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GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION OF RACISM:

RACISM AND RESPONSES

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

BARBARA HARVILLE
Norman, Oklahoma
2001

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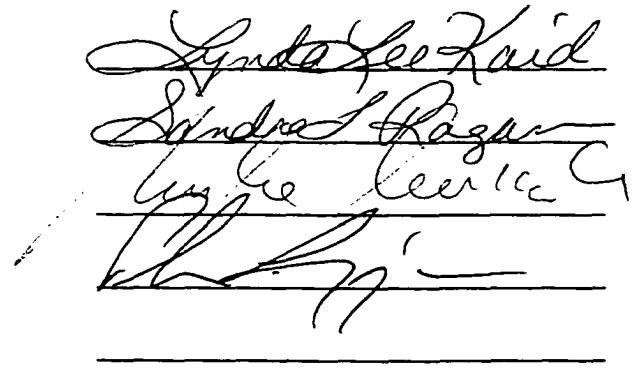
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THE INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION OF RACISM:
RACISM AND RESPONSES

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

BY



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables vii

List of Figures viii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

IMPORTANCE OF THE TOPIC 2
HISTORY OF RACIAL CLASSIFICATION 14
RACE AND ETHNICITY 24
RACISM 30
INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION OF RACISM 48
EXAMINING INTERPERSONAL RACISM 57
RESPONSES TO RACIST COMMUNICATION 64
RATIONALE 69

II. METHODS 73

MESSAGE CONSTRUCTION 73
CODING METHOD AND PROCEDURE 74
DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES 75
PARTICIPANT PROCEDURES 75
PARTICIPANTS 76
CATEGORIES AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS 78
CODERS AND CODER TRAINING 86
DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES 88

III. RESULTS 92

TYPES OF RACIST MESSAGES 95
TYPES OF RESPONSE TO RACIST MESSAGES 99
RELATIONSHIP OF RESPONSE STRATEGY TO MESSAGE TYPE 103
RELATIONSHIP OF RESPONSE STRATEGY TO COMMUNICATION SATISFACTION 103
TARGET OF RACISM 109

IV. DISCUSSION 110

REFERENCES 131

APPENDIX A 151

APPENDIX B 152

APPENDIX C 153

APPENDIX D 155

APPENDIX E 156

APPENDIX F 165

LIST OF TABLES

1. Frequency of Respondents' Relationships to Person Communicating Racism 94

2. Chi-Square Test on Type of Relationship and Type of Racism..... 95

3. Examples of Types of Racist Messages 96

4. Frequency of Types of Racist Messages 99

5. Examples of Types of Responses to Racist Messages 100

6. Frequency of Responses to Racism 102

7. Satisfaction with Response 105

8. Frequency of More Satisfying Responses 106

9. Target of Racism..... 109

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Frequency of Respondents' Relationship to Person Communicating Racism 93

2. Frequency of Types of Racist Messages 98

3. Frequency of Response Type 101

4. Type of More Satisfying Response 106

5. Comparison of Response to More Satisfying Response 108

The Interpersonal Communication of Racism:

Racism and Responses

Abstract

The focus of this dissertation is on racist messages as they are received and interpreted by ethnic group members and the on the structure of responses to those messages. Specifically the research questions addressed in this dissertation sought to identify the frequency and types of racist messages that ethnic Americans report receiving; the types of responses that ethnic Americans generated in response to racist messages; the relationship of response strategy to message type; and finally, the relationship of response strategy to perceived communication satisfaction. The results of the study indicate that the least frequently experienced forms of racism are aversive racism and symbolic racism, totaling less than twenty percent of the reported racist messages. The most frequently reported forms of racism are ethnocentric racism at thirty percent and biological racism at forty-two percent. Results show that types of racism experienced are independent of age and gender of the receiver. Primary responses to racist communication are either confrontation or avoidance, indicating a low concern for the relationship. Results indicate that response type is independent of racist message type and that satisfaction is independent of response type.

The Interpersonal Communication of Racism:

Racism and Response

CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

This project attempts to explicate the processes involved with the interpersonal communication of racism. The introduction discusses the problematic nature of interethnic communication and the tensions that unfold within a multiethnic society. The next section, *History of Racial Classification*, provides a brief historical context of racial classification and the manner in which racist ideology has evolved. This is followed by *Race and Ethnicity*, which defines and places the concepts into a framework that exposes their socially constructed nature.

The fourth section, *Racism,* defines the construct of racism and places it in a context of macrosocial behavior. Next, the *Interpersonal Communication of Racism* describes the interpersonal communication of

racism as it is manifested in the context of microsocial behavior. Finally, in order to explore the process of responding to racist messages in a microsocial context, this study proposes to examine the communication strategies used to respond to racist messages experienced in a social context.

Importance of the topic

All communicative interactions can, to some extent, be conceptualized as problematic, particularly those which involve members of different cultural groups. To a certain extent, all communication interactions present us with interaction problems which must either be managed or circumvented (Martin, Hecht, & Larkey, 1994). Encounters between individuals from dissimilar ethnic backgrounds are fertile opportunities for the misunderstanding of personal intent and communication behaviors (Albert, 1986). Attempts to explain the problematic nature of interethnic communication range from differences in communication styles such as language use and interaction styles (Collier, 1988; Collier & Powell, 1986; Gudykunst, 1986; Hecht & Ribeau, 1984; Hecht, Ribeau, & Alberts, 1989; Martin, Hecht, & Larkey, 1994; Sanders & Wiseman, 1990) to racism (Essed, 1991; van Dijk, 1987; van Dijk, 1993). Pennington (1979) describes these perspectives as resting on one of two assumptions: first, that the problematic nature of interethnic communication is based in cultural differences; second that the problematic nature of interethnic communication is based in racism. Martin, Hecht, and

Larkey (1994) argue that while interethnic communication need not be conceptualized as inherently dissatisfying or ineffective, it may be conceptualized as problematic, finding, for example, some key differences in underlying communication values between African Americans and European Americans. Similarly, McLaurin (1995) finds ethnic differences in response to persuasive messages; Collier (1988) finds ethnic differences in perceptions of communication effectiveness; and Hecht and Ribeau (1984) find cultural variations in relationship satisfaction.

Issues related to stereotyping of outgroup members may also be problematic for interethnic communication. Positive or negative communication climates for interethnic interactions will be in part determined by the actors' knowledge of and favorableness towards the outgroup (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990). While attitude surveys suggest that over the last fifty years, European-American stereotypes of African Americans have generally decreased, shifting from negative expressions to neutral or positive expressions (Jones & Carter, 1996), Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) find that adjectives such as lazy, ignorant, and aggressive are still attributed to African Americans by approximately 10% of the European-American population. While there has been a shift in norms regarding racial attitudes, there remains a core of bias that may result in silenced stereotypes being held with even stronger conviction (Jones & Carter, 1996). Prejudice continues to be a serious problem in the United States, with gays, blacks, and Jews the most frequent victims of hate crimes (Hecht, 1998).

As population diversity increases and the social environment becomes increasingly interethnic, clarifying the inherent communication difficulties in the process of intergroup communication becomes ever more compelling (Hecht, Ribeau, & Alberts, 1989). For example, there is documentation of prejudice in social classes and age groups where it might not be expected, among such groups as professional adults and high school students. High school students have been found to be quite pessimistic about the future of race relations (Hecht, 1998).

Racism itself has been described as the manifestation of hierarchical race relations (Blauner, 1993). Racist attitudes are the result of cultural, sociological, and psychological responses to variations within humankind. Racism is traditionally described as the manifestation of the oppression of a group of people that have been identified as a "race" within a particular society. Identification of "race" has been rooted historically in phenotypic differences such as hair color and texture, skin color, eye color, and eye shape. Most definitions of racism link together the notions of prejudice based in phenotypic differences, discriminatory action against and individual or group of individuals, and social power structure that supports both the prejudice and the action. In other words, racism is the manifestation of prejudicial attitudes, acted out in discriminatory action, in a social system that supports the action.

It is essential to develop an awareness of cultural differences in order to be effective in a multicultural environment (Kim & Ruben, 1988). Beyond

effectiveness, however, Border and Van Note Chism (1992) advance several other reasons that suggest the importance of examining the difficulties involved with improving interethnic relationships. First, at the same time ethnic diversity is increasing, tolerance of diversity appears to be decreasing. Second, societies that profess to embrace equality must also embrace groups that traditionally have been excluded or oppressed. Third, when all citizens are fully involved in the social processes, social interaction itself is enhanced by the multiple viewpoints.

While the clash of the realities of racism with democratic ideals has lead to a downplaying of race during much of United States history (Orbe & Harris, 2000), Triandis and Triandis (1962) found that for Americans, race was a much greater predictor of social distance than were social class, religion, or nationality. Although, in the past few decades, there have been a number of reform efforts that have changed the face of racial discrimination, racism continues to be part of the life experience of U.S. ethnic minorities. The literature suggests that currently, racism is manifested often in more subtle and indirect ways, yet it continues to effect the lives of people of color (Dunbar, 1984). While members of the majority culture are trained to recognize racism as individual acts of unfairness and unkindness, they are not trained to see more subtle and indirect expressions of racism, or embedded racism (McIntosh, 1992). In fact, Blauner (1992) argues that it is racial consciousness and awareness that have declined, not racism itself.

It has been suggested that race and ethnicity are declining in significance for United States ethnic groups (Wilson, 1986). However there continues to be substantial evidence contradicting this position. African Americans have significantly lower scores than whites on measures of general life satisfaction, trust-in-people, general happiness, marital happiness, and self-reported health (Thomas & Hughes, 1986). The African-American middle class is more likely to live in less healthy, more crime filled environments than the white middle class (Massey, Condran, & Denton, 1987). The nation's indigenous people have the lowest family incomes, the highest percentage of people living below the poverty level, the highest unemployment rates, and the lowest percentage of people ages 25 to 34 who receive a college degree (President's Initiative on Race, 1998).

One indicator of racial and ethnic disparity is the current educational gap among ethnic groups. Ethnic Americans have not achieved equal access to education (Massey, Condran, & Denton, 1987). Research indicates substantial racial disparities in education. Students of color are less likely than white students to have access to preschool programs, high-quality teachers, schools with high academic standards, current educational technology, and modern school facilities (President's Initiative on Race, 1998).

Ethnic Americans are not represented in higher education proportionally to their population numbers. Current statistics show that in the 25 – 29 age group, over 30% of European Americans have a 4-year college

degree; under 15% of African Americans have a 4-year college degree; and just over 10% of Hispanic Americans have a 4-year college degree. This is unsurprising given the proportion of family income that needs to be dedicated to a four-year college education. In 1998, white families needed to spend approximately 15% of the median family income for a college education, compared to black and Hispanic families, which needed to spend approximately 27% of the median family income for a college education (Mortensen, 2000).

In addition to family financial disparities, there are social disparities for ethnic students in higher education. African American graduate students are not likely to develop close relationships with white faculty and peers. With the exception of a two-year period from 1969 - 1971, the percentage of African-American faculty at primarily white institutions has decreased (Staples, 1989), and African-American faculty must contend with intimations that they have not achieved their positions on merit (Banks, 1984).

Another indicator of racial and ethnic disparity is the current gap in economic conditions. In the 1950's in United States, the poverty rate for African Americans was close to 60%, for European Americans, it was less than 20%. Although this gap has decreased, there are still significant differences in poverty rates of U.S. minorities. Recent studies show that the poverty rate for European Americans is approximately 11%; for Asian Pacific Americans is approximately 14.5%; for African Americans 28%; for Hispanic Americans 29%; and for Native Americans living on reservations it is 51%.

Further compounding the issue of disparity in poverty levels is the issue of "concentrated poverty", or areas where more than thirty or forty percent of the residents live in poverty. These areas are often marked by poor housing, ineffective schools, and inadequate public transportation. Research concludes that racial discrimination and segregation contribute to and reinforce these poverty centers, which are often miles from job centers (President's Initiative on Race, 1998).

