



Black anti-White attitudes: The influence of racial identity and the Big Five

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Abstract

Two studies involving community-based samples of Blacks assessed the extent that Black anti-White attitudes are associated with racial identity and the Big Five. The two forms of anti-White attitudes assessed were ingroup-directed bias (i.e., discriminatory expectations) and outgroup-directed bias. The results of study one indicated that ingroup-directed bias was negatively related to humanism and positively related to nationalism, while outgroup-directed bias was negatively associated with humanism and positively associated with centrality and nationalism. The results of study two indicated that ingroup-directed bias was associated with lower agreeableness and higher neuroticism, while outgroup-directed bias was associated with lower agreeableness, lower conscientiousness, and higher openness to new experience.

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1. Introduction

In the past century, social scientists have given extensive attention to the empirical study of racial prejudice and intergroup bias, adopting two general conceptual approaches. The first, and

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most pervasive approach, focuses on the extent that racial prejudice is influenced by situational factors and intergroup dynamics (e.g., Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996; Johnson, Trawalter, & Dovidio, 2000; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Ford, 1997; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). The second approach, which has received considerably less attention, emphasizes the variability in people's propensity to harbor negative intergroup biases. For example, right wing authoritarianism has been shown to be a powerful predictor of negative attitudes towards Black Americans as well as other groups (e.g., Lambert & Chasteen, 1997; Lippa & Arad, 1999).

Although previous research examining individual and situational variability in intergroup bias has certainly enhanced our understanding of group relations and processes (see also research examining situation-specific manifestations of personality; e.g., Mischel & Shoda, 1995), Dunbar (1995) contends that the majority of the research on prejudice and social intolerance carried out in the United States employs predominantly White samples. Thus, there has been minimal empirical assessment of the variability in anti-White beliefs among non-Whites. The fact that such variability exists among Whites in their anti-Black attitudes, makes it reasonable to assume that similar variability could exist among Blacks with respect to their anti-White attitudes. Thus, the present research addressed this limitation in the prejudice literature by investigating whether variations in racial identity attitudes (Section 2) and the Big Five (Section 3) are associated with negative attitudes towards Whites within community-based samples of Black participants.

1.1. Empirical investigation of Black negative attitudes towards Whites

Johnson and Lecci (2003) recently developed a self-report measure of Black anti-White bias with items that were generated from the everyday experiences of Black respondents. An act-frequency approach to item generation was employed and the scale configuration was derived using exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis. Consistent with the findings of Monteith and Spicer (2000), it was demonstrated that Black negative attitudes towards Whites include expectations of ingroup-directed bias as well as outgroup-directed biases against Whites. Outgroup-directed bias refers to negative perceptions minority group members hold towards majority group members (e.g., "I believe that the success of a White person is due to their color"), whereas ingroup-directed bias refers to *perceptions* of how outgroup members (typically those in the majority group) view the ingroup (i.e., Blacks), thereby resulting in expectations of bias (e.g., "I believe that most whites would discriminate against Blacks, if they could get away with it").

Although there are a number of conceptualizations, group identification usually involves an individual's awareness of his/her membership in a social group and his/her attachment to that group (e.g., Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Interestingly, a growing body of evidence suggests that there is a positive association between group identification and attributions of discrimination (e.g., Crocker & Major, 1989; Operario & Fiske, 2001). While there is clear evidence that racial identity is associated with racism-related perceptual operations, some theorists have suggested that such research may not fully reflect the complexity of Black racial identity. Specifically, Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997) contend that two Black people could be equally identified and have very distinct ideologies about what it means to be Black. Thus, they developed the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997) to include a more comprehensive array of dimensions that might play a role in Black racial identity. This inventory

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