

**EXPLORING THE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN  
TRIOS AND RACIAL ATTITUDES**

by

Santiba D. Campbell

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology

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Santiba D. Campbell

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
James M. Jones, Ph.D.  
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Thomas M. DiLorenzo, Ph.D.  
Chair of the Department of Psychology

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Thomas M. Apple, Ph.D.  
Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Daniel Rich, Ph.D.  
Provost

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## ABSTRACT

TRIOS is a model for the dual processes of self-protective and self-enhancing motivations for Blacks that live in a universal context of racism (Jones, 2003). Data have shown that Whites who are high in TRIOS tend to endorse pro-social values. The idea that TRIOS may be a non-reactive measure of racial attitudes in Whites stems from this research. The following studies examine this idea by exploring possible relationships between TRIOS and various explicit (Brigham, 1993) and implicit (e.g., Implicit Association Test; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) measures of racial attitudes. Experiment 1 found that Whites who had higher TRIOS levels held more positive explicit but not implicit racial attitudes. The second study, which included Whites and Blacks, found no significant relationship between racial attitudes and TRIOS for Blacks or Whites. However, a significant mean difference occurred suggesting that Whites high in TRIOS showed *more* positive implicit racial attitudes toward Blacks while Blacks high in TRIOS held *less* positive implicit racial attitudes towards Whites. In the third study similar but non-significant patterns were found with highly TRIOSic Whites showing more positive racial attitudes and highly TRIOSic Blacks showing less positive racial attitudes. Only minor consistencies were found between the studies. Overall implicit and explicit racial attitude means were generally as predicted though infrequently statically significant. Implications and methodical concerns are discussed.

## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

How does a person know if the people they interact with on a daily basis may hold prejudiced views about them or other groups? During a time when being politically correct is of great importance, one must be mindful of what they think and say publicly. Prejudice can be defined as a positive or negative attitude, judgment, or feeling about a person that is generalized from attitudes or beliefs held about the group to which the person belongs (Jones, 1997). It can result from cognitive processes, personality or other beliefs and emotions.

Will a person admit that they are prejudiced? This may depend on several factors and even the type of prejudice that is held. If not, in terms of racial prejudice, is there a way to determine a person's racial attitude without the person being aware, so that they cannot mask their true feelings? Various measures of racial attitudes are currently being used but do not necessarily gauge accurate stances. Explicit measures may be too vague while implicit measures can be too complex. Developing additional personality measures that may influence the expression of racial attitudes is important at this time. This would allow for exploration of not only racial attitudes but the factors that influence it.

## **Racial Attitudes**

Interest in racial attitudes has generated several theoretical concerns and measures. Brigham states, “racial attitudes are organized around salient content areas or social issues that change over time”.... (1993). This implies that as society changes with time and eras, the way racial attitudes are measured will also have to be transformed with the shifting times. Thus, different evaluations of racism are necessary. The new era of racism can be studied by exploring three sublevels: modern, symbolic, and aversive.

Modern racism suggests that discrimination is a thing of the past, Blacks are pushing to hard, they are getting too much attention and sympathy from the nation’s elites, and Black gains and demands are no longer justified (McConahay, 1982). According to McConahay (1982), a modern racist does not view himself or herself as a racist because they understand that past instance of racism is wrong and they believe the stereotypes they hold are factual. Having this attitude can have an effect on common activities like watching television, serving on juries, and general interactions with others. This is especially true since the modern racist is not considering their attitude as incorrect.

Around 1970 symbolic racism emerged. Symbolic racism is very similar to modern racism. However, one small difference is that symbolic racism focuses more on symbolic content rather than the concrete realities of life; particularly of the individual’s own personal life (Sears, 1988). Others feel that the emphasis placed on

the cognitive aspect of the attitude with modern racism suggests that the separations of the old and new forms of racism are a more conscious cognitive process (Jones, 1997).

Aversive racism is a particular type of ambivalence in which there is conflict between feelings and beliefs associated with a sincerely egalitarian value system and unacknowledged negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986). Equality is very important to an aversive racist; however their negative feelings about Blacks inadvertently arise when they are in the company of Blacks or discussing race issues.

### **Measuring Racism**

More recently, studies have investigated the use of both implicit and explicit measures to probe the accurate feelings of racial attitudes held today. One of the early modes of evaluating true racial attitudes came from the Bogus Pipeline, which measured affect and attitudes. According to this when a person is attached to a machine that supposedly measures one's true feelings about a person or an issue, they are more likely to give responses that reflect their accurate emotion toward the statement or question asked of them (Jones & Sigall, 1971). Prior to being hooked to the machine, subjects usually completed a prediction or survey of what the machine may be able to calculate concerning their attitudes. It was often indicated that White participants were more likely to attribute negative traits to Blacks under the bogus pipeline (Jones & Sigall, 1971). This gave evidence to the likelihood that people would disclose undesirable information about themselves when they believed an

experimenter was already able to gain this information. The bogus pipeline developed into a widely explored field that attempts to find the true attitude a person possesses.

**Explicit Attitudes** Explicit attitudes are apparent, understandable, and clear. They are exemplified by the attitudes measured by traditional self-report measures (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). The participant has an idea as to what is being measured. As previously mentioned, the Bogus Pipeline did not actually measure racial attitude. It was the idea that the participant was presented with that caused this finding. The participant knew that the task at hand was to assess their racial attitude. There are numerous explicit measures of racial attitudes and prejudice levels. Most are traditional survey style having a participant respond to a series of statements or questions using a Likert scale. The problem with explicit attitudes lies within the method of measurement. As discussed before there are different types of racism. Some types of racism like aversive racism for example, are not easily observed explicitly. Many individuals understand the consequences of showing negative racial attitudes in today's society. Given the politically correct nature of society, those who feel differently may not show their true feelings. Thus, new measures must be created in order to capture these hidden sentiments. The Bogus pipeline was an early step in this direction.

**Implicit Attitudes** Implicit attitudes are defined as introspectively unidentified or inaccurately identified traces of past experience that mediate favorable or unfavorable feelings, thoughts, or action toward social objects (Greenwald &

Banaji, 1995). Based on the Bogus Pipeline, Fazio and colleagues (1995) developed the Bona fide pipeline, a button response task paired with a detection task to capture true attitude responses. This was not a fake machine but an actual formation that would assess attitudes. Fazio and colleagues (1995) used priming which permits assessment of the extent to which the presentations of an attitude object automatically activates an associated evaluation from memory. First, the subject was asked to make a good or bad judgment using labeled keys about a word. Each response was timed. Next, the subjects were told they had to remember faces for a later task. Then, the subjects had to respond yes or no using the keys again to indicate whether they had seen the present face before. Afterward, the subject completed several phases that included the actual priming task at hand. Scores were assessed using response times and face recall. It was found that racial attitudes could be automatically activated towards an individual member of a racial group (Fazio et al, 1995).