In general, all white groups have higher incomes than all non-white groups (Jiobu, 1990). Black men, on average, earn about seventy-five percent of what comparably educated white males earn (Hecht, 1998). Ethnic Americans have not achieved equal access to employment. White Americans make up between 60% and 70% of professional, managerial, and technical professions; Asian-, Mexican-, Native-, and African- Americans make up 11% or less of the professions. Research indicates that Native Americans are underrepresented by an average of 40% in these categories; African Americans by an average of 45% and Mexican Americans are underrepresented by an average of 52% from the expected in these categories (Jiobu, 1990). Montaga (1977) suggests that there is a dual labor market at work. The first, or primary labor market, consists of jobs that offer good working conditions, fair administrative practices, opportunities for advancements, and job security. The secondary labor market, on the other hand, consists of jobs with poor working conditions, inequitable administrative practices, little opportunities for advancement, and little or no

job security. Members of minority groups often lack access to the primary labor market and instead are tracked through the secondary labor market (Bowman, 1991b).

Gaps in earnings continue to exist for ethnic groups. In 1995, for example, the median usual weekly earnings of full-time European American males was approximately $600; for full-time African American males, it was approximately $430. In the same year, the median family income for Asian Americans was approximately $47,000; for European Americans approximately $46,000; for African Americans approximately $26,000, and for Hispanic Americans, approximately $25,000 (President's Initiative on Race, 1998).

Ethnicity clearly is an influencing factor on socioeconomic status (Jiobu, 1990). While the effects of previous prejudice may explain lack of access to certain professions, such as medicine, it does not clearly explain lack of access to jobs such as automobile mechanic, eighty-seven percent of whom are white males; or truck-driver, eighty-one percent of whom are white males; nor does past discrimination explain why only forty-nine percent of janitors are white males (Hecht, 1998).

The official government reported rate of joblessness for blacks of both sexes, all educational levels, all ages, and in each region of the country has been twice that for whites during the fifty years since the end of World War II (Bowman, 1991b). Among the results of this chronic social disadvantage are psychological distress, family conflict, political and social disaffection,

psychological alienation, and demoralization (Bowman, 1991a; Taylor & Chatters, 1991). In the United States, mortality, socioeconomic status, professional advancement, and psychological well-being are all correlated with race (Taylor, Repetti, & Seeman, 1997).

Another indicator of ethnic and racial disparity in the United States is found in the criminal justice system. Studies show that non-European Americans are significantly more likely to be victims of violent crime than European Americans and that non-European Americans have less confidence and trust in law enforcement. Factors believed to contribute to the lack of trust in law enforcement include negative interactions with authorities; racial disparities in incarceration rates and sentencing, including imposition of the death penalty; and lack of diversity in law enforcement personnel such as police, prosecutors, and judges (President's Initiative on Race, 1998).

In addition to inequities in education, employment, poverty and crime, statistics show racial and ethnic inequities in health care. Non-European Americans are much less likely than European Americans to have medical insurance and as a result have less access to medical care. The percentage of African-American, Hispanic-American and Native-American first year medical students is dropping, although the total percentage of these groups in the population is increasing. The inequities in access to health care are clearly related to disparities in employment, income and wealth. These disparities mean that non-European Americans receive medical treatment

less frequently and in later stages of illness. Further research indicates that even when controlling for socioeconomic status, disparities in health care continue to exist (President's Initiative on Race, 1998).

African American babies have a mortality rate of 13.7%, over two times the rate of European American babies at 6%. While childhood immunizations are at an all-time high, some ethnic and racial groups still lag behind. Among adults, the rate of diabetes is about 70% higher among African Americans and about twice as high among Hispanics, American Indians and Alaska Natives as it is among European Americans. HIV/AIDS is cases are disproportionate to the population, with minorities (about 25% of the U.S. population) representing about 55% of the AIDS cases. (Department of Health and Human Services, 2000).

The racism of the United States, Great Britain, and some European countries has genuine and destructive consequences for minority populations. An examination of the social structure, including wealth, access to health care, and the unequal distribution of power exposes a number of social inequities. (Schutte, 1995). Although the appearance of racism has changed, there still exist meaningful social concerns surrounding the nature of interracial relationships.

Race has been a powerful determinant of inequality in American society (Brewer, 1995) and yet the complex processes involved in the interpersonal communication of racism are little understood (van Dijk, 1987). While a number of studies have investigated the processes of racism at the

social level, few have examined its processes and impacts at the interpersonal level (Essed, 1991). In practical terms, the study of the communication of racism promises to provide ways to improve interethnic communication awareness, relationships, and effectiveness as well as new insight into the communication process (Hecht, Ribeau & Alberts, 1989). In theoretical terms, there is a need to describe the powerful, socially created realities of racism in the world we live in (Bowser, 1995).

Racism is a constantly changing process. While we may understand many of the historical and economic causes of macroracism, what is not clear is the process of microracism, that is, we do not understand the interpersonal communication of racism, particularly the communication processes of those who are not traditionally racist or clearly anti-racist (Bowser, 1995). Blauner (1993) believes that there is an opportunity for people without color to learn what people of color already know, that acts of racism are not anomalous, but are part of a systematic pattern of interactions. This is problematic, however, since members of any given socially dominant group tend to view themselves as a benchmark or norm, it is difficult for them to understand ways in which their behavior is oppressive (Findlay, 1991). However, even when members of the dominant group are relatively unprepared to understand the experiences of nondominant group members, individuals can initiate changes as they begin to understand the mechanisms and expressions of racism (Essed, 1991). Education surrounding even the more subtle and difficult to identify forms of racism

may work to sensitize members of the dominant group to understanding of their race-related behaviors (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Individuals work as the agents of racism (Essed, 1991); that is, it is the individual who communicates racism, and it is the individual who will be the locus for change (Kitano, 1993). The study of the interpersonal communication of racism will help to explain the mechanisms of the expression of racism. Any investigation of cultural phenomenon which have been researched in social science is likely to lead to increased theoretical understanding of the phenomenon and scholars have a responsibility to investigate the phenomenon of communicating racism (van Dijk, 1987). Until we examine and understand the often nonconscious factors and processes of communicating racism, positive race relations will be an elusive objective (Operario & Fiske, 1998). It is only through effective communication processes that productive race relations can be achieved (Orbe & Harris, 2000).

It is problematic when research into multicultural issues, particularly those related to race and ethnicity ignore the sociopolitical nature of the issues which are manifested in the dominant-subordinate relations of majority and minority groups (Kim, 1986; Sue, 1993). In examining the issues of power relationships, historical relationships and current relationships, in the United States, Hecht (1998) finds a "puzzling picture of a culture in which prejudice is highly salient and its expression is suppressed to a point and then explodes into violence and other forms of extremist

expression" (p. 11). In order to understand prejudice and discrimination, it is necessary to understand its cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components as well as it is necessary to place this understanding in its historical context, in its group relational context, and in its economic context (Hecht, 1998).

History of Racial Classification

Race is the classification of humans based on perceived inherited characteristics that are in some way distinct from other groups. Races have been primarily classified on the basis of visible physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, and eye and face shape (Marger, 1994). The classification of humans into races may have started in the eighteenth century with Linnaeus' 1735 scheme which included American, European, Asiatic, and African (Molnar, 1998; Wood, 1995). Linnaeus presented his scheme geographically, describing each group by color, temperament, and posture. The notion of race was solidified in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by natural scientists and other scholars, such as Buffon (1749) whose classification scheme included Laplander, Tartar, South Asiatic, European, Ethiopian, and American; Blumenbach (1775) whose classification scheme included Caucasoid, Mongoloid, American, and Ethiopian; and Cuvier (1790) whose scheme included Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid (Molnar, 1998).

These scholars and others developed the idea of distinct races and then speculated on the relative worth of the different racial groups (Forbes, 1990; Rose, 1968). Gould (1996) argues that the speculation of relative goodness and worth of races is logically traced to Blumenbach's 1795 revision of his 1775 typology. Blumenbach's 1795 revision included the addition of the category "Malay" to his earlier typology (based on Linnaeus') that had included Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, and American. According to Gould (1996), what appears to have been a relatively minor change in typology, actually represents a broad theoretical shift. Blumenbach's revised five-part racial typology allowed a geometric visual representation of the races, in which he placed Caucasians at the top of a pyramid, describing them as the original and most beautiful race; a middle layer containing Americans and Malays, described as less perfect and less beautiful, and a bottom layer, with Orientals and Africans at the base of the pyramid, described as the least perfect and least beautiful. Gould (1996) argues that this change marked a shift in thought from a geographical conception of race, to a double hierarchical conception of race, hinging on ideal beauty and its degeneration and originality and its degeneration.

Historically, there have been a great number of shifts in European conceptions of peoples of non-European descent. The first impressions that Classical Greeks probably had of Africans were of soldiers, who, like themselves, were protecting their lands and sovereignty. This was also the most likely impression Romans had of Africans.

The most common name for Africans during the classical period in Greece was "Ethiopian" (Aithiops-Aethiops), which literally means *burnt-faced person* (Snowden, 1995), however, this color designation in Classical Greece appears to have carried no negative connotations. There are positive images of Africans in Classical Greek drama and literature, visual art, and in political writings. Although it was not unusual for non-Greek or non-Roman groups to be categorized as "barbarians" or "foreigners", these categories were applied to Europeans as well as to Asians and Africans. As Wilson (1996) explains it, the Greek and Roman societies were each chauvinistic, but not racist. Greeks and Romans alike apparently considered dark and light skin to be related to geography and nothing more (Snowden, 1995). Color was not an obstacle to integration into either Greek or Roman society. Africans married both Greeks and Romans and attained important positions in each society. While there was slavery in Greek society, with Aristotle both justifying it, saying that slavery should be a temporary condition; and arguing against it, saying that it was inconsistent with constitutional governments, the slavery of Greece was not based in race. Foreigners, including Africans, who became part of Greek society were treated in much the same way as native-born citizens (Wilson, 1996).

Europeans used a number of terms to identify variations in skin color from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries. These designations were not used as indicators of race, caste, or other status markers, but were instead used to indicate appearance (Forbes, 1990). Prior to the Crusades (1095 – 1291),

the Christian Church had been a voice for social unity. The Crusades, however, promoted hatred towards non-Christians. The dynamics of the anti-Semitism that emerged were similar to the dynamics of white racism which would emerge several centuries later (Wilson, 1996).

During the fifteenth century when sailing technologies substantially increased European travel and contact with other cultures, the term *race* came into use in Europe (Wood, 1995). As contact with African cultures increased during this time, so did European verbal descriptions and visual depictions of Africans. The images of Africans were both favorable and unfavorable, ranging from regal to satanic (Wood, 1995).

It was also in the fifteenth century that intergroup relations in Spain reached a critical turning point. The conspicuous material success of Spanish Jews, who had lived in relative harmony with Spanish Christians for centuries, triggered violent anti-Semitism. As a result, many Jews converted to Christianity. This pattern was subsequently repeated with Spanish Moors (Lewis, 1995).

The advent of the Spanish Inquisition, which required proof of Christian ancestry, prevented converted Spanish Jews and Moors from achieving positions of political or religious power. A critical shift in tolerance occurred during this period, and Spain, which had once had an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, developed an atmosphere of suspicion of outgroup members. Religious prejudice became prejudice based on lineage. An underlying assumption of this prejudice was that essential qualities of

persons were determined by ancestry. This ancestor-based prejudice created a framework for Spanish interactions with non-Spaniards in North America (Lewis, 1995).

