the hypothesis was not supported.

These results could have been influenced by how the experimental conditions were manipulated. Aversive racism is a social concept. The study tried to capitalize on this social theme in a fabricated situation without the participants having the benefits of seeing key figures, or hearing the testimonies in the case. It may have been more productive if the participants were exposed to pictures of the plaintiff and defendant, or a video tape of the court proceedings while working in groups. This would have promoted interactions between the participants and the stimulus materials. Because, the independent variables were not successful in producing significant results as it relates to the hypothesis, the focus of the results changed. The analyses of the various measures revealed interesting findings; although, none supported the theory of aversive racism. On the contrary, the findings indicated support for the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale measures, and participants endorsed high degrees in the belief and attitudes of racial equality.

Verdict and Confidence

Analyses of the verdict measure revealed that the defendant was found not guilty by the majority of participants. This result could have been related to the lack of manipulation of the

independent variables. However, the majority of the participants were confident in the verdicts, indicating a true belief in the verdict. Therefore, the hypothesis that the participants decisions would be influenced by members of their ingroup against the out-group, or the out-group influencing the ingroup could not be supported. It would be expected that aversive racism would influence those participants in the groups involving African American interaction to produce the not guilty verdict. This would have been caused by these individuals wanting to be perceived as not racist. However, the expectation would be that their confidence in the verdicts would be low. Analyses of the confidence measure found no difference between groups. On the other hand, it was predicted that participants in the groups involving Caucasians would have confidently found the defendant guilty, because, there was no African American involvement to influence their decisions. However, the results show confidence in the verdict across all the groups. Further analyses of the confidence measure should have been completed in regards to splitting the not guilty verdict group from the guilty group verdict. This analyses could have revealed a difference between the confidence of the not guilty verdict and the guilty verdict.

If aversive racism was not a factor in the participants decision making, regardless of the independent variables, then they should reject negative racial beliefs and standards. In addition, the aversive racism theory would have predicted that high levels of racial inequality would result in decrease confidence. In fact, a negative relationship was found between the New Racism Scale and confidence. This result related to a high degree of confidence found among participants.

White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale

As previously indicated the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale is comprised of five levels of white racial identity in relation to attitudes held by Caucasians for or against African Americans. Contact is associated with a lack of understanding of African American issues but there is emerging interest and involvement. Disintegration and reintegration are related to more negative feelings and attitudes about African Americans. Depending on reactions of Caucasians toward African Americans as well as personal growth, Caucasians could move toward racist beliefs and feelings, or they could move toward racial equality. A move toward equality leads the person into the stages of pseudo-independence and autonomy. These stages are associated with the belief that all people are equal and they appreciate diversity. Analyses of these subscales in relation to the various measures of this study revealed interesting findings.

Overall analyses indicates that the majority of participants favor pseudo-independence and autonomous attitudes. Therefore, the confidence in the verdict would be an accurate finding of the participants truly believing the judgement. On the other hand, analyses of gender difference indicated that males favored disintegration and reintegration attitudes and beliefs while females endorsed pseudo-independent and autonomous attitudes. These gender differences are similar to the findings of Carter (1990). Carter showed that males endorsed more disintegration attitudes as compared to females who favored pseudo-independent and autonomous attitudes. The implications of these findings suggest that males may misunderstand or reject racial issues where as, females maybe more aware of racial issues and embrace the uniqueness of racial diversity.

The analyses of the findings indicate that as individuals progress toward less racial

beliefs and attitudes the more pseudo-independent and autonomous they become. This indicates that female participants are involved in correcting racial problems and interacting more positively with members of the African American race. Therefore, the overall results may have been influenced by the larger number of female participants as compared to the males. Aversive racism is believed to be associated with underlying racial feelings that only emerge when a Caucasian is not threatened by being perceived as racist. As indicated, females hold more pseudo-independence and autonomous attitudes. These attitudes are synonymous with correcting racial problems and engaging in racial equality. Consequently, the more female participants the more likely they influenced the overall findings against aversive racism. If more male participants were used perhaps their attitudes of disintegration and reintegration would have produced findings to support the theory of aversive racism. The implications of these gender differences maybe related to the idea that females have been exposed to discriminatory behaviors by others, therefore, giving them a better understanding of racial discrimination.

Defendant Characteristic Measures

One of the main focuses of the study was to evaluate how the participants viewed the defendant. It would be expected that if aversive racist found the defendant not guilty, then the defendant would be viewed negatively. However, the results indicated that participants viewed the defendant in a positive way. The defendant was seen as friendly, good, likable, and not violent. In addition, a significant effects of the sick/ well measure indicated that the defendant was viewed as more well than sick when the defense lawyer was African American. More interestingly was the relationships between those characteristics and the sub-scales of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale. It would be expected from the theory upon which the scale is

based that positive and negative viewpoints depend on what attitudes a person holds. Therefore, pseudo-independence and autonomy attitudes should be related to positive viewpoints about the defendant's characteristics. On the other hand, negative viewpoints regarding the defendant's characteristics should be related to attitudes of reintegration and disintegration. In fact, the relationships among the attitudes of pseudo-independence and autonomy were positively correlated. This corresponds with the expected results based on the tenets of white racial identity, indicating that positive views of African American are related to higher level attitudes. On the other hand, negative correlations were associated with the sub-scales of disintegration and reintegration. Lower level attitudes are associated with negative views of African Americans. The implications of these findings, in relation to the attitudes of the participants, suggest that they truly did find the defendant not guilty and viewed the defendant in a positive way. Consequently, aversive racism was not a factor in the decision making process of the Caucasian participants.