Several years later the bona fide pipeline was taken even further. Greenwald and colleagues (1998) developed a test with a measurement range from self-esteem to racial attitudes, the Implicit Association Test (IAT). One of the studies conducted for the Implicit Association Test was stimulated by Fazio and colleagues along with others previous research on automatic expressions of attitudes and race related stereotypes (Greenwald et al, 1998). The IAT consists of a matching pair task presented on a computer. A target concept discrimination and an attribute dimension are combined to create this pair. In this study, the subject matched pleasant meaning

and unpleasant meaning words with first names that were associated as being Black or White. Each response is timed. Performance is faster when the more associated combination is paired together than the less associated combination. The test is completed on a computer with the names presented on the monitor and the response keys being on the keyboard. Similar results were found with the IAT as the bona fide pipeline. Whites responded faster with the White name and pleasant word combination and the racial attitude measures used for comparison showed some correlation with the matching task. By having the subjects complete an implicit measure; more accurate feelings about racial preference were obtained.

### **Relationship between Explicit and Implicit Attitudes**

It is believed that implicit and explicit measures account for different judgments. It is argued by many that responses under the bogus pipeline conditions assess people's awareness of their experiences of bias, whereas private reports assess people's personal beliefs about the appropriateness of the stereotype of Black people (Plant et al, 2003). This explains the differing correlations found between race IATs and explicit measures of racial attitudes in addition to the within group differences (Gawronski, 2002). Implicit memory processes involve a lack of awareness and automatic activation while explicit processes are conscious, deliberative and controllable (Kawakami & Dovidio, 2001).

It is possible that the various forms of explicit racism may be assessed by differing factors or dimensions since all explicit measures do not gauge the same type

of racism. According to Gawronski (2002), explicit prejudice measures like perceived threat by the out-group or overt rejection of the out-group may be more directly related to implicit evaluation than the dimensions of subtle prejudice measures like defense of traditional values, exaggeration of the cultural differences and/or denial of positive emotion related to the out-group. Thus, assessing prejudice may go beyond basic ideas of how one feels about another group. Understanding the different beliefs, values and way of life of the groups may be more beneficial in evaluating racial attitudes towards a group. Having a concept that can encompass the many dimensions of racism and be associated to the different groups may better explain both implicit and explicit racial attitudes.

### **TRIOS: An African centered Cultural Worldview**

TRIOS is a model for the dual processes of self-protective and self-enhancing motivations for Blacks that must live in a universal context of racism (Jones, 2003). TRIOS is an acronym for Time, Rhythm, Improvisation, Orality, and Spirituality. Time explores ways of developing, using and controlling it. Rhythm reflects the pace, flow and patterning of behavior, thought, and emotion. Improvisation captures the dimensions by which we solve problems and create new possibilities. Orality is a medium of communication and the foundation of intercultural interaction and relationships. Spirituality describes how we approach the mystery of our existence and the consequences of the contemplation of our mental and psychological well-being (Jones, 1997). The scale was developed to measure the different cultural world views

one may hold, the results of which have yielded a stable five-factor structure. The five factors can be combined to create Composite TRIOS (TRIOS-C), an overall TRIOS score.

Developed from African principles and concepts, TRIOS encompasses an African centered cultural worldview that transcends to modern Blacks. The TRIOSic worldview is extrapolated from multiple African societies and melded into a localized pattern of coping, communication and group process (Jones, 2004). Slavery has fundamentally impacted Blacks in a harmful manner; however it should not be the only method used to assess the reasoning of Blacks. The historical presence of African ancestry has a significant impact on the development of the Black psyche. TRIOS addresses the additional components needed to understand some of the cultural differences.

### **Explanations of the TRIOS Dimensions**

As a cultural worldview, each TRIOS dimension reflects human capacity developed from the fabric of experience, necessity, belief and evolutionary success (Jones, 2004).

Time explores ways of developing, using and controlling it. This also includes personal perspectives on the past, present and future. All cultures do not view time in the same manner. There are cultures that value time and oppress over it while others may feel they control time in essence. In the language of Swahili, a word does not exist for future, only for the past (Zamani) and the present (Sasa) (Mbiti, 1970).

Variations in the conceptions of time and their implications for the structure of society and behavior with it, strongly suggest that time as a dimension may be pivotal in explaining characteristics of early African cultural systems (Jones, 2004).

Rhythm reflects the pace, flow and patterning of behavior, thought, and emotion. Rhythm is one's response to the melody of their environment. This includes internal and external procedures that dictate a flow or timetable. Chernoff (1979) states that "...one of the most notable features of African cultures is that many activities; paddling a canoe, chopping a tree, pounding grain or simply moving; seem set in a rhythmic framework...."

Improvisation captures the extent by which we solve problems and create new possibilities. It is goal directed creative problem solving under time pressure; a distinctive style. This dimension observes the knowledgeable, spontaneous factor that allows one freedom to mesh with varied situations and blend when needed. Improvisation then serves both a social integrative function as well as a personally expressive one (Jones, 2003).

Orality is a medium of communication and the foundation of intercultural interaction and relationships. It is the preferences for oral face-to-face communication, and personal expression, and the meaningful role of spoken words in human affairs. Orality assumes a socially centered society. In the African cultural tradition, the Griot is a professional storyteller. The life of a people is told in stories that chronicle major

events, parables or truths to live by, and important values and tells the life lessons serve as guides for living (Jones, 2003).

Spirituality describes how we approach the mystery of our existence and the consequences of the contemplation of our mental and psychological well being (Jones, 1997). It is the belief in the value of a higher power and unknown forces that influence all living things and one's life in particular. Spirituality is the strongest dimension of TRIOS because it is the central concept of African psychology. Spirituality raises a host of personal and cultural expressions that challenge basic assumptions about the determinants of mental health, motivation for achievement, behavioral regulation among other ideals (Jones, 1997).

One of the most interesting components of TRIOS is the fact that the statements used to assess TRIOS do not contain race. Nor do the statements contain racial content but yet a difference can be seen between Blacks and Whites who have taken the measure. It may be possible that a person's TRIOS level might serve as a non-reactive index of his or her level of prejudice, given the fact that the TRIOSic worldview is generally non-evaluative and non-judgmental, and non-comparative (Jones, 2003). Thus, TRIOS may be able to determine a person's prejudice level.