Spanish colonies in North America depended on non-Spanish labor. The result of which was the development of an elaborate hierarchical social system. Conflict developed between the church, which wanted to convert the indigenous peoples of North America, and the colonists, whose interests were served by an enslaved labor force (Lewis, 1995). From the early sixteenth century, a series of laws developed which extended rights to Europeans and denied rights to non-Europeans who were beginning to be classified as blacks, negroes, mulattos, mestzos, etc. (Forbes, 1990). These laws served to support colonialism in that they simultaneously excluded the legal-judicial property rights of native peoples, thereby making land obtainable for Europeans; and they further facilitated the exploitation of the native peoples as a source of cheap labor, thereby making the development of land and properties possible for Europeans (Forbes, 1990).

In the British colonies from 1600 – 1675, plantation laborers were primarily indentured European servants. Interracial marriages were common during that time, and provoked little reaction (Wilson, 1996). Economic conditions apparently effected reactions to interracial marriages. When laborer mortality rates increased, making slavery significantly more profitable than indentured servant labor (Wilson, 1996) and when the Native American population succumbed to disease and abuse, Europeans turned increasingly

to Africa as a source of enslaved labor (Lewis, 1995; Wood, 1995). Between approximately 1675 and 1750, large numbers of Africans were enslaved in America's colonies. The African population in Virginia increased from approximately 9,000 to 100,000. During this same time, the African population in the Carolinas more than doubled to 90,000.

It was at this time that English ethnics began to classify themselves as *white* rather than as *Christian*. Simultaneously with the development of the classification of a white race, those classified as "white" were excluded from the category of persons who could be enslaved (Forbes, 1990). In 1662, a Virginia statute was enacted which, in effect, said that any child born to a woman in slavery would also be held in slavery (Forbes, 1990). While in the pre-Civil War period in the United States, the mixed race child of a black woman held in slavery was categorized as black, after the Civil War, many southern states adopted the "one-drop" rule, whereby any trace of African heritage defined a person as black (Operario & Fiske, 1998). For example, in 1984, the United States Supreme Court refused to hear a case brought by a Louisiana citizen wishing to legally change her racial designation from "black" to "white", even though the complainant could show that for six generations her racial heritage was European (Orbe & Harris, 2000).

In addition to the European population in the United States, there were significant populations of Africans, Latinos, and Native Americans. It was expedient, then, for the dominant European group to distinguish itself from the other groups. In the case of African Americans, the distinction was

based both on color and the condition of slavery (Asante, 1998). However, that distinction stands only as contrasted between European and non-European groups. Interracial marriages, for example, among other racial groups were not prohibited. In 1967, declared, by the United States Supreme Court to be unconstitutional under the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, anti-miscegenation laws in the United States were designed to maintain the integrity of Europeans only (Cohen & Kaplan, 1982).

The European debate about non-Europeans was at its core about the very essence of what it means to be human. As racism developed, so did antiracism. Aristotle's doctrine of slavery provided the argument that it was natural that some races be enslaved; and, in addition, slavery had both political and religious approval. Conversely, there were also forceful arguments that all peoples are equally human; that differences in appearance are minor; and that it is customs and prejudices which set people apart (Lewis, 1995; Wood, 1995). Equality arguments not withstanding, the consolidation of race slavery in the United States was accomplished relatively quickly, partly facilitated communicatively through derogatory stereotypes and racial epithets (Asante, 1998). As racial classifications became more deeply embedded in the legal and social systems, intellectual speculation on the value of different groups continued to develop.

Since prevailing economic conditions and social relationships had made accepted beliefs about the singular origin of humanity problematic, Europeans looked for other explanations. The Aristotelian view of idealized living forms provided the basis of a new explanation. The French naturalist, Lamark (1744-1829), speculating on evolution before Darwin, remarked, "man represents the type of highest perfection of nature and the more an animal organization approaches that of man the more perfect it is" (Mayr, 1982, p. 353). European natural scientists subscribed to the "Great Chain of Being", a notion of the nature of the universe that included gradation, in the European conception of which, Europeans were at the top and other peoples were arranged below (Molnar, 1998), as had been suggested by Blumenbach in 1795 (Gould, 1996). Scientists of the nineteenth century argued that science would provide an understanding of appropriate race relations by sorting racial groups into hierarchies according to abilities (Molnar, 1998).

Pierre Paul Broce (1824-1880) a leading French neurosurgeon argued that the shape of the skull indicated the quality of the brain, that skull shapes were racially related, and therefore that brains and race were related. Although this study of phrenology was discredited by the end of the nineteenth century, the system of racial classification that placed Caucasian above Mongolian, Malaysian, Indians, and Ethiopians was generally accepted among Europeans (Molnar, 1998). Likewise, Samuel Morton (1799-1851) measured skulls of different races and concluded that

Caucasoids had larger skulls and were therefore more intelligent than other races. (Molnar, 1998). Gould (1996) reexamined Morton's findings and concluded that there were insignificant differences in skull sizes and that Morton's results were necessarily the result of either biased samples or measurements.

The notions that Caucasians were a superior race thrived in the European, South American and North American scientific communities. For example, Galton (1822-1911), Karl Pearson (1857-1936), and Charles Davenport (1866-1944) continued to look for genetic explanations for racial and social inequality. Galton, who established the Eugenics Society, argued that intelligence was hereditary. Pearson, a student of Galton, who believed that environment had little to do with mental or emotional development, continued to try to prove that behavioral traits were hereditary. In South America, the eugenics movement brought about attempts to improve races through social controls which ranged from selective immigration to forced sterilization (Stepan, 1991). In the United States, where the Eugenics movement found its strongest scientific foothold, Charles Davenport studied families for criminality, alcoholism, and particularly for mental abilities, arguing that these factors are hereditary. It was then a slight step from arguing that the traits that are inherited in families are also inherited in races; and that, therefore, not only individuals, but entire races are predestined for their roles in life because they have inherited abilities and limitations (Molnar, 1998).

At the same time that scientists such as Galton, Pearson, and Davenport were arguing for the notion of racially inherited traits, others, most notably Franz Boas (1858-1942) were arguing against it. Boas wrote, "If the defenders of race theories prove that a certain kind of behavior is hereditary and wish to explain in this way that it belongs to a racial type they would have to prove that the particular kind of behavior is characteristic of all the genetic lines composing the race (p. 253)". Voices such as Boas generally were not persuasive to the scientific community.

The speculation of the eugenicists and others set the stage for the racism of the twentieth century (Forbes, 1990). Racial category schemes were developed by those holding power, which is arguably the strongest societal and psychological variable influencing the legitimization of racially based categories and social inequities. Over time, these categories have developed into self-perpetuating and self-justifying systems wherein those who developed them, benefit from them (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

The twentieth century saw racial classification schemes culminate with scientific racism (Wood, 1995), the use of science to provide foundation and support for the idea of white supremacy, as a justification for racist practices (Newby & Newby, 1995) and for political objectives (Walters, 1995). Scientific racism has a long history in the United States, having been used to legitimize slavery; to prevent access to education in the early 1900's; to discourage school desegregation in the 1950's; and, more recently, to

promote the discontinuation of a number of social programs (Brewer, 1995; Newby & Newby, 1995; Walters, 1995).

Race and Ethnicity

The term, *race*, refers to a biological subdivision of a species whose members' perceived inherited characteristics tend to differentiate them from other subdivisions of the species. While, in contrast, *ethnicity* refers to cultural groups within a larger society (Marger, 1994), which are perceived through markers such as clothing, holidays, music, literature, language, religion, or physical heritage (Olzak, 1985; van den Berghe, 1993).

When a human group is assumed by ingroup or outgroup members to have a biological basis, the categorization is usually based on visible characteristics and is generally referred to as a *race.* (Kottak, 1996; Marger, 1994; van den Berghe, 1993). The definitions of race in many of the earliest scientific studies were based solely on physical characteristics such as hair color and texture and facial features. More technical definitions of race developed with new discoveries in the sciences of biology and genetics, most notably, in the study of gene frequencies, blood composition and metabolic activity (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

On the other hand, ethnic groups are usually characterized by a set of shared cultural traits which are unique to the group; as well as by temporal and communal qualities which generally indicate a common ancestry, a

sense of current group membership, and the sense that the group will continue to survive through time (Kim, 1990; Marger, 1994.). The sense of affiliation with the ethnic group implies exclusion from certain other groups (Kottak, 1996).

Race

Molnar (1998) suggests that there is a generally accepted notion that scientific investigation has established the importance and truth of racial classification. However, there is little agreement in the scientific community on which traits identify a race, except that races are in part identified by common territory or geography and are breeding populations with a set of hereditary traits; beyond that there is little scientific agreement as to what constitutes a race (Molnar, 1998). The application of the biological notation, *race*, to humans is unconvincing. Many people are characterized by physical distinctions that place them in more than one subdivision, and more people belong to categories between subdivisions than to the subdivisions themselves (Trager, 1992).

While most people do not question the reality and validity of racial categories, Operario and Fiske (1998) argue that racial categories are a subjective reality, existing only because people believe them to be true, not because of biological evidence or evolutionary conditions. Although human biological diversity is undeniable, traditional racial categories are "based on a faulty perception of human differences and lack of understanding of the causes and meanings of those differences (Molnar, 1998, p. 1)."

There is, in general, agreement among biologists, anthropologists and sociologists, that the category, *race*, is socially constructed rather than a biological reality (Kottak, 1996; Marger, 1994). Because of the arguable validity of the concept *race*, a term which implies differences that cannot be empirically supported, biologists, anthropologists and sociologists have generally refrained from using the term, or have used it in conjunction with the term, *ethnicity,* or *ethnic group* (Bowser, 1995; Marger, 1994).

The arguments against the validity of the concept *race* fall into four categories: empirical, definitional, availability of alternative concepts, and humanitarian (Lieberman & Jackson, 1995). The first argument against the validity of the concept *race* regards the empirical evidence. Empirically, there are a number of biological characteristics that have been used as the basis for a determination of race, for example, epidermal melanin, face form, ABO alleles, and sickling (Hb^S), but these characteristics traverse racial lines as though they were nonexistent. Further, the empirical biological evidence to support the concept of race is not convincing. Eighty-five percent of human variation is found within rather than between population groups.

The second argument against the validity of the concept *race* regards definitional problems. The definitional reasons for the rejection of the construct of race focus on the vagueness of definitions that generally refer to a division of species based on the frequency of the appearance of particular hereditary traits. These imprecise definitions have lead to a large number of

races being identified and, according to Lieberman and Jackson (1995), are not useful or informative for research design.

The third argument grows out of the second. There are definitional problems with the construct *race* and there are a number of alternate concepts that better explain human diversity. For example, the concept, *population*, can be used in a number of circumstances and is equally or more informative; the concept of *cline*, which refers to the association of a trait with a geographical location may be informative; and the concept of *ethnicity*, which helps to illuminate the differences between genetically inherited differences and learned differences may also be a more accurate and informative substitute for the term *race*. Finally, the humanitarian argument against the construct *race* is instructive in that it exposes the use of race to justify social actions such as genocide, slavery, apartheid, and discrimination.

While early definitions of race were primarily rooted in phenotypical markers, such as skin color and face shape, as the study of race moved to the social sciences, the term became even more unreliable with definitions based in ethnicity, religion, language and geography, for example, "the British race", the "Jewish race", and the "Mediterranean race". Since racial groups exist as a function of socially constructed categories, the foundation of the categories are perceived and maintained in particular societies. Therefore, the categories that one has for race depend heavily on cultural experience (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

No one variable has been identified as race defining (Eberhardt & Randall, 1997). Many researchers suggest that there are no race-defining variables which allow science to draw conclusions about any biological, genetic, physical, or psychological criteria (Operario & Fiske, 1998). Humans are a genetically open system which means that although physical characteristics are inheritable, racial categories are not distinct, but rather fall along a continuum of gradual change (Marger, 1994). Race, as a category, is based on social perceptions of differences, rather than on biological distinctions (Kottak, 1996; Wagley, 1959).