The New Racism Scale

Further support for the accuracy of what the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale measures was established through relationships between the sub-scales and the New Racism Scale. Based on the definitions of the sub-scales for the WRIAS, it is expected that high levels of racism would result in low attitudes of pseudo-independence and autonomy. On the other hand, if high levels of racism are measured then high attitudes of disintegration and reintegration would be identified. The results did show that pseudo-independence and autonomy were positively related to racism while reintegration and disintegration were negatively related to racism. This indicates that participants who possess attitudes of equality are less racists, as

compared to others who possess attitudes of inequality are more racists. The implications of these findings, coupled with the low racial beliefs as measured by the New Racism Scale, suggest that the participants did not base their decisions upon the race of the jury nor the race of the defense attorney.

General Conclusions

The order, timing, and experimental conditions could have influenced the results. Ideally, the New Racism Scale and White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale should have been administered to the participants sometime before the actual manipulation of the independent variables. This manipulation should have been more social in nature to reflect interactions and personal involvement of the participants. However, the nature of the experimental conditions did not grant itself to ideal situations.

This study may have not established the influences of aversive racism but it has shown that individuals who participated in this study endorse more racial equality than negative beliefs and attitudes in relation to the scores of the measures. The interpretation of the result should be completed in light of the limitations and the lack of significance to support the hypothesis. Perhaps, aversive racism was an influential factor in the experiment resulting in overall positive findings. However, the lack of true social exposure did not allow aversive beliefs and attitudes to surface. Future research should utilize real social interactions between the jury, the plaintiff, and the defendant. This could be accomplished through video tapes or pictures. The essential part of aversive racism is the interactions between individuals. Therefore, further research should have participants in groups according to jury type when making verdicts.

It was clear from the results of this study as well as Carter (1990), that males possess

more negative racial attitudes toward African American than females. However, overall there was no significant differences between the genders. Therefore, further investigation of the Caucasian male population maybe worthwhile. Finally, the substantial relationships between the defendant's characteristics and the levels of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale was interesting. These results indicate that the tenets of the WRIAS relate to most of the defendants characteristics according to the definitions of the sub-scales. In conclusion, given the results and limitations of the present study, further studies examining aversive racism seem warranted.

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Table 1

Means for the Sick/ Well Measure and the Plaintiff Lawyer's Skillfulness as a function of the Type of Jury and the Type of Lawyer.

| | | Measures | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| Jury | Lawyer | Sick/ Well* | Plaintiff Lawyer's Skillfulness* |
| | | M | M |
| African American | African American | 7.06 | 5.06 |
| | Caucasian | 6.20 | 5.67 |
| Caucasian | African American | 6.67 | 4.67 |
| | Caucasian | 6.25 | 4.75 |
| Mixed | African American | 6.50 | 4.56 |
| | Caucasian | 6.27 | 3.93 |

* n= 15 - 16.

Table 2

Correlation Coefficients Between the Defendant's Characteristics and the Sub-scales of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale.

| Defendant's Characteristics* | M | WRIAS Sub-scales | | | |
|------------------------------|------|------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------|
| | | Disintegration | Reintegration | Pseudo-independence | Autonomy |
| Friendliness | 6.26 | -.10 | -.22 *** | .21 *** | .22 *** |
| Goodness | 5.48 | -.28 ** | -.27 ** | .27 *** | .22 *** |
| Level of Guilt | 6.04 | -.10 | -.28 ** | .34 ** | .28 ** |
| Likeableness | 5.73 | -.18 | -.18 | .23 *** | .31 ** |
| Level of Violence | 5.84 | -.16 | -.31 ** | .34 ** | .23 *** |

* = Likert type scale from 1 to 8, the higher the number the more positive the response.

** = Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

*** = Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

Table 3

Correlation Coefficients Between the New Racism Scale and the Sub-scales of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale.

| | WRIAS Sub-scales | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|----------|
| | Contact | Disintegration | Reintegration | Pseudo-independence | Autonomy |
| New Racism Scale | -.22 *** | .61 ** | .63 ** | -.50 ** | -.47 ** |

** = Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

*** = Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations for the Levels within the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale as a Function of Gender.

| Level of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale. | Gender | | | |
|---|--------|------|----------|------|
| | Male* | | Female** | |
| | M | SD | M | SD |
| Contact | 31.25 | 4.87 | 31.28 | 4.35 |
| Disintegration | 23.97 | 5.10 | 21.97 | 5.29 |
| Reintegration | 23.41 | 5.62 | 21.49 | 4.82 |
| Pseudo-independence | 35.12 | 3.35 | 37.48 | 4.38 |
| Autonomy | 37.06 | 4.15 | 39.00 | 3.83 |

* n = 32

** n = 61