### **The Relationship between TRIOS and Values**

It may come as no surprise that Blacks are more TRIOSic; score higher on TRIOS than Whites. However, the surprise lies in the effect TRIOS has on both groups. Previous research has examined different psychological dimensions of the

cultural measure, TRIOS and its implications on behavior and functioning. Looking at the areas of stress and well-being, TRIOS has shown an effect for both Blacks and Whites (Jones, 2004). This can also be seen when discussing values. Using the Schwartz Value Survey (1992), relationships were found between Blacks and Whites with high TRIOS levels and the values of self-direction, tradition, benevolence and universalism; pro-social values. These findings suggest that regardless of race, the TRIOS concept is a viewpoint that contains ideals that transcend beyond just Blacks. It has been established that values will dictate behavior (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). Thus it may be possible that individuals endorsing a TRIOSic view and possessing pro-social values would show more favorable racial attitudes. Research has shown that implicit measures produce more accurate ideas of racial attitudes. Timed responses and matching tasks can be complex and involve the use of a computer. If TRIOS can be used as an implicit measure of racial attitudes, it will be a simple measure to operate and administer. It is a self-report measure which would decrease the chance of experimenter demand or evaluation apprehension since race is not mentioned in any of the statements on the scale. Thus, TRIOS may be a precise measure of racial attitudes.

### **Moderators of the TRIOS and Racial Attitude Relationship**

#### **Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice**

Plant and Devine (1998) contend that people vary in the extent to which they are motivated to respond without prejudice for internal (personal) and external (social)

reasons. An internal person is motivated by personal concerns to respond without prejudice. An external person is motivated by concerns over how they might appear in the eyes of others. It is believed that both motivations are likely to affect people's prejudice judgment. How they interact varies across different groups of people. One's motivation to respond without prejudice may serve as a moderator to the relationship of TRIOS and racial attitudes. Since TRIOS is a cultural worldview, differences are to be expected across groups. Motivations to respond without expressing a negative racial attitude are an important factor within and across groups. The degree to which the participants express their racial attitudes based on their TRIOS level may vary as a function of their source of motivation to respond without prejudice.

### **Racial Contact**

Previous research has found that highly TRIOSic individuals share similar values. These individuals may also share other philosophies and lifestyles that would allow them to more likely interact. Contact hypothesis asserts that under certain conditions, direct contact between antagonistic groups will reduce prejudice (Allport, 1954). Blacks and Whites who have had sufficient amounts of contact with their out-groups or share certain commonalties may be less likely to have negative racial attitudes. As a result, the amount of racial contact a person has had may moderate the TRIOS and racial attitude relationship.

## **Values**

As noted above, there is evidence that Whites who are more TRIOSic are more likely to hold pro-social values. If the expectation that TRIOS will detect racial attitudes in a non-reactive manner is correct, it could be due to the moderating influence of pro-social values. We therefore hypothesize that pro-social values would moderate the relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes for whites.

The purpose of the following studies is to examine the relationship between TRIOS and implicit and explicit racial attitudes. Given previous research concerning TRIOS and values, an association is plausible since values and beliefs are directly related to attitudes. Furthermore, the connection between TRIOS and racial attitudes may be moderated by one's motivation to respond without prejudice or the amount of racial contact one has had.

## **Chapter 2**

### **STUDY 1**

It is hypothesized that TRIOS level will have a positive and direct relationship with White racial attitudes towards Blacks; both implicit and explicitly. It is further hypothesized that the relationship will be moderated by the degree to which the participants have a motivation to suppress negative attitudes, the degree to which they endorse pro-social values or the amount of racial contact they have had. Participants who are high in TRIOS and have high internal motivation will express more positive explicit racial attitudes. Positive implicit racial attitudes will be seen in participants who are high in TRIOS and high in internal motivation but low in external motivation. Pro-social values will elicit more positive implicit and explicit attitudes for individuals high in TRIOS.

### **Method**

#### **Participants**

Sixty White college students (28 males and 32 females) were selected from a predominantly white university in the northeast with ages ranging from 18-29 years old. Of the population, approximately 63% students classified themselves as freshman (N = 38). Whites were the only racial group used since the study focuses on the

thoughts and opinions of Whites. All students were selected from introductory psychology classes and given participation credit towards the research requirement of the course.

### **Measures and Materials**

TRIOS scores, along with the order of the measures were the independent variables. The dependent measures for the study were a mixture of explicit and implicit procedures for assessing racial attitudes, consisting of the Attitudes towards Blacks scale (Brigham, 1993) and the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et al, 1998).

**TRIOS** Participants completed the 38-item version of TRIOS (Jones, 2003) which consists of five dimensions. An example of each follows. Time, “I try to live one day at a time.” Rhythm, “If I feel someone is attacking me, I sometimes struggle not knowing what to do.” Improvisation, “When things do not go as planned, it is easy for me to devise another plan right on the spot.” Orality, “Humor is key to my relationships with my friends.” Spirituality, “Belief in a higher power is important to me.”

A composite TRIOS score (TRIOS-C) is commonly used when discussing explanations of overall findings. TRIOS-C is created by combining the dimensions into one score. Previous psychometric analyses of TRIOS have shown that since the individual dimensions of TRIOS are highly correlated and reliable, the composite

score can confidently represent a holistic view of the concept (Jones, 2003). Through out the remainder of the paper, TRIOS will be used when discussing TRIOS-C.

Responses were given on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from -3 (very untrue) to 3 (very true). TRIOS scores were obtained during a pre-testing session of introductory psychology courses to access scores prior to the project date. Participants were selected based on their TRIOS score being high or low. A quartile split determined the categories by the top group being measured as high and the bottom group low.

**Explicit Attitudes** Participants completed Brigham's (1993) Attitudes towards Blacks scale (ATB) to assess explicit racial attitudes. The ATB is a 20-item scale used to measure one's attitudes toward Blacks on a number of different dimensions. Examples of questions used on the ATB include; "I would not mind at all if a Black family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door." and "Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the "who-am-I?" confusion, which the children feel." Questions were assessed using a nine point Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). Higher scores indicate a more negative racial attitude.

**Implicit Attitudes** The Implicit Association Test (IAT) was used to assess implicit racial attitudes (Greenwald et al, 1998). A target concept discrimination and an attribute dimension are combined to create a pairing. In the case of the race IAT, participants identified pictures of black and white faces of both males

and females with good and bad words (recall the detailed explanation previously given in the introduction). Each response was timed. Performance is faster when the more associated combination is paired together than the less associated combination creating the IAT effect. Racial bias is shown if participants respond more quickly when the response keys paired with “White” and “positive” are faster than “Black” and “positive”. When scoring the IAT effect, the mid point of zero acts as a neutral point. Values above zero are said to show a White preferences while negative values show a Black preference.