The construct *race* is a human-made schema for describing human boundaries. For example, earlier in the history of the United States, immigrants from Ireland and Italy were considered racially distinct from immigrants from northern Europe (Operario & Fiske, 1998). In the southern United States, during Jim Crow segregation, Japanese Americans were not subjected to the same discrimination as African Americans, being allowed to sit in the front of busses and to use "whites only" restrooms and drinking fountains, however, this treatment changed dramatically during World War II when Japanese Americans were imprisoned in internment camps (Hosokawa, 1969). Another particularly pointed example of the arbitrary and exclusionary nature of racial categorization is provided by the United States government in recording the race or ethnicity of infants for the purpose of infant mortality statistics. Monthly Vital Statistics, supplement 1989 provides these rules: "(1) if one parent is white, the fetus or infant is assigned the

other parent's race; (2) when neither parent is white, the fetus or infant is assigned to the father's race" (quoted in Molnar, 1998). However, when the mother is Hawaiian, there is an exception to both rules.

Ethnicity

Like the construct, *race*, *ethnicity*, is a fluid social construct, negotiated by ingroup and outgroup members (Nagle, 1995). For example, the salience of ethnicity increases as the number of group-identifying factors increases; and group interactions such as contact and competition increase (Barth, 1969; Kim, 1990; Nagle, 1995). Ethnic identification, associated affective responses, and associated behavioral responses will vary within groups, among countries, and over time (Kottak, 1996). An individual's ethnic identity is dependent, in part, on the context of the interaction.

Current and historical circumstances can create or increase the saliency of ethnic group identity. For example, as awareness of political inequities consolidated in the United States during the 1960's, culturally distinct groups, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban, formed pan-ethnic Hispanic groups and as the former Soviet Union ended, ethnic identity awareness rose and behavioral commitment to ethnic groups increased. The boundaries of these groups expanded in response to political and economic circumstances (Olzak, 1985). Given that ethnicity and race are socially negotiated categories, social factors, such as economic competition, will increase the saliency of ethnicity and race and will also increase the likelihood of (1) strengthened ethnic and racial identification; (2) interethnic

conflict; (3) racism and prejudice; (4) ethnic and racial mobilization; and (5) racism and prejudice (Nagle, 1995).

Although race and ethnicity are each based in historic membership, ethnicity markers are relatively malleable while race markers are relatively rigid. For this reason, social stratification based on race markers is more entrenched and rigid than stratification based on markers of ethnicity (van den Berghe, 1993). While there is agreement that the term "race" is unjustified in science, its derivative, "racism" is used here because many of the problematic issues in interethnic communication are grounded in the social perceptions of biological differences based in phenotypes and culture. As Pettigrew (1981a) points out, perceptions of reality, whether accurate or inaccurate, result in real social consequences.

Racism

Wilson (1996) defines racism as the oppression of a group of people identified as a "race" and the social system of ideas and myths that work to rationalize and support the oppression. Hodge (1989), similarly defines racism as the "belief in, and practice of, the domination of one social group, identified as a 'race,' over another social group, identified as of another 'race'" (p. 28). Most definitions of racism link individual racially discriminatory behavior to the social norms and laws which produce inequities based in race (Bowser, 1995). For example, Jones (1972) describes racism as

resulting "from the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture" (p. 172). Racism consists of feelings of superiority and claims to privilege; perceptions of the other group as alien; and suspicion that the outgroup members want the privileges claimed by the ingroup members (Blumer, 1958). Racism is the practice of discrimination based on the negative evaluation of others because of their perceived racial heritage. It is acted out in behaviors which have the effect of exclusion, avoidance, or distance (Brewer, 1994) and includes all intended or unintended verbal and nonverbal communication acts which incur disadvantageous outcomes for members of those groups (Essed, 1991).

Racist ideas are a response to variations within humankind and have a complex structure and history (Wood, 1995). Racism is rooted in the beliefs that humans can be clearly categorized into different groups based on physical characteristics; that those physical characteristics are inherently linked to social and personal characteristics, such as culture, personality, and intelligence; and that some groups are superior to other groups (Marger, 1994). The social system, or system of interpersonal relationships, may produce racism as members attempt to maintain or define status hierarchies (Kitano, 1974; Kottak, 1996). Dubois (1961) argues that racism is cultural in that racial groups are culturally defined. Van den Berghe (1993) describes race and ethnic relations as "a form of inequality between socially defined

groups that occupy different and unequal positions in systems of power and production (p. 239)." In order for racism to exist, the view that there is a privileged and a non-privileged class must also exist (Bowser, 1995). These hierarchical relations of class are perpetuated through communicative processes (Hall, 1981; Wievorka, 1995).

Allport (1954/1979) observes that intergroup intolerance becomes a social issue when the dominant group does not allow members of nondominant groups either to assimilate or to maintain their own culture. These problematic ethnic relations generally occur in the context of a white majority who perceives ethnic minorities as different and unequal (Schutte, 1995). Notions of class and class domination are embedded in the worldview of society and expressed through interpersonal relations; through social and institutional practices such as unequal access to job opportunities and education; and through practices such as segregation (Hall, 1981; Wievorka, 1995). Racist beliefs are used to justify unequal treatment of members of the non-privileged class as attempts are made to maintain the status quo of the social system (Kitano, 1974). Wilson (1996) suggests that racism is a modern historical phenomenon that has emerged out of slavery and colonialism. The idea that different races constitute different species, or, at least, are inferior versions of humans, has worked to justify oppression and to desensitize dominant group members to the effects of the oppression.

Racism is not only anchored in phenotype differences. It is also based in historical relationships. In the United States, for example, an

African American may be more phenotypically similar to Europeans than to Africans, yet will still face discriminatory practices. But someone from another region of the world, whose skin is darker than many African Americans, may not face the same discrimination (Asante, 1998). Racial categories have become reified, so that social actors perceive racial categories, identify with racial categories, and act based on their assumptions of racial categories. While race is an abstract and socially constructed notion, the consequences of race-related behavior are real (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

Issues of racism will emerge in the social milieu over topics that have implications for class and status. Threats to class and status may be those that challenge the group's economic or political power, threats which challenge the group's values, or threats of association, that is, threats which increase anxiety when there is contact between groups (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

Racism, a fluid force which changes in response to social conditions and norms, is rooted in many aspects of social life including individual psychology, conscious and nonconscious individual behavior, institutional practices, and laws (Bowser, 1995). The roots of ethnic and race relations are a tangled mix of economic, social, historical, and interpersonal factors (Triandis, 1976). In the United States, for example, some groups deny that racism exists, while others protest its pervasiveness (Bowser, 1995; Pettigrew, 1981b).

Despite its fluidity in response to social conditions and norms, Forbes (1990) contends that racist attitudes continue to exist and reflect the nature of prejudice, economic exclusion, and social exploitation. The communication of racism follows from the perceptions, attributions, and affect about those individuals perceived as possessing particular racial phenotypes.

Understanding racism

Baldwin (1998) suggests that, in general, four different approaches have been taken to understanding racism: *sociobiological* or evolutionary perspectives; *group-level* and structural approaches; *social-psychological* theories or individual-level approaches; and the *message-based approaches* of linguistic, rhetorical, discourse and critical analysis. The *sociobiological* perspective on racism suggests that inherited biological characteristics compel intolerant behaviors. These theorists have taken a range of approaches to viewing the sociobiology of intolerance including examining the evolutionary value of fear, brain mechanisms that lead people to fear differences, and the influence of physiology on behavior. The common thread of the arguments is that fear of differences is based in a biological mechanism that is expressed within the constraints of a particular social system (Baldwin, 1998).

The *group-level* and structural approaches to racism focus on the power relations that help to maintain social intolerances. Included in this perspective is the notion that differences in group cultures and resources

foster intergroup competition and intolerance. Also contained in this perspective is the belief that the division alone between groups explains intolerance, for example, the feminist perspective that gender is the dividing line in all social hierarchies, with males favored at each level. The Marxist approach to understanding intergroup intolerance focuses on the belief that race is created to maintain a subordinate class of workers who then support the power structure status quo (Baldwin, 1998).

The *message-based* approaches to understanding intolerance focus on the construction of social messages. An example is the use of language to suggest that other cultures are external to one's own culture and therefore incorrect; as well as the use of language to instill pride in one's own culture. Discourse analysis looks at messages of intolerance at a number of levels including political, institutional and interpersonal levels. Critical theory and cultural studies examine messages of intolerance particularly in terms of power relations with a focus on instilling social change (Baldwin, 1998).

Baldwin (1998) suggests that a number of perspectives are subsumed in the individual-level or *social psychological* approach to understanding intolerance. The main theme here is that it is the cognition and needs of the individual that lead to intolerance. For example, the cognitive approach suggests those individuals high in category rigidity, dichotomization, intolerance of ambiguity, and tendencies toward concrete thinking are individuals who tend to be more intolerant. Also encompassed in the social psychological perspective are Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity

theory, which asserts that people tend to experience both themselves and others in individual terms and in group terms; and communication accommodation theory which posits that language, as the primary marker of group identity, diverges or converges when interacting with outgroup members. The common threads in these approaches are (1) that individuals tend to see others in terms of their category memberships and (2) that individuals tend to have positive affect and evaluation of their own group members while simultaneously tending to have negative affect and evaluation of members of other groups (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

Mechanisms of Racism

Categorization is the psychological process of organizing the social and physical environments into categories or groups, according to their similarities. It is the process of simplifying the environment by dividing and organizing. Persons, objects, or events are grouped according to particular criteria; and are seen to be different from other groups according to the same criteria. Category schemes are essential to the process of human perception. The use of category schemes facilitates understanding of the social and physical environment and is not, in and of itself, personally or socially problematic (Allport, 1954/1979).

Classification allows individuals to understand others in terms of one or several main characteristics, for example, gender and age. The process of categorization facilitates understanding, judgment, and decision-making. While categories themselves are neutral, it is the positive or negative

cognition, or the stereotypes, associated with categories that can become personally and socially problematic (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

Stereotypes, which are widely held beliefs or cognitions about outgroups, are socially endorsed notions that may work to maintain and justify prejudice and discrimination (Maluso, 1995). A major cognitive result of the stereotyping that may result from categorization is that it exaggerates and emphasizes differences between categories while at the same time minimizing differences and emphasizing similarities within categories (Deschamps & Devos, 1998).

An individual's thoughts and impressions of others start from categorization, which means that insight and understanding of others is based primarily on the cognitions the individual holds about the other's social groups (Operario & Fiske, 1998). Additionally, the differences are used for evaluation. When individuals see themselves as belonging to one category and not to another, it results in positive discrimination towards the ingroup and negative discrimination towards the outgroup (Deschamps & Devos, 1998; Operario & Fiske, 1998).

Race functions as a basic cognitive relationship category (Asante, 1998); its salience as a social category leads to comparisons and evaluations of others based on perceived racial group membership (Jones, 1992). Social comparisons and evaluations based on outgroup category memberships are relatively noncomplex, generally leading to extreme judgments (Jones, 1992). This is problematic for members of co-populations

because category assumptions for ingroup members are generally more favorable than category assumptions for outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; 1979). This categorization becomes particularly problematic when it is framed by the notion that one race is superior to others.

Negative category assumptions about outgroup members may be expressed as racism in the forms of prejudice, discrimination and segregation. In its most severe forms, racism may lead to incarceration, expulsion, or genocide (Kitano, 1993). Each of these expressions of racism is a function of a particular mechanism. The mechanisms of discrimination are laws or norms. The effect of the laws and norms of discrimination is personal, social, and economic disadvantage for the non-dominant group. The mechanisms of segregation are also laws or norms, the effects of which are personal, social, and economic disadvantages culminating in the isolation of the non-dominant group. The mechanism of prejudice is stereotyping; the effect of which is avoidance of the non-dominant group (Kitano, 1993).

Stereotypes are sets of cognitive schema that define the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs and expectations of a target group (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986) and that work to support the currently held affect toward the target group (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991). Stereotypes operate on a number of socially perceived characteristics, having different potency and negativity, depending primarily on the extent to which the groups they account for are different (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991). Stereotypes may range from being

relatively harmless to providing justification for the oppression of an entire group of people (Operario & Fiske, 1998). Stereotypes have a particularly powerful influence on the way information is processed about outgroups in that they provide the much needed cognitive shorthand of reducing social complexity and increasing predictability (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991). In the United States, many of the particularly malignant stereotypes are held about and expressed toward minority racial groups, whereas in Japan and India, for example, these same kind of malignant stereotypes are held and expressed toward members of lower castes (Jackson, Brown, & Kirby, 1998).

Stereotypes have social effects to the extent to which the group holding them has power. Stereotypes held by those without power have relatively little influence on social life. Stereotypes associated with racial minority groups and other low power groups have more negative connotations than stereotypes associated with majority and high power groups, further, those with power may actually be motivated to more rigidly stereotype others (Operario & Fiske, 1998). Racial stereotypes are strongly socialized in United States culture, being transmitted interpersonally, through mass media, and through social institutions (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

Stereotypes are often incorporated nonconsciously and often operate nonconsciously for many people, so actors are frequently unaware of their influence. Members of a culture do not have to endorse the prevailing stereotypes to be influenced by them (Devine, 1989). Stereotypes are

culturally pervasive because the categorization process on which they are based facilitates cognitive functioning. Research suggests that as soon as categories are activated, the associated stereotypes are also activated. Once the stereotypes are activated, they can unconsciously bias perceptions, judgment, and behavior. Perceivers will tend to align their perceptions with their currently held cognitions (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Operario & Fiske, 1998).

From a social psychological perspective, racism is described as consisting of two individually identifiable, yet interrelated components. The first process is the cognitive process of stereotyping. The second is the affective and evaluative component of racial prejudice (Operario & Fiske, 1998). While these processes are interrelated, they are not identical. An actor's feelings may or may not reflect the actor's perceptions and cognitions (Zajonc, 1980). Van Dijk (1987) describes prejudice as consisting of a set of adverse characteristics and unfavorable evaluations attributed to groups perceived as racially different. Prejudice is a negative attitude toward groups about which little is actually known (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991) and usually has an affective as well as cognitive component (Brewer, 1994; Lott, 1995).

A number of studies employing a minimal group paradigm indicate that prejudice, in the form of ingroup preference, may reflect an emotional reaction devoid of cognitive reasoning (Brewer & Brown, 1998). Actors show bias toward their own groups often without being aware of doing so. The

related processes of stereotyping and ingroup favoritism both appear to be automatic and nonconscious (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

An important area to consider when examining racism is the affective dimension of racism, racial prejudice. In part, racial prejudice may grow out of social identity needs (Operario & Fiske, 1998). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) suggests that actors have a basic need to feel positively about the self and that this need can be fulfilled, in part, by enhancing group identity. Individuals are characterized by social features, that show group or category membership; as well as by personal, or idiosyncratic features (Deschamps & Devos, 1998). This is not to imply, however, that personal and social identity are bipolar aspects of identity. Recent research (Doise, 1998; Serino, 1998) suggests that social identity and personal identity are deeply intertwined, with social identity providing significant contributions to personal identity.

Social identity is the part of the self-concept based on group associations such as profession, social club membership, political party, nationality, gender, or race (Operario & Fiske, 1998). In addition to the knowledge of belonging to a certain group, social identity also implies the emotional and evaluative significance of group membership. However, ingroup identification is only salient when it is contrasted with outgroup identity. Social identity not only refers to the group with which the actor identifies (the ingroup), it simultaneously refers to the group to which the actor does not identify (the outgroup). Group identity involves the interaction

of ingroup similarities and intergroup differentiation. Social identity is the feeling of being similar to others, while personal identity is the feeling of being different than those same others (Deschamps & Devos, 1998).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) posit that the individual is motivated to achieve and enhance self-esteem. Both social identity factors and personal identity factors can fulfill the need for positive self-esteem. The individual may turn to group identifying factors for positive self-esteem, if personal identifying factors do not provide for it. However, it is only when the ingroup is compared favorably to the outgroup that it contributes to positive identity. When actors value their group identities, they are likely to express bias in favor of that particular group (Operario & Fiske, 1998).

Interpersonal communication is based in both personal and group identity, of which race is an important component. Since part of an individual's personal identity is predicated on group memberships, an individual's interpersonal communication is in part motivated by group membership (van Dijk, 1987). While conversational goals are often rooted in personal motives, they may also be rooted in group membership such as social class, ethnic membership, or sex (Kraut & Higgins, 1984). Group associations are collectively defined in terms of ingroups and outgroups. The ethnic group identity may be the "basic group identity" which supersedes all other group identities, such as class, profession, etc. (Issacs, 1975).

Manifestation of racism

Corlett (1998) argues that the core of racism is found in ethnic stereotyping; that racism itself is action based on ethnically prejudicial beliefs or attitudes that result in negative judgment of another because of perceived ethnic group membership. Goldberg (1993) suggests that racism is not merely the ascription of outgroup member differences, it also involves the assignment of racial preferences, member inclusion or exclusion, and entitlements or restrictions. Racism is two-dimensional in that it involves both *ethnic prejudice*, holding a negative belief or attitude toward an ethnic group member, and *ethnic discrimination*, the action or omission of action toward another based on the actor's ethnic prejudice. Racism involves both the ethnic prejudice and the attempt to act on the ethnic prejudice. Racism may manifest itself in both active and passive forms.

Racism is manifested in a number of ways. *Institutional* racism is characterized by denial of access to and full participation in social institutions such as education or stable political processes. Garcia (1996) describes *institutional racism* as racism that informs the ends an institution adopts, the assumptions on which it operates, the means it employs, or the extent to which the institution accepts undesirable side effects. Institutional racism may be manifested by an individual within the institution acting to support an institutional racist structure, such as an individual legislator acting to support segregation. Or it may be manifested by a group of individuals within the institution acting to support a racist structure, such as a racist jury acting in

support of a racist law (Corlett, 1998). *Collective* racism is the expression of discriminatory group norms, such as exclusion of nondominant groups from neighborhood housing, or from certain sectors of the work force. *Interpersonal* racism is the racism that occurs in dyadic or interpersonal contexts (Maluso, 1995).

Overt racism is racist behavior which openly expresses negative attitudes or intentions towards outgroup members, while *covert* racism consists of expressions of racism that may or may not be clear from the behavior in and of itself (Essed, 1991). Overt racism is easily identifiable and current norms, in general, discourage its public expression. The identification of covert racism, because of its concealed nature, is more problematic. Members of the dominant group, whose experiences of racism are unlike the experiences of members of the non-dominant groups, do not easily recognize covert racism (Blauner, 1993; Essed, 1991; van Dijk, 1987).

Racism is communicatively infused into society in one of four significant ways: *historical distortion*; *eliminating agency*; *creating illusions*; and *using pejoratives*. *Historical distortion* is the misrepresenting or elimination of facts of time and place. To *eliminate agency* is to lack of acknowledgement of the work and achievements of outgroups, such as intellectual or cultural activities. The process of eliminating agency works to create a sense that the groups do not have a civilization or culture. To *create illusions* is to make statements of fact, that have no basis in reality, for example, to say that Africa has only oral culture. The *use of pejorative* works

to minimize the humanity of the outgroup member, thereby creating and reinforcing racism (Asante, 1998).

Racist language, which is the use of pejorative, is language that is intended to threaten, harm, diminish, or ridicule a person because of their perceived racial background. Using racist language is one indication that the speaker has accepted racist beliefs. The dominant group may protect racist language because it reinforces the hierarchical positions in the culture. To say that a culture is racist is to say that the individual members of the dominant group have collectively created a racist environment in part through the use of racist language (Asante, 1998). The meaning underlying the linguistic label used for a race category represents the speaker's repository of facts and generalizations of the category. When using a label, the speaker is indicating that the notions underlying the label are relevant. As time elapses, the labels used for a category, shape the recall of information (Kraut & Higgins, 1984).

Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) describe racism as existing along a continuum from non-racism to biological racism Non-racism is characterized by beliefs that differences in human capacities are acquired rather than innate; that there are no superior races; that contact with outgroup members is desirable and enriching; and that all groups are free to express their cultural beliefs. Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) suggest that racist attitudes are cumulative as they progress from aversive racism

through ethnocentric racism, to symbolic racism, and finally to biological racism.

Aversive racists share some attitudes with non-racists, including the beliefs that there are no superior races; that differences in capacities are learned; and that groups are free to express their cultural beliefs. Nonetheless, the aversive racist experiences contact with outgroup members as anxiety producing, or as a social problem. Ethnocentric racism is characterized by beliefs in the cultural superiority of the ingroup; that the outgroup presents a threat; that the outgroup should adjust to the ingroup; that there should be cultural separation between groups; and that ingroup culture should be dominant and accepted by outgroups. Symbolic racism is characterized by much the same beliefs as ethnocentrism, but there is increased expression of the desirability of social distance between the groups with the added dimension that the outgroup is a social threat. Biological racism is characterized by the beliefs that have been traditionally associated with the construct of racism, that differences between groups are innate; that outgroups are inferior, cannot adjust, and present a biological threat; that physical separation between races is necessary; and that homogenous racial groups are desirable (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993).

Symbolic racism suggests that negative notions about outgroups are acquired early in life and persist throughout life. Unlike biological racism, however, the attitudes are expressed symbolically, for example, as

opposition to affirmative action or other social initiatives. For symbolic racists, racial attitudes are difficult to discern as traditional biological notions of racism are replaced with more abstract social and political notions. The symbolic racist is generally unaware of the nonconscious racial nature underlying these political and social beliefs (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; McConahay, 1986).

Aversive racism is among the most difficult type of racism to examine because it is the least apparent and is understood only through a constellation of characteristics. These characteristics include the notion that all groups should be treated fairly and equally. While at the same time holding this notion, aversive racists also unconsciously hold negative feelings towards outgroup members, which lead them to attempt to avoid intergroup interaction. When the intergroup interaction is unavoidable, aversive racists will carefully adhere to rules and norms of social behavior in order to avoid any appearance of prejudice. Aversive racists often assert that they are color-blind, implying that since they do not see color, they cannot be prejudiced on the basis of color. Because of the unconscious and concealed nature of aversive racism, it is difficult to empirically tap. Therefore, recent research which suggests that racism and prejudice are diminishing in the United States, may be overstating the case and it may, in fact, be true that aversive racism characterizes the racial attitudes of a large proportion of whites (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Racist interactions are real social occurrences, although they cannot always be easily identified (Jones, 1981). This leads to one of the problematic issues surrounding the understanding of racism. Because racist events may not always be perceived, there is a tendency for members of the dominant group to deny the existence of racism (Bowser, 1995; Essed, 1991).

Interpersonal Communication of Racism

While the expression of racism is, in one sense, a collective social phenomenon, it is, in another sense, an individual phenomenon. The communication of racism is an expression of both individual identity and group identity. Group members share an understanding of group norms, values and other beliefs (van Dijk, 1989). Macroracism is created and reinforced through public discourse such as the press, the electronic media, and the political and educational systems. While racism is a group-based phenomenon, an element of the existing social order, it is also recreated and reinforced through interpersonal interaction. Microracism is created and reinforced through everyday interpersonal interactions (Schutte, 1995). Because there is a tension between personal identity and group identity, racist attitudes and behaviors among group members are not identical (van Dijk, 1989).

While racism and prejudice are a result of social, and cultural processes, they are also a result of interpersonal processes (Triandis, 1976). Racism is found in every dimension of interaction from political to academic to interpersonal discourse (Essed, 1991; Hecht & Ribeau, 1989; van Dijk, 1993). An example of both historical distortion and racist academic discourse, for instance, is the teaching of American history wherein virtually all of the principals of the narrative are Europeans who created a great civilization out of a wilderness, not mentioning that this was done while enslaving and annihilating peoples of color (Asante, 1998). Racist language is rooted in the racial nature of society (Asante, 1998). A society that is shaped along racial lines produces racist language; thus racism becomes fully enmeshed in both language and conversation.

Yamato (1992) provides a typology of interpersonal racist behaviors, which includes aware and unaware behaviors, as well as intentional and unintentional behaviors. Blatant racism and covert racism are both aware and intentional behaviors. Blatant racism is racism that consists of aware and overt behaviors. Yamato's conception of blatant racist messages is much like the concept of traditional racism, in which the racist message is, "I don't like you because of your physical characteristics." Yamato describes covert racism as aware behaviors that differ from those of blatant racism in that they are not direct messages. Racist messages of this type provide a kind of plausible deniability to the sender, such as, "That apartment has just

been rented," "That house has just been sold," or "Someone has just been hired for that job."

The types of unaware racism described by Yamato are both unintentional. Unintentional and unaware racism is perpetuated through a condescension expressed through an apparent "niceness," for example, "I enjoy the colorful costumes your people wear." The second type of unaware racism is "self-righteous" racism, in which the sender of the message tells members of the ethnic community what they need, for example, when someone outside the Latino community determines that in order to be cohesive, the members of the community should speak fluent Spanish. The multidimensional nature of racist messages leads Yamato to assert that racism must be addressed at both the societal and personal level.

Relatively little attention has been paid to microracism (Schutte, 1995), although van Dijk (1989) has identified a number of qualities which characterize the interpersonal communication of racism among members of a dominant group. Racist talk among dominant group members contains qualifications such as denial of generalized prejudice; granting of positive qualities to ethnic groups; and admissions of negative qualities of one's own group. It also contains elements of unity of experience, which are references to other ingroup members' negative experiences with the ethnic group, or references to authorities' problems with ethnic groups; an "us" – "them" distinction; and examples of negative personal experiences with others. The racist talk of dominant group members often includes examples of

outgroup members' behavior which work to show that stereotypes are correct; and the talk is often characterized by justifications for racist sentiments which place the fault for racist feelings on the ethnic group members for creating the need for the speaker to feel prejudice.

Asante (1998) suggests three ways in which racist sentiments may be communicated interpersonally, as *matters of course*, *matters of fact*, and *matters of opinion*. Racist statements that are *matters of course* contain the assumptions that an event or behavior is natural, for example, to say, "Well, you know, you have to expect them to be slow," implies that it is natural for members of this group to be less intelligent. Racist statements that are *matters of fact* are literal statements in which the speaker plainly says what s/he believes to be true, regardless of the reality of the statement. Matter of fact statements clearly demonstrate the doctrines of racism in that the speaker is sure that her/his information about the athletic ability of Blacks, the mathematical ability of Asians, or the cleverness of Jews is accurate. These statements frequently allude to the inherited qualities of race. Racist statements that are *matters of opinion* are statements that contain a preamble that signals a debatable proposition, such as, "I think you would be better off if . . ." or "I don't have anything against . . ." Statements which are matters of opinion are problematic because of the unexamined prejudices which underpin them.

In order to communicate effectively, a speaker must be able to predict with some accuracy the state of the listener's consciousness (Kraut & Higgins, 1984), and in general, racist communicators recognize the social sanctions against racist communication, so these sentiments are more likely to be expressed in a closed or private setting (Asante, 1998). Speakers modify their messages to match the listener's beliefs and attitudes, often without taking into account the effect the listener's belief has had on the construction of the message (Kraut & Higgins, 1984). Speakers adapt their speech to fulfill social goals with specific audiences, therefore, mutual knowledge of the prevailing social values of fairness and equality inhibit direct expression of racial animus.

Another issue in understanding the communication of racism is the directness of its expression. Hate speech, for example, is a form of direct discriminatory behavior (Holton, 1998), with ritual, or social effects as well as transmission, or interpersonal effects (Calvert, 1997). The transmission effects of hate speech have been shown to have physical effects on those to whom it is directed (Calvert, 1997). Holton (1998), however, argues that the less direct forms are more psychologically damaging to the person who is the object of the discrimination because direct expressions of discrimination at least allow one to identify and understand the perpetrator. Nevertheless, racist hate speech perpetuates the idea that race is an important social issue and that certain groups are different and inferior.

Austin (1962) and Searle (1970, 1975) differentiate direct speech acts from indirect speech acts. The construction and meaning of direct speech acts are readily apparent, for example, in the statement, "(I want you to) Go home now." The construction is clearly a command, making the statement a direct speech act. This same command can also be relayed through a construction designed for another speech act, an indirect speech act. For example, it may be relayed as an apology, "I'm sorry, I'm really tired," through an assertion, "It's getting so late," or through a question, "It seems late, doesn't it?" Understanding indirect speech acts may require examining layers of meaning. The layers of meaning are present in most discourse, but whether they are available and to whom they are available is not clear (Kraut & Higgins, 1984). Listeners may correctly interpret, over interpret, or under-interpret indirect meaning. In addition, speakers can use indirect speech acts to convey socially unacceptable meanings while at the same time having the means to disclaim the unacceptable nature of the communication by claiming to have intended only the direct meaning (Goffman, 1955).

Orientation to Interpersonal Racism

Dominant and nondominant groups have dissimilar orientations to interethnic relationships. The differences are manifested in a number of ways, for example, the context of the relationship. The salience of the history of oppression of minority groups is more acute for co-population group members than for majority group members (Collier & Thomas, 1989). There are also differences in communication styles (Hecht & Ribeau, 1984), as well

as differences in motivation to communicate effectively (Gordon, 1990). These elements of the dissimilar orientations, context, preferences and rule, and motivation are likely to lead to communication failure events. The problematic perception of microracism may be due in part to an uncritical acceptance of everyday behavior. Because the individual is immersed in everyday interactions, the beliefs and attitudes underlying the behavior often remain unarticulated (Schutte, 1995).

Communication failure events take place when rules, expectations, or preferences are violated, or when the event is seen as problematic or inappropriate in some way (Cody & McLaughlin, 1985). The problematic perception of microracism also may be due in part to different group definitions of racism. White definitions of racism are rooted in the past and include such things as white supremacist ideologies, feelings of prejudice, and acts of discrimination. On the other hand, people of color tend to define racism in terms that are more sensitive to prevailing conditions and include institutional racism and atmospheric racism (Blauner, 1993). Racism occurs at the level of everyday interaction, however, it is not clear how ethnicity interacts for senders and receivers of messages across racial lines (Pennington, 1979). This is where discrimination and unequal treatment take place, although the interactions may not be perceived as racist by the majority population (Schutte, 1995).

Understanding the structure, meaning, and effects of the interpersonal communication of racism is complicated further by a personal/group

discrimination discrepancy, whereby individuals perceive personal discrimination to be less than the discrimination practiced against the group. This discrepancy may be the result of one or several coping mechanisms. It may be a mechanism to deal with the personally disheartening and hurtful outcomes of discrimination, or it may be a coping mechanism which allows the individual to manage the dissonance between understanding the effects and pervasiveness of discrimination and being efficacious in preventing or ameliorating the effects of discrimination (Taylor, Wright, & Porter, 1994).

It has also been suggested that in fact there is a discrepancy between attitudes toward a group and attitudes toward particular individuals, so the discrepancy may accurately reflect social norms of general group discrimination that are not clearly acted out towards individuals (Brewer, 1994). In support of the notion, Doise (1998) reports that when asked to describe typical outgroup members, respondents replied with stereotypical descriptions, but when asked to describe a particular outgroup member, respondents replied with counter-stereotypical descriptions. However, the cognition of the stereotype did play out in behavior. When asked a preference for companions, respondents preferred ingroup members.

Ethnicity, a part of personal identity, is phenomenal, while at the same time it is processional. It is part of who we are and part of how we interact with the world, making some of the issues surrounding ethnic identity difficult to sort out. For example, while it is unremarkable for members of the white majority to see people of color as people of color, it is relatively rare that

members of the white majority see themselves as white (Sue, 1993). In terms of everyday interaction this may lead to increased perceptions of differences between the majority and minority groups; and in terms of social research, it may lead to a tendency to examine issues based on differences as they are expressed within a cultural group, communication style, for example, rather than on sociopolitical effects based in group interactional behaviors, such as prejudice, discrimination, and racism (Sue, 1993). This may, then, lead to an overestimation of behavioral differences.

In fact, much of the communication research that has been done rests on the assumption that the problematic nature of interethnic communication is founded in cultural differences, for example, Hecht and his colleagues (see Hecht, Larkey, & Johnson, 1992; Hecht & Ribeau, 1984; Hecht, Ribeau, & Alberts, 1989; Martin, Hecht, & Larkey, 1994) have investigated interethnic communication satisfaction differences from the perspective of ethnic group members. Many of the communication issues identified as problematic style issues may be interpreted as expressions of embedded racism. The study of differences in communication styles and the problematic nature of interethnic communication may actually reveal the race-based foundation of interethnic communication problems. In other words, Hecht and colleagues may have tapped into the larger and more elusive issues of embedded racism. For example, when identifying issues related to dissatisfying interethnic communication episodes, African Americans cite both lack of authenticity and stereotyping.

Interethnic relations in the United States are particularly difficult to examine, in part because most Americans subscribe to the current cultural values of fairness and racial equality. Underlying those easily accessed values, however, are racial biases rooted in historical circumstances and cultural messages about racial differences and the psychological mechanisms regarding ingroup-outgroup determinations. These different value orientations lead to a cognitive tension that is apt to express itself in the form of unstable behavior. An actor may act out discriminatory behavior, expressing underlying negative feelings; or may not act out discriminatory behavior, expressing egalitarian beliefs (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Examining Interpersonal Racism

Racism is a complex issue that needs to be addressed in a number of different disciplines (Operario & Fiske, 1998). Race has played a significant role in interpersonal and intergroup conflicts in the world throughout the twentieth century. Perceived ethnicity, or socially constructed race, is an aspect of social life that is apt to activate stereotypical thoughts and behaviors among individuals (Gaines, Chalfin, Kim, & Taing, 1998). The issue of communication between members of different ethnic and racial groups is clearly one of the most important and most neglected issues in communication. The social importance of ethnicity and interethnic relations is clear and it calls for systematic research to understand its processes.

Inclusion of the social structural issues surrounding the process of interethnic communication is important to the understanding the process itself (Kim, 1986). The most illuminating perspective on racism may be to regard racism as an individual manifestation or reflection of the social system which is best understood by those who are the object of the behavior (Van den Berghe, 1993), but in general, most research on racism has not been conducted from the perspective of members of co-populations, for example, there is little research that investigates the experience, beliefs, attitudes, or opinions of Blacks regarding the meaning of racism (Essed, 1991) and most of the research on interethnic communication has not addressed the issue of racism. Social scientists in a number of fields examine the social effects of communication, yet the characteristics and attributes of racist language have not been well explored (Asante, 1998).

One potentially informative theoretical approach to understanding the interpersonal communication of racism is to explore it in terms of communication accommodation theory. Communication accommodation theory is an examination of relational processes in communication interaction (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1992), which suggests that both group identity and personal identity are salient in interethnic interactions. Communication accommodation theory is a theory of group influences in interpersonal interactions. It attempts to explain the group-based cognitive and affective processes underlying communication in interpersonal-intergroup interactions (Jones & Gallois, 1995).

A primary notion of communication accommodation theory is that actors adjust their communication behavior to achieve personal goals, such as compliance gaining and social approval, or to increase relational solidarity, or to signal group membership (Willemyns, & Gallois, 1997). Communication accommodation theory is particularly relevant to interethnic communication encounters because it addresses issues of both code and context. Communication accommodation theory provides a lens through which we may view interethnic communication behavior as both interpersonal communication and intergroup communication (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988).