**Moderators** The internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice scales (Plant & Devine, 1998) were used as possible moderating variables in the relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes; implicitly and explicitly. Previous research has shown that high IMS individuals express less race bias on explicit measures while the combination high IMS and low EMS individuals express less race bias on implicit measures (Devine et al, 2002). Each scale contains 5 items; “I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways because it personally important to me (Internal), “If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me (External).

Schwartz’s value survey (Schwartz, 1992) was also given as a possible mediator. It examines the attainment of certain motivations and importance of goal and principles. Previous research has established that TRIOS correlates with the overall values score and highly with individual pro-social subscales; benevolence, self

direction, tradition and universalism. This is a fifty-six item scale comprised of 10 subscales that uses a likert scale of -1 (opposed to my values) to 7 (supreme importance) to rate the various values. Other subscales not previously mentioned include achievement, conformity, hedonism, power, security and stimulation.

**Demographics** The participants also completed a background survey that assessed various demographical and personal interest information like race, gender, college classification, parents' occupation and education, favorite music groups and television shows. Included in the background survey was interaction and contact information concerning the participants' racial composition of their high school (What was the racial composition of your high school?), neighborhood (What was the racial composition of the neighborhood you grew up in between the ages of 10-18?) and overall experiences with Blacks (On the whole would you say your experiences and interactions with Blacks are). These interaction and contact items were average together to create racial contact, another moderator used in the study.

### **Design and procedure**

The study followed a 2 (TRIOS level: high vs. low) x 3 (order taking the IAT) design. First participants were randomly assigned to a procedure order. This was done by having participants choose a stick from a university logo cup with either an A, B, or C printed on it. Once this was chosen, they were referred to by the letter of the condition. Each order was identified as condition A, B, or C. Condition A included

taking the IAT first, followed by the surveys. Condition B had the surveys given first, followed by the IAT. Condition C only received the surveys. The surveys included Schwartz value survey, TRIOS and the Public Opinion Survey (this included a random combination of ATB, IMS and EMS) respectively. Once the assignments were made, participants assigned to condition B or C began completing the surveys while the participant in condition A was instructed on the IAT in a separate room. After completing the IAT, the participant in condition A would return to the main room with the others and the participant in condition B would be escorted across the hall to begin the IAT. The participant in condition C never attempted the IAT due to time constraints. Three participants were always scheduled for the 30 minute sessions with the expectation that one of the participants would not attend the session. If all participants were in attendance then condition C was used. Lastly the participants were given the Background Survey and were told this was to determine the composition of the university subject pool and not related to the tasks they had just completed. The IAT data was automatically saved to the computer and the surveys were placed in a locked box upon completion.

## **Results**

All measures used in the study showed strong reliabilities which can be found in Table 1.

### **Order Effect**

A Multivariate analysis of variance test showed that the order in which the materials were presented did not effect the participants racial attitude responses  $F(2, 40) = .7, p = .503$ ; Wilks' Lambda = .966, partial eta squared = .03.

### **Main Hypothesis**

Initial analyses were conducted to determine if TRIOS could predict explicit and implicit racial attitudes among the participants. According to a MANOVA, there was a main effect for TRIOS,  $F(2, 40) = 4.17, p = .02$ . Analysis of each individual dependent variable showed that TRIOS did predict explicit racial attitudes,  $F(1, 41) = 4.46, p = .04$ . Participants who were higher in TRIOS showed a more positive explicit racial attitude ( $M = 2.64$ ) than those low in TRIOS ( $M = 3.41$ ). A higher score represented a more negative racial attitude. However, this was not true of implicit attitudes,  $F(1, 41) = 2.15, p = .15$ . As hypothesized, participants who were high in TRIOS showed more favorable implicit racial attitudes ( $M = -.30$ ) than those who were low in TRIOS ( $M = -.11$ ) but the finding was not significant. Higher scores are said to represent more of a White preference.

### **Moderation**

Correlations were established between TRIOS and the Internal motivation to respond without prejudice scale,  $r = .350, p = .015$ . Conversely the external motivation to respond without prejudice scale did not correlate with TRIOS,  $r = .030, p = .838$ . As

found in prior studies of TRIOS, there was a correlation between TRIOS and pro-social values,  $r = .534, p = .01$ . Pro-social values were a combination of benevolence, self-direction, tradition and universalism. Each pro-social value individually correlated with TRIOS as well, benevolence,  $r = .574, p = .01$ ; self-direction,  $r = .287, p = .05$ ; tradition,  $r = .484, p = .01$  and universalism,  $r = .364, p = .01$ . TRIOS does not correlate with racial contact,  $r = .204, p = .12$ . Given the fact that TRIOS is not correlated with EMS and racial contact, they will not be tested for moderation.

In order to examine the second hypothesis, regression analysis was used to explore moderation effects for the relationship of TRIOS and explicit attitudes only since this relationship was found to be statistically significant. TRIOS and IMS were entered in Step 1 and the two way interaction term TRIOS and IMS were entered in Step 2. Step 1 was significant,  $R^2 = .632, F(2, 57) = 48.91, p < .001$ , revealing a significant IMS effect. Specifically, participants high in IMS expressed more positive explicit racial attitudes ( $\beta = -.769$ ). Step 2, however was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .001, F(3, 56) = 32.17, p = .700$ . The interaction of TRIOS and IMS did not predict racial attitudes.

The moderating effects of pro-social values were also tested with the explicit racial attitudes and TRIOS relationship. TRIOS and pro-social values were entered in Step 1 and the two way interaction term of TRIOS and pro-social values were entered in Step 2. Step 1 was significant,  $R^2 = .112, F(2, 57) = 3.60, p < .05$ , revealing a significant pro-social value effect. Specifically, pro-social values were related to a

more positive explicit racial attitude ( $\beta = -.281$ ). Step 2 was not significant,  $\Delta R^2 = .019$ ,  $F(3, 56) = 2.81$ ,  $p = .278$ . The interaction of TRIOS and pro-social values did not predict racial attitudes.

### **Discussion**

As hypothesized, there is a relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes. Whites who were high in TRIOS expressed more positive explicit racial attitudes but this relationship was not upheld for implicit racial attitudes. Nevertheless the direction of the responses was as predicted with those high in TRIOS showing a more favorable implicit racial attitude.

The second hypothesis was not supported since the possible moderation of the relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes did not exist among pro-social values or IMS. Racial contact and EMS were tested since a correlational relationship was not established.