In communicative encounters, when interpersonal issues are salient, actors will attend to and adapt to the uniqueness of the individual. However, in communicative encounters, when intergroup issues are salient, actors will attend to group differences, often maximizing them, while simultaneously minimizing individual similarities (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Interpersonal and intercultural communication have been conceptualized along one dimension, although a number of scholars (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988; Gudykunst, 1986) suggest that interpersonal and intercultural are orthogonal dimensions that produce four quadrants of salient intercultural/interpersonal interaction. The quadrants are high interpersonal / high intergroup, for example, close friends of different ethnicities talking about ethnic tensions; high intergroup / low interpersonal, for example, strangers of different ethnicities talking about

ethnic tensions; low intergroup / high interpersonal for example, friends of same ethnicity talking about personal issues; and low intergroup / low interpersonal, for example, strangers in a ritualized communication interaction. This conception of the relationship of intercultural and interpersonal communication allows for shifts in the importance of interpersonal identity and intercultural identity, which may occur even within the same encounter. Regardless of how well interactants know one another, group membership is potentially meaningful because of the differences in backgrounds, values, and behaviors which are implied in group membership, even though individuals may respond to these implications differently (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988).

Communication accommodation theory suggests that speakers will make one of three unconscious accommodational moves during interaction with different others. One move, convergence, occurs when interactants modify their communication behaviors toward similarity with the other. Another move, divergence, occurs when interactants modify their communication to emphasize differences from the other (Giles, Mulac, Bradac, & Johnson, 1987). The third move, move, maintenance, occurs when interactants maintain their individual communication behaviors and do not move toward similarity or toward differences (Bourhis, 1979). Each of these acts may occur on either or both the verbal and nonverbal dimensions.

Convergence occurs when an actor adapts to the communication behavior or style of the other, becoming more similar to the other. It may

occur on either, or both, the verbal and nonverbal dimension. Convergence occurs nonverbally in speech rate, pronunciation, or pauses, for example. It may also occur verbally through language choice such as the use of slang or other vocabulary choices. Convergence moves indicate positive attitudes towards others and generally are attempts to increase communication efficiency, to decrease social distance, or increase relational approval or solidarity (Giles, Mulac, Bradac & Johnson, 1987). Overall, responses to non-strategic convergence are generally positive, however, when convergence is perceived as convergence toward group stereotypes, rather than toward the individual, it generally will be negatively evaluated. Responses to divergence are also generally negative (Gallois, Franklyn-Stlkes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988).

Divergence occurs when actors use language or paralanguage to stress their differences. Like convergence moves, divergence moves may also occur on the verbal or nonverbal dimension, for example, emphasizing vocabulary differences or accent differences. Divergence moves are strategies to underscore differences and are generally attempts to increase perceived social distance, or to maintain group identity (Giles, Mulac, Bradac & Johnson, 1987). Evaluative responses to divergence are generally negative.

In addition to convergence moves and divergences moves, interactants may use a maintenance strategy in which they demonstrate imperviousness to the other, continuing to use their own style and not

adapting. Evaluative responses to maintenance are similar to the evaluative responses to divergence.

Jones and Gallois (1995) suggest that a critical determinant of accommodation is social power. In unequal status interactions, for example, subordinate persons tend to converge more than do dominant persons. Motives for converging are different for subordinate and dominant interactants as well. Subordinate interactants tend to converge to be seen as more competent, whereas dominant interactants tend to converge to increase their partners' comprehension. Both divergence and convergence may be either unilateral or bilateral. That is, one or both persons may use convergence to emphasize relational solidarity, or divergence to emphasize relational differences.

Communication accommodation theory suggests three accommodational options that actors may use that may be related to social power. Actors may be accommodative, which means to communicate with the other in an interpersonal manner, suggesting relational and group solidarity with the other. Actors may be nonaccommodative, treating the other in an intergroup manner, suggesting a lack of relational and group solidarity with the other. An actor may be nonaccommodative by underaccommodating, for example, using unfamiliar vocabulary, or may be overaccommodating, for example, by being patronizing. Strategies that accommodate tend to equalize power and decrease interpersonal distance.

Nonaccommodative strategies tend to increase power differences and interpersonal distance (Jones & Gallois, 1995).

When relationships include actors whose groups historically have experienced power differentials, or have been depicted as engaged in intergroup conflict, it might be expected that intolerance or prejudice might arise from time to time in the interpersonal relationship. Conflict that might be interpreted and experienced as interpersonal in a relationship when the actors perceive themselves as having aligned group memberships, may be interpreted and experienced as intergroup conflict when actors perceive themselves as having separate group memberships. Further, if one or both actors do not acknowledge status inequities, relationship conflict involving prejudice is likely to occur (Gaines, Chalfin, Kim, & Taing, 1998).

Communication accommodation theory provides for an examination of some of the processes involved in communicating relational power disparities. Divergent communication may be used to establish or maintain social differences. Racist communication, which emphasizes group differences, social and personal power disparities, can be described as a type of divergent communication. A number of conversational strategies can be used to control interaction, such as violating turn-taking rules, or controlling or redirecting the topic of conversation. Discourse management strategies can promote or discourage relational closeness. Using interpersonal control and power strategies, speakers can use devices that force others into a particular role. For example, a speaker may use

divergence to enhance relationship differences from a partner. In the case of using racist language as divergent communication, an ingroup speaker can force awareness of political and social power differences onto a conversational partner.

Gudykunst (1986b) suggests that personal relationships are generally apt to be high in interpersonal salience and low in intergroup salience. Interpersonal relationships tend to be idiosyncratic, with partners creating relational culture based on psychological rather than sociological information. Therefore, it is relatively unsurprising that the field of personal relationships has offered little in the way of understanding the verbal and nonverbal expression of prejudice in interpersonal relationships (Giles & Franklyn-Stokes, 1989). However, communication accommodation theory (Gallois et al., 1988) indicates that ethnicity differences may have a more significant impact on the communication of prejudice than differences along other dimensions, such as age or gender.

Responses to Racist Communication

Racist messages can be described as both divergent communication and conflict communication, in that they address the relational dimension and are an affront to the face of the other. *Relationship conflict* has to do with the definition of the relationship of the actors to one another, including such issues as degree of, emotional closeness and distance, willingness to

disclose, and relational power. Relational conflict may also arise out of self-presentation goals. *Self-presentation* goals are those that relate to the image the actor wishes to present. If an action of another threatens an actor's image, conflict may arise. Divergent communication in the form of racist messages may be described as the communication of conflict. Therefore, one way to conceptualize responses to racist communication is to use a typology of conflict responses.

There is little other research to suggest what communicative strategies might be used to respond to the interpersonal communication of racism. Hecht, Ribeau and Alberts (1989) describe African Americans as generally using one of five conversational strategies, asserting a point of view, open-mindedness, avoidance, nothing can be done, and give in, when finding themselves in dissatisfying interethnic communication encounters. Vangelisti and Crumley (1998) find that responses to emotionally painful messages in close interpersonal relationships load on three factors: active verbal responses, direct responses which are primarily assertive; acquiescent responses, direct or indirect responses which are primarily non-assertive; and invulnerable responses which are primarily indirect and nonassertive. While these authors may have tapped into some of the notions of embedded racism, as well as the notion of interpersonally painful messages, the focus of this research is contextualized in relatively close interpersonal relationships and may not be relevant to the understanding of responses to racism, which occurs in a variety of social contexts, including

interactions with strangers. The experience of conflict, however, occurs in a wide variety of social contexts.

Ohbuchi and Chiba (1996) describe two dimensions of conflict. The integrative-distributive dimension represents relative expression of self-concern and other-concern. The second dimension represents another aspect of conflict mitigation/escalation. During conflict, actors may directly express their anger toward another without apparent fear of evoking his hostility; or actors may choose an appeasing response, avoiding directly expressing self-assertion or rejection. This second dimension can be regarded as confrontation-avoidance. Ohbuchi and Chiba find that this second dimension of confrontation-avoidance is closely related to the participants' affective response. The authors suggest that the confrontation-avoidance dimension, or, the hostile-appeasing dimension, indicates the degree of self-control of expression of negative emotions, whereas the integrative-distributive dimension represents problem-solving orientation on the conflict issues. The authors believe that the more emotionally aroused an individual is in conflict, the more salient his or her responses will be on the confrontation-avoidance dimension.

There is substantial evidence in the conflict literature that supports behaviors expressing dimensions of confrontation-avoidance and distributive-integrative, although these behaviors are not always described as orthongonal dimensions as Ohbuchi and Chiba (1996) suggest. Sillars, Coletti, Parry, and Roberts (1982), for example, suggest classification

scheme for verbal conflict tactics in interpersonal conflict. The classification includes the broad categories of *avoidance* acts, *distributive* acts, and *integrative* acts. *Avoidance* acts are those which tend to diffuse discussion of the conflict, or to minimize the explicit nature of the discussion. *Integrative* acts are those acts that are cooperative and disclosive, in which the discussion of the conflict is neutral or positive and the actor does not seek unilateral change. *Distributive* acts are those acts that are competitive and antagonistic and which indicate a negative evaluation of the other, or seek unilateral change. Other approaches to understanding styles, strategies, and tactics, can be understood within this general framework.

Sorenson and Hawkins (1995) suggest that actors use one of five approaches to conflict resolution. *Integrating* is behavior that shows a high concern for self and other. *Dominating* is behavior that shows high concern for self, low concern for other. *Obliging* is behavior that shows low concern for self and high concern for others. *Avoiding* is behavior that shows low concern for self and low concern for others; and *compromising* shows intermediate levels of concern for both self and others. These behaviors are analogous to the ones described by Kilman and Thomas (1977).

Kilman and Thomas (1977) describe five conflict styles aligned along two behavioral dimensions, *assertiveness*, or concern for self, and *cooperativeness*, or concern for other. Kilman and Thomas label the styles *competing*, *collaborating*, *compromising*, *avoiding*, and *accommodating*.

Competing behaviors are those that are relatively high on assertiveness and relatively low on cooperativeness. Among other things, Kilman and Thomas suggest that competing behaviors may be appropriate when the actor needs to protect the self against others. Competing behaviors show relatively little concern for preserving the relationship. *Collaborating* behaviors are those that are also relatively high in assertiveness, but are also relatively high in cooperativeness. Kilman and Thomas suggest that collaborating, which requires substantial time and energy commitments, may be an appropriate strategy for long-term or important relationships, as these behaviors demonstrate a high concern for preserving the relationship.

Compromising behaviors are those that are midway in terms of both cooperativeness and assertiveness and may be an appropriate option when collaboration or competition fail, and when actors with approximately equal power are committed to goals that may be mutually exclusive.

Avoiding behaviors are those that are relatively low in both cooperativeness and assertiveness. Avoidance behaviors show relatively little concern for the relationship and may be appropriate when the actor perceives no chance of satisfying her/his concerns, when the actor has low power, or is frustrated by something that would be very difficult to change. Avoiding may also be an appropriate strategy when the potential damage of addressing the conflict outweighs the benefits of its resolution. *Accommodating* behaviors are relatively high on cooperativeness and

relatively low on assertiveness. Accommodating behaviors show relatively high concern for the relationship.

Rationale

The above literature review points to several problems in the present state of knowledge concerning the communication of racism. We know that there are unique pressures on non-European Americans. Unlike most uniquely identifiable European ethnic groups in the United States, which have been pressured to relinquish their unique identity and assimilate to the larger culture, there is evidence that non-European Americans have been pressured to maintain their distinctiveness from European American culture (Pettigrew, 1996). While many European immigrants have been "nativized," non-European American groups have been "alienized" (Forbes, 1990). For example, urban African Americans are the most segregated ethnic group in the United States and black-white intermarriage rates are the lowest of ethnic intermarriage rates in the United States. While these larger social issues are relatively clear, the interpersonal communication involved in manifestation of racism is relatively unclear.

While the review of literature suggests a number of ways that dominant group members may communicate racism to one another and also suggests types of racism, the interpersonal experiences of messages and responses is unexamined.

The nondominant group member's experience of racism is cumulative. It is built upon and interpreted in personal experience, rhetorical experience, and general social knowledge Essed (1991). The more knowledge that one has about context and nature of racism, the more effectively one can understand its manifestations. This study attempts to sort out some of the issues involved in these complicated intergroup relationships.

It has been suggested that racism is currently manifested in more subtle and indirect ways than it has been historically. And although racism is less direct, it continues to effect the lives of non-European Americans. The suggested subtlety of expression seems to contradict the statistical evidence describing social inequities. This leads to the question concerning the nature of the ethnic experience with racism. While a number of scholars of race issues have suggested that racism occurs on a continuum or can reflect a wide variety of racist sentiments, it is not empirically clear how these messages are, in fact, constructed and experienced. Therefore, this study poses the question:

RQ1: What kinds of racist messages do ethnic Americans report experiencing?

Hecht, Ribeau, and Alberts (1989) have examined strategies that African Americans use to respond to problematic interethnic communication episodes. These strategies include persuasion, education, and avoidance. The problematic nature of interethnic communication needs to be further

examined, in particular, the issue of the communication of racism, one of the most highly problematic areas of interethnic communication, needs to be examined. We do not know what strategies ethnic Americans use to respond to racist messages. In order to address this issue, this study asks the question:

RQ2: What communication strategies do ethnic Americans use to respond to racist messages?

Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) suggest that there are four levels of racism, which increase in intensity from aversive racist messages to biological racist messages. There is little discussion of communicative responses to the different levels of racism. While aversive racism may convey only uneasiness or discomfort, biological racism may convey intense discomfort, intense dislike, or intense hatred. Responses to these messages are unexamined. In order to examine the responses to the different levels of racism, this study asks the following questions:

RQ3: What is the relationship of response strategy to racist message type?

Satisfying communication is indicative of positive relational messages. Understanding the nature of satisfying responses to racist communication may be informative in terms of lessening the injury associated with the disconfirming nature of racism. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the relationship between response strategy and communication satisfaction by asking:

RQ4: What is the relationship between the communication response strategy and reported communication satisfaction with the encounter?

CHAPTER II

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This dissertation examines racist messages and responses to racist messages among American ethnic group members. Specifically, this research addresses types of racist messages that members of American ethnic groups report experiencing and the types of strategies that they report using in response to racist messages, as well as satisfaction with response strategies. This chapter describes the choice of message construction; coding method; description of categories and operational definitions; data collection procedures; participants; participant procedures; coding procedures; coders and coder training; data analysis procedures.

Message Construction

One of two methods might be used to assess the use of communication strategies, selection or construction. When using the first method, selection, subjects might be given a scenario, for example, and asked to respond to it by selecting their response from a list or typology

provided by the researcher. By contrast, when using the second method, construction, subjects given a scenario are asked to construct their own response. While selection may illuminate the factors which affect strategy choices, construction provides the richest understanding of the strategies themselves (Clark, 1977). An extensive review of compliance gaining studies indicates that selection procedures, may, in fact, not even illuminate the factors which affect strategy choice, but may instead, reflect only the social desirability of the strategies. The review also reveals that the strategies most likely to be selected are also the least likely to be constructed. Further, the evidence indicates that, in naturalistic settings, subjects do not reproduce the strategies they select (Burleson, Wilson, Waltman, Goering, Ely, & Whaley, 1988). This may well reflect naturalistic communication processes, wherein message composition is an activity in which an actor is likely to engage, whereas message selection is a process which might not occur naturally (Clark, 1977). Therefore, this study employs the method of message construction.

Coding method and procedures

According to Holsti (1969), content analysis is an effective procedure for objectively and systematically identifying characteristics of messages. The purpose of this research is to examine racist messages and responses strategies to racist messages. Therefore, the unit of analysis is the reported

message and the reported response strategy. The messages and response strategies are coded as thematic units, the unit of analysis that Holsti (1969) often finds to be the most useful.

Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected at four U.S. college campuses, a private, historically black woman's college in the northeast; a state university in the midwest; a state university in the west; and a state university in the northwest. The demographic data collected on the participants includes gender, age, ethnicity, and education level. Questionnaires were distributed to students in communication classes at the four campuses. Participants completed an informed consent form, which discussed the sensitive nature of the questions before beginning the survey questions. All of the students present in the classes were asked to participate in the survey.

Participant Procedures

Participants are asked to sign an informed consent form (See Appendix A) that discusses the sensitive nature of the questions. Participants are asked to describe an event they have experienced that they consider to have been racist (See Appendix B). Participants are asked to describe their relationship with the actor communicating the racism; the communication behavior of the actor communicating the racism; their

response to the racist behavior; and a response they might have found to be more satisfying. Following Hecht, Ribeau, and Alberts (1989), participants are also asked to identify the circumstances of the event (relational context), as well as about the message itself. Participants are also asked to report their satisfaction with the encounter by responding to a measure of communication satisfaction (See Appendix C) and to provide demographic information (See Appendix D).

Participants

Upon receipt of the completed questionnaires (N = 317), the researcher identified the questionnaires (N = 124) that had been completed by participants who identified an ethnicity other than or in addition to, white or Caucasian. Only these questionnaires were selected for analysis for this project. The questionnaires from participants identifying their ethnicity only as white or Caucasian (N = 193) were excluded from analysis in the current project. Some respondents who were not included in the present study indicated an ethnicity in their open-ended responses, but since surveys were selected on the criterion of having identified an ethnicity other than or in addition to white in the demographic data, these were not included in the current analysis.

Twenty two of the survey responses from the one hundred and twenty four respondents who reported an ethnicity other than or in addition to white,

were selected for coder training. Of the remaining one hundred and two respondents, the largest ethnic group, at thirty-eight percent, is African American (N = 39). Approximately fifteen percent (N = 15) report their ethnicity as Hispanic/Latino and approximately thirteen percent (N = 13) report their ethnicity as being Asian American. Those identifying their ethnicity as American Indian or Alaska Native comprise almost twelve percent of the respondents (N = 12). Those reporting multiple ethnicities comprise approximately fourteen percent of the respondents (N = 14). And nine (N = 9) respondents report other ethnicities.

Ninety-two percent of the respondents are between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four. Seventy-four percent (N = 76) of the respondents report being eighteen to twenty-four. Approximately eighteen percent (N = 18) of the respondents report being twenty-five to thirty four. Approximately eight percent of the respondents (N = 8) report being over the age of thirty four.

Those reporting their class standing as freshman (N = 22) or sophomore (N= 22) comprise forty-three percent of the respondents. Those reporting their class standing as junior (N = 29) comprise approximately twenty-nine percent of the sample and those reporting their class standing as senior (N = 28) comprise approximately twenty-eight percent of the respondents. One value is missing from the report of class standing.

Respondents are primarily female (N = 74) or 72.5%. Twenty-six percent (N = 27) of the respondents are male. There is one missing value.

Description of Categories and Operational Definitions

The survey (See Appendix B) asks the writer to recall a time when he or she experienced racism. In order to create an understanding of the context in which the racist communication occurred, the first question asks the participant, *"How would you describe your relationship to the person who communicated the racism*?" An examination of the responses suggested the following categories: *(1) family; (2) friend; (3) acquaintance (4) work relationship; (5) professional relationship; (6) clerk/customer;* and *(7) stranger.* These categories are operationalized in the following way:

(1) Family is someone the writer identifies with a family relationship term, such as grandmother, father, sister, cousin, etc.

(2) Friend is a relationship the writer describes as "friendship"; as someone s/he knows well; or otherwise indicates relational closeness

(3) Acquaintance is a relationship that the writer describes as "acquaintance" or as a "friend of a friend" or other person in a social situation that the writer does not know well

(4) Work relationship is a relationship the writer describes as occurring within the workplace, such as coworker, employee or supervisor

(5) Professional relationship is a relationship in which the writer or the other is a teacher, physician, attorney, etc.

(6) Clerk/Customer Transaction is a relationship wherein the writer or other is a salesperson, agent, or customer

(7) Stranger is a person that the writer describes as a "stranger" or identifies as never having met.

In addition to the categories which emerged during an examination of the responses, coders are also provided with the following options:

(8) Other, a category which the coder uses when the writer reports a relationship that does not fit in the category scheme;

(9) Cannot code a category which the coder uses this when unable to identify/explain what the writer has said; and finally,

(10) No response recorded, a category the coder uses when the writer has provided no response.

The second question on the survey asked the participant, *"Did you know this person before the event?"* and requested a yes or no response. Responses to this question were coded *(1) Yes*, if writer replied "yes" or other wise indicated *"Yes"; (2) No*, if writer replied "no" or otherwise indicated *"No"; (3) Cannot code,* if the coder cannot discern the writer's intent; and *(4) No response recorded,* if the writer did not answer this item.

The third question on the survey asked the participant *"What was the original purpose of the communication?"* Emergent categories for this question are coded as:

(1) Personal/Social when the writer reports interacting with friends, acquaintances, or family; or is interacting with supervisor, coworker

about non-work topics, or when interacting with a stranger in a social way

(2) *Work* when the writer reports interacting with a supervisor, employee, or coworker about work-related topics

(3) *Professional* when the writer or other is a teacher, physician, attorney, etc. communicating about professional related issues

(4) *Clerk/customer transaction* when the writer reports interacting with, or as, a customer, clerk, or is otherwise involved in a business/money transaction.

In addition, the codebook provides the categories:

(5) *Other* for use when the writer reports an interaction that does not fit in the category scheme

(6) *Cannot code* for use when the coder cannot identify/explain the writer's response

(7) *No response recorded* for use this when the writer does not supply a response.

The fourth question asks, *"What, specifically, did he/she do or say that was racist?"* In order to answer this question, the descriptions of racist communication reported by the participants were coded into Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn's (1993) the category scheme, which includes *(1) aversive racism; (2) ethnocentric racism; (3) symbolic racism; (4) biological racism; (5) cannot code response;* and *(6) no message reported.*

(1) *Aversive racism* is operationally defined as racism which "expresses itself in a reluctance on the part of white people to engage in any kind of intimacy with ethnic people and in the rejection of contact with ethnic groups," (Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn, 1993). *Aversive racism* is further operationalized as a messages that indicate the person is uncomfortable being with or communicating with someone who is not part of his/her group; reluctance to communicate or interact with outgroup members; rejection of contact with outgroup members; and rejection of intimacy with members of different groups. *Aversive racism* is negatively operationally defined in that it does not express itself through racial epithets or through violence.

(2) *Ethnocentric racism* is defined as the *"view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to that group," it is the "differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroups, and the demand . . . that outgroups must adjust to the cultural standard and the norm and value system of the ingroup* (Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn, 1993)." *Ethnocentric* messages are operationally defined as messages that differentiate based on group membership. Ethnocentric messages are further operationalized as messages that indicate that ethnic groups should adapt their standards, norms and values to reflect the main group; that one's own group

is the center of everything and that others are rated in terms of goodness or badness depending on how close they come to being like one's own group; that white people behave better than ethnic minorities; and that people who are white are more valuable than people who are not white.

(3) *Symbolic racism* is defined as "a mixture of antiblack feeling and the adherence to cherished American moral values such as hard work, individualism, and delayed gratification (Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn, 1993)." *Symbolic racism* messages are operationalized as messages that suggest that ethnic minorities should not have the same political and social rights; that ethnic minorities threaten the American way of life; that America must be protected against foreign/ethnic invasion; that minorities have too many rights or more rights than they deserve; and that the different cultures in the United States are a threat to American culture. *Symbolic racism* is also operationalized as messages that work to cut ethnic people off from social power and economic well being, for example, abuse of police or other institutional power and discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.

(4) Biological racism messages are described as having two components: a belief in the innate quality of interethnic differences and a belief in the superiority of one's own race. *Biological racism* messages are operationalized as messages that indicate that

ethnic minorities have no right to be here; ethnic groups are less intelligent; differences between ethnic groups are innate; intermarriage hurts society; and that ethnic groups should live in different neighborhoods or should be otherwise physically separated. Because of their dehumanizing nature, racial epithets are also operationalized as *