The fact that the implicit and explicit measures did not correlate does not pose concern for the measures chosen. Previous literature has debated the connection between implicit and explicit measures of attitudes (Dovidio et al, 1997; Fazio et al, 1995; Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983; Greenwald et al, 1998). One could argue if they are assessing the same ideas, there may be a difference of true belief found with the implicit measure and social desirability found with the explicit measures thus causing different outcomes.

The theory of TRIOS is said to represent the cultural foundation of African legacy of Blacks... (Jones, 2003). In other words, the TRIOS theory was developed from the cultural experiences of Blacks. The positive relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes found with Whites may be due to similarities between their beliefs, values and experiences with Blacks. Thus, those who are high in TRIOS may share various viewpoints and principles established by African culture. A relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes was established in study 1. Based on this finding and previous research with TRIOS, study 2 will again evaluate this relationship and expand the research to include Blacks. It is believed that TRIOS will show the same relation for Blacks as found in Whites. As previously stated, the TRIOSic worldview is generally non-evaluative, non-judgmental, and non-comparative (Jones, 2003). TRIOSic individuals share a humanistic approach to life. It is believed that TRIOS provides a basis for positive regard at the individual and collective levels (Jones, 2004). Thus, a more positive explicit and implicit racial attitude should be seen in all high TRIOS individuals.

In study 1, the implicit racial attitude relationship was not found to be significant however means were as expected showing Whites high in TRIOS expressing a more favorable implicit attitude. The lack of significance with TRIOS and the implicit racial attitude relationship may be due to a small sample size. Study 2 will again evaluate this concept but with an increased number of participants.

It has been shown that White participants will express lower levels of prejudice when their racial attitudes are assessed by a Black experimenter (Fazio et al, 1995). The White participants may have felt fairly obligated to respond in a more positive manner by having a Black experimenter. This demand characteristic may have inhibited the moderation effect by activating the EMS, which in turn suppressed the relationship between TRIOS and implicit racial attitudes. Therefore, Black and White experimenters will be used in Study 2 when surveying the groups.

## **Chapter 3**

### **STUDY 2**

In study 2, we expect to replicate the current findings that Blacks score higher on TRIOS than Whites. However, the racial attitude level and TRIOS relationship will be the same as in study 1 meaning those high in TRIOS will show more favorable implicit and explicit racial attitude. Having the participant's race paired with the race of the experimenter should diminish demand characteristics that could occur while responding to the surveys. Changing the race of the experimenter may also produce the moderation effect of the IMS and EMS on the TRIOS and racial attitude relationship. Specifically, high IMS will be moderated high TRIOS and expressed positive explicit racial attitudes. Participants who are high in TRIOS with high IMS and low EMS will express more positive implicit racial attitudes.

### **Method**

#### **Participants**

A total of 180 participants were collected from two universities; 127 females from a predominantly white university (school W) in the northeast with ages ranging from 17-22 years of age and 53 participants (15 males and 38 females) from a predominantly black university (school B) in the south with ages ranging from 18-27

years of age. Since a gender effect ( $F(1, 46) = .423, p = .519$ ) was not found for TRIOS in study 1, only females were selected from school W.

As in study 1, students from school W were selected from the university research pool which is derived from the introductory psychology classes, in order to satisfy the research participation requirement for the class. Participants from school B were also selected from introductory psychology classes however, participation was voluntary. Each student received extra credit for their time given.

### **Measures**

The measures remained the same as in study 1 with the addition of explicit racial attitude measures for Blacks and revising of the IMS and EMS.

**Explicit Attitudes** Two explicit measures of racial attitudes towards Whites were added for the Black participants to complete. Brigham (1993), who created the previously discussed, Attitudes towards Blacks Scale (ATB) also developed an Attitude towards Whites scale (ATW) that is used to assess Blacks attitudes towards Whites. Similar to the ATB, the ATW also consists of twenty items. There has been debate of the relevance of some of the ATW items since several items were taken from the ATB and simply replaced Black with White. Brigham (1993) states that "...It is quite possible that some relevant dimensions of blacks' racial attitudes were not adequately represented...." Given this fact another measure of racial attitudes concerning Whites was also used. The Johnson-Lecci Scale (JLS) is a

twenty item multicomponent self-report measure of anti-White attitudes held among Blacks (Johnson & Lecci, 2003). All explicit racial attitude scales used a seven point Likert scale for the responses with higher scores indicating more negative racial attitudes.

**Moderators** The internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales (IMS/EMS) and the Schwartz Value survey were again used as possible moderating variables in the relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes. However, the IMS and EMS were slightly modified for use with Black participants by changing the target focus from Blacks to Whites. This was done simply by changing the word Black to White. For example, one of the original IMS items is stated as, “Being nonprejudiced toward *Black* people is important to my self-concept.” and was changed to “Being nonprejudiced toward *White* people is important to my self-concept.”

### **Design and Procedure**

Study 2 follows the same procedures used in study 1. Study 2 adds a Black sample as study 1 only had Whites participants. Also, in order to check for an experimenter effect since the first study only had a Black experimenter, a White experimenter was added. The design is a 2 (Race: Black vs. White) x 2 (TRIOS level: high vs. low) x 3 (order taking the IAT) design for school W. The design for school B

was a 2 (TRIOS level: high vs. low) x 3 (order taking the IAT) since a White experimenter was not available.

### **Results**

Again in Table 1, reliabilities can be found for each measure. As predicted, the ATW produced a lower reliability than the JLS; ATW  $\alpha = .71$ , JLS  $\alpha = .88$ . The IMS reliability for Blacks ( $\alpha = .47$ ) was much lower than that of the White participants ( $\alpha = .76$ ). One recoded items is used in this scale that appears to cause this effect. When this item is not recoded, reliability greatly increases for Blacks ( $\alpha = .64$ ) but decreases for Whites ( $\alpha = .39$ ). This questionable result will be further explained during the discussion section.

### **Order and Experimenter Effect**

As in study 1, the order in which the participants took the surveys and the IAT did not affect responses for Whites,  $F(2, 81) = 2.714, p = .072$ , Wilks' Lambda = .937. This was also true for Black participants,  $F(3, 37) = 1.074, p = .372$ , Wilks' Lambda = .920. There was no main effect for the race of the experimenter with the White participants,  $F(2, 81) = .779, p = .462$ , Wilks' Lambda = .981. This effect was not tested with Black participants since they only received a Black experimenter.

### **TRIOS Level Difference**

An independent samples t-test illustrated that Blacks attain higher TRIOS levels than Whites,  $t = 7.238$ ,  $df = 166$ ,  $p = .000$ . Blacks attained very different TRIOS scores ( $M = 1.30$ ) than Whites ( $M = .70$ ). Since TRIOS is an African centered life view of cultural patterns of belief and values, it was expected that Blacks would be highly TRIOSic.

### **Main Hypothesis**

An analysis of variance concluded that an explicit relationship did not exist for TRIOS and White participants,  $F(1, 120) = .067$ ,  $p = .796$ . This leads to several questions since this relationship was found in study 1. Whites high in TRIOS still showed a more positive explicit racial attitude ( $M = 3.04$ ) than those who were low ( $M = 3.09$ ), however the means were not near significance and the mean difference is very marginal. A MANOVA concluded that the explicit relationship was not seen for Blacks as well,  $F(2, 42) = .394$ ,  $p = .677$ , Wilks' Lambda = .982. Even though TRIOS did not predict explicit racial attitudes in Blacks, it is interesting to note the direction of the means. It was believed that being high in TRIOS would result with having more positive attitude for both Blacks and Whites. The means for Blacks are posing the opposite outcome. Blacks high in TRIOS showed more negative racial attitudes on the ATW ( $M = 3.74$ ) and JLS ( $M = 3.94$ ). Those Blacks low in TRIOS had more favorable explicit racial attitude means on the ATW ( $M = 3.54$ ) and the JLS ( $M = 3.88$ ). However, note that main effects for these relationships were not found.

An analysis of variance exploring the relationship between TRIOS and implicit racial attitudes concluded that this link does not exist,  $F(1,114) = 1.027, p = .313$ . Nevertheless, an interesting outcome did occur. Whites with high levels of TRIOS ( $M = 142.66$ ) did show a more positive implicit racial attitude than those low in TRIOS ( $M = 154.60$ ) as was predicted. However, this was not the case for Blacks. Having a higher TRIOS level caused Blacks to have a negative implicit racial attitude ( $M = -60.928$ ) than those low in TRIOS ( $M = 91.859$ ). The means for Blacks were completely opposite as the initial prediction. Still, the effect is not significant.

### **Moderation**

Moderation analyses were not explored since TRIOS did not predict implicit nor explicit racial attitudes.

### **Discussion**

As predicted, Blacks obtained higher TRIOS levels than Whites. Since it is believed that TRIOS provides the repertoire of skills, perspectives, beliefs, and values that informed the initial means of adapting to and coping with the horrific experiences of slavery (Jones, 2004), logically Blacks would be more TRIOSic. This belief originally led to the idea of TRIOS sharing a relationship with racial attitudes since other racial groups who share the values and beliefs of TRIOS may also communicate a more humanistic view that members of some stigmatized groups share.

The main hypothesis was not proven such that a significant relationship between TRIOS and implicit or explicit racial attitudes did not occur for Blacks or for Whites. This is especially disturbing since a significant result was found when viewing explicit racial attitudes in study 1 for Whites. One possible explanation for this difference may be the change in the Time dimension used in study 2. All analyses utilizing TRIOS as a variable comprise of a composite TRIOS score meaning each dimension of TRIOS is average to form one value. The dimension of Time can be conceptualized two ways; Present time or Bi-Temporal time. Previous research has shown race difference in time with Whites creating a more future orientation (Jones, 2003). This scoring difference may have changed the average TRIOS score which likely caused the dissimilarity in the explicit racial attitude finding between study 1 and study 2.

The implicit racial attitude relationship with TRIOS was also not significant. The means however do cause for insightful speculation. It was believed that individuals high in TRIOS, regardless of race would convey more positive racial attitudes. The means of the IAT suggest a different relationship. Whites who were highly TRIOSic did show this pattern but Blacks did not. Low TRIOS Blacks were more likely to show an out-group preference or a more favorable attitude towards Whites while Blacks with higher TRIOS levels showed more of an in-group preference. This leads to interesting assumptions about the likelihood of TRIOS.

Another interesting finding from study 2 is the change in reliability scores for the IMS. This may be due to interpretation of just one question, “According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is ok.” There may be a much deeper meaning regarding the statement. When this recoded item was removed for Blacks, the reliability increased. The recoded statement is the opposite of another item; “Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong” that should result in a balance. Since the IMS was designed for Whites and has never been used with Blacks, the reliability difference is perhaps a conceptual dilemma. This difference could be seen as describing an action versus a belief. Is the person using stereotypes that they know should not be generalized to the entire group or possibly this difference is the result of a diunital cognitive structure for Blacks who may hold a need to express instead of suppress. The difference in IMS scores for Blacks and Whites may pose a more theoretical question concerning the need to suppress prejudice feelings between the groups.

## **Chapter 4**

### **STUDY 3**

The purpose of study 3 is to eradicate any methodological problems that previously hindered the prior studies. Since Present Time was employed in study 1 while Bi-Temporal Time created TRIOS in study 2, study 3 will unify composite TRIOS between the studies by using Bi-Temporal Time to determine TRIOS levels.

The number of Blacks who were low in TRIOS accounted for a small percentage of the sample in study 2. Thus, study 3 will strive to contain more Blacks who are low in TRIOS by increasing the sample size for exploration of the mean differences. Also, both samples will come from universities in the northeast since study 2 comparisons were between Black college students from the south and White college students from the northeast.

The IMS reliability difference found among Blacks will again be tested for validation. Having the result occur again will be grounds for future examination.

### **Method**

#### **Participants**

A total of 197 participants were collected from two universities; a predominantly white university (school W) in the northeast with ages ranging from 18

– 23 years of age (42 males; 81 females; 3 gender not stated) and participants from a predominantly black university (school B) in the northeast with ages ranging from 18 - 23 years of age (13 males; 30 females; 30 gender not stated).

As in study 2, students from school W were selected from the university research pool which is derived from the introductory psychology classes, in order to satisfy the research participation requirement for the class. Participants from school B were also selected from various psychology classes however, participation was voluntary. Each student received extra credit for their time given.

### **Measures**

The measures remained the same as in study 2 except for the explicit measure used for Blacks. The ATW was removed since the JLS showed a stronger reliability for assessing the racial attitude of Blacks towards Whites.

### **Design and Procedure**

Study 3 follows the same design and procedures used in study 2; 2 (Race: Black vs. Whites) x 2 (TRIOS level: high vs. low) x 2 (order taking the IAT).

### **Results**

Referring to Table 1 again, reliabilities can be found for each measure. The IMS reliability for Blacks ( $\alpha = .69$ ) was lower than that of the White participants ( $\alpha = .83$ ) but not as low as predicted.

### **Order Effect**

The order in which the participants took the implicit and explicit racial attitude measures did affect their responses. According to MANOVA, there was a main effect for order,  $F(2, 106) = 4.494, p = .013$ , Wilks' Lambda = .922. For Whites, their explicit responses varied depending on whether they took the implicit measure before or after completing the explicit measure,  $F(1, 107) = 5.204, p = .025$ . Participants who completed the ATB before taking the IAT reported more negative explicit racial attitudes ( $M = 2.869$ ) than those who completed the IAT first, followed by the explicit measure ( $M = 2.477$ ). However, this did not affect the implicit measures. For Black participants there was no order effect,  $F(2, 345) = .001, p = .999$ , Wilks' Lambda = 1.00.

### **Experimenter Effect**

For White participants there was no main effect for the race of the experimenter with the White participants,  $F(2, 106) = 1.135, p = .325$ , Wilks' Lambda = .979. This effect was not tested with Black participants since they only received a Black experimenter.

### **TRIOS Level Difference**

An independent samples t-test again illustrated that Blacks attain higher TRIOS levels than Whites,  $t = -7.159, df = 158, p = .000$ . Blacks attained very

different TRIOS scores ( $M = 1.30$ ) than Whites ( $M = .70$ ). This was also found in study 2.

### **Main Hypothesis**

For Whites, a MANOVA showed that neither explicit nor implicit racial attitudes were related to TRIOS,  $F(1, 120) = .067, p = .796$ , Wilks' Lambda. Whites high in TRIOS still showed a more positive explicit racial attitude ( $M = 2.599$ ) than those who were low ( $M = 2.710$ ), however the mean difference is marginal. Whites with high levels of TRIOS ( $M = 163.352$ ) still showed a more positive implicit racial attitude than those low in TRIOS ( $M = 190.210$ ) as predicted but again this finding was not significant. Zero is the value of a lack of bias towards one group. Scores closer to zero assume lesser amounts of prejudice. The means found in study 2 were larger than those in study 1 due to uses of a different statistical value to assess the IAT effect, though this should not affect the interpretation of the values only the range of scores.

The MANOVA also concluded that the explicit and implicit relationship did not exist for Blacks as well,  $F(2, 27) = .884, p = .425$ , Wilks' Lambda = .939. Nonetheless, the direction of the means was the same as in study 1. Again, Blacks high in TRIOS showed more negative explicit racial attitudes ( $M = 3.625$ ) than Blacks low in TRIOS ( $M = 3.294$ ). The same non-significant relationship was found for implicit racial attitudes. Having a higher TRIOS level was associated with a more negative implicit racial attitude toward Whites ( $M = -93.587$ ) than those low in TRIOS

( $M = 6.573$ ). However, note that main effects for these relationships were not significant.

### **Moderation**

Moderation analyses were not explored since TRIOS did not predict implicit nor explicit racial attitudes.

### **Discussion**

The first hypothesis that Blacks have higher levels of TRIOS than Whites was again supported. TRIOS is truly a life view based on Black experiences. One of the goals of study 3 was to include more Blacks low in TRIOS. Study 2 only included 4. Study 3 was able to double the amount of low TRIOS Blacks but not to the point of increased power. This sampling dilemma generates questions about the way of life of low TRIOS Blacks. It may simply be of more benefit for Blacks to be endorsers of the TRIOS life view.

The main hypothesis was not supported such that a significant relationship between TRIOS and implicit or explicit racial attitudes did not occur for Blacks or for Whites. The racial attitude means for Blacks however do create a cause for supposition. The finding that Blacks high in TRIOS show more negative implicit and explicit racial attitudes was again seen. Blacks high in TRIOS showed a slightly more increase negative explicit racial attitude. The opposite pattern is seen for Whites. This same pattern was found again for implicit racial attitudes.

The change in reliability scores for the IMS with Black was not seen in study 3. It was learned that the IMS and EMS measure was administered on different Likert scales. Participants at school W received a scale of 1 – 7 and those at school B received a scale of 1 – 9. Since all participants in study 3 used the Likert scale of 1 – 7, difference in results is likely due to variation of the Likert scales used. By adding response positions to the survey, more variability in participants' replies will occur. Thus, a solid comparison could not be made between the groups and the reliability of the scales was jeopardized.

## **Chapter 5**

### **GENERAL DISCUSSION**

The main goals of these studies were to interpret the relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes. It was hypothesized that TRIOS level would have a positive and direct relationship with racial attitudes, implicitly and explicitly for Blacks and Whites. Predictive value of TRIOS and racial attitudes was not found consistently. A statistically significant finding was only seen in study 1 where Whites who were highly TRIOSic were more likely to express positive explicit racial attitudes. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note the mean difference that occurred for Blacks and Whites. Even though the finding is not significant, the racial attitude prediction for Blacks were opposite as theorized. Blacks high in TRIOS showed a slightly increased negative explicit racial attitude and a stronger preference for their in-group implicitly. The opposite pattern is seen for Whites explicitly with those high in TRIOS showing a more positive explicit racial attitude, while a similar result was found for Whites implicitly.

The studies also support prior research that Blacks and Whites do have significantly different levels of TRIOS. Blacks are truly higher in TRIOS and finding those individuals who are low is very difficult. This alone poses many interesting concerns. Does being high in TRIOS mean the same for Blacks as for Whites?

According to the current findings, no. The racial differences in TRIOS combined with the opposite effects for being high in TRIOS for Blacks and Whites in regards to racial attitudes addresses the question. It is theorized that TRIOSic individuals share a humanistic approach to life. This concept leads to the hypothesis that Blacks high in TRIOS would be hold more positive racial attitudes. In spite of this, more negative explicit racial attitude was found. The finding may not be an issue of like or dislike but rather a general idea or remembrance. This belief should be taken cautiously since the findings were not significant. TRIOS serves as a coping mechanism for Blacks. Within its African origins, is also history of slavery, a concept still relevant to all modern day Blacks. It is possible that high TRIOS Blacks remember the negative past treatment but hold feelings of resentment. In other words, on a scale measurement of racial attitudes they may express feelings and beliefs but not carry out the action in a discriminatory manner. It is more common in America for Blacks to openly express their distrust or negative stereotypes of Whites as opposed to Whites relaying the same. It is suggested that high TRIOS Blacks are not more racially prejudiced just more likely to express these feelings or concerns.

It is possible that the implicit racial attitude relationship with TRIOS was not found due to the type of measurement used. There is variation as to what symbolizes an implicit attitude. Some believe that implicit attitudes lack predictive ability in behavior or represent dual attitudes (Wilson et al, 2000). Others feel that current measures may be assessing a different idea (Olson & Fazio, 2003). Controversy

surrounds the Implicit Association Test. There are several versions of the IAT. The race IAT was the implicit racial attitude measure in the studies being discussed. Researchers have disagreed as to the reliability of the IAT as it differs as a function of its content (Gawronski, 2002). It has been argued that the race IAT gives ones' association with race and words but not ones' actual behavior. This may explain why some Blacks who were high in TRIOS showed more negative racial attitudes towards Whites. Racial attitudes may not be the content being measured.

It is probable that the highly TRIOSic Blacks in the studies were faster with association of Black and positive words due to familiarity with their own group. The IAT is said by some to measure a preference meaning a mere association instead of a behavior (Rothermund & Wentura, 2004). This may explain why low TRIOS Blacks showed more of a White preference in their IAT as opposed to Blacks high in TRIOS. If a person constantly learns through news, media and daily life experiences that "white is good" and "black is bad", the cognitive association of negative words with black faces and positive words with white faces will cause a faster reaction. Highly TRIOSic individuals have an understanding of their cultural history and positive acceptance of their group. Lower TRIOSic Blacks may not be as comfortable or knowledgeable of their culture. The use of TRIOS as a coping mechanism is not as strong or likely for those who are low. More research is needed to establish congruence on the idea that the race IAT is measuring a preference or behavior.

## **Moderators**

The variables used for moderating the relationship between TRIOS and racial attitudes were only tested for the explicit relationship since the relationship was significant. Various factors can explain the lack of moderation for the concepts.

The lack of a moderation effect for racial contact may have been caused by measurement error. This variable was derived by the average of three questions. Two of the three questions (What was the racial composition of your high school? & what was the racial composition of the neighborhood you grew up in between the ages of 10-18?) used the same response scale of predominantly White, largely White, equally mixed, largely Black or predominantly Black. However, the third item did not address a specific location. It was more general (On the whole would you say your experiences and interactions with African Americans are) and was calculated by choosing; minimal, less than average, average, more than average or substantial. The three items used to determine racial contact may not have captured the idea of racial contact in the manner needed to address the research question. It is also possible that a person could have had little contact with Blacks but not hold prejudiced beliefs. These individuals would have influenced the small effect found.

Even though previous research presented a significant relationship between TRIOS and values, this did not withstand moderating effects within explicit racial attitudes. Regardless of race, there are particular values that a person may hold and these values may not coincide with other beliefs they have. A prejudiced man may still

be devoted to his family and believe in tradition and benevolence. Pro-social values share a relationship with the cultural worldview of TRIOS. However, deviant groups may share the same beliefs and values of normative groups. The grouping of pro-social values may need to encompass other values that create a more holistic idea of being not being racially prejudiced. Theoretical, a different grouping of values may more adequately assess non prejudice behavior.

Even though the IMS and EMS did not produce moderating effects, other interesting findings were found. This curiosity was initiated by one recoded statement from the IMS, “According to my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about White people is ok.” When the recoded item was removed for Blacks, the reliability increased. The recoded statement is the opposite of another item (Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about White people is wrong.) that should result in a balanced response. The finding was first seen in study 2 (Whites  $\alpha = .76$ ; Blacks  $\alpha = .47$ ). When retested in study 3, Blacks (Blacks  $\alpha = .69$ ) still had a lower reliability than Whites ( $\alpha = .83$ ) but not as drastic as in study 2. The increase in the Black reliability for study 3 is likely due to changes to the Likert scale that was used for scoring. In study 2, all participants did not receive the same Likert scale. This was corrected in study 3. The reliability difference found between Blacks and Whites may be addressed as a doing vs. believing perception. People often participate in activities that are wrong. For example, it is the law to abide by the posted speed limits however we tend to drive faster. People believe in the safety of the posted speed limit

but tend to drive at a speed that is faster. In the case of Blacks and internal motivations, it is understood that using negative stereotypes about other groups is not “ok” however people still use them and at times publicly. This thought process may be described as diunital thinking. According to Dixon (1971) diunital thinking consists of addressing if a concept is both in a particular element and not this element at the same time and in the same time. This allows for acceptance of a dual process of this thinking and explanations.

### **Future Directions**

Several research questions have been realized from these studies. What is the future of the race IAT? With the definition of implicit attitudes debatable and the uses of accessibility still questionable, more research is needed to stultify current incongruence. Examining the TRIOS and implicit racial attitude relationship with a different implicit measure of racial attitude may give evidence to a significant relationship and question the measurement of the IAT.

What values make a person prejudice? Previous research sited TRIOSic individuals as having pro-social values derived from the values of self-direction, tradition, benevolence and universalism. This grouping of values was believed to be comparable to less racially prejudice individuals. While particular values are held by humanistic individuals, those values may overlap with individuals of a more deviant behavior. It would be fascinating to decipher the values that could accurately predict a person’s viewpoint on race relations.

Does the internalized conceptual framework of thinking function differently for Blacks than for Whites? When discussing issues of race relations, responses and solutions are often seen as “black and white” with relatively no gray area. There is more potential in an idea that is less of an either/or approach. Diunital thinking may be a method of better understanding cultures in general. Blacks in America are given a dual identity at birth. The title African American embodies the African past and yet the American future. The impression of diunital thinking has already begun at birth. More research exploring the diunital differences among Blacks and Whites would be a great contribution to psychology. If this diunital difference is significant it may be able to speak to lifestyle differences, coping strategies, economical gaps and other factors that affect Blacks differently than Whites.

These studies have posed several questions that needed to be further investigated. The ground work has begun and the task continues to develop. There is possibility in an implicit measure of racial attitudes that is uncomplicated, effortless, does not portray racial content directly and still presents an accurate measure. It is simple to say that one holds private, negative attitudes or opinions about out-groups, but that these opinions filter into everyday conversation in formal and specifiable ways that reinforce the sense of difference between the groups and of the superior value of the in-group’s own norms, customs, and beliefs (Jones, 1997). With its self-enhancement and self-protective qualities, TRIOS will continue to serve as a coping mechanism, life style and general belief system Blacks.

## APPENDIX

**Table 1**      **Scale Reliabilities for all Measures used in Studies 1 – 3**

	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	School W	x	School W	School B	School W	School B
ATB	0.88	x	0.84	x	0.89	x
ATW	x	x	x	0.71	x	x
EMS	0.73	x	0.75	0.67	0.83	0.73
IMS	0.81	x	0.76	0.47	0.83	0.69
JLS	x	x	x	0.88	x	0.87
TRIOS	0.87	x	0.84	0.85	0.86	0.86
Values	0.94	x	0.91	0.92	0.93	0.92

x = not taken by school

*Note.* ATB = Attitudes towards Blacks; ATW = Attitudes towards Whites; EMS = External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice; IMS = Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice; JLS = Johnson-Lecci Scale; Values = Schwartz's Value Survey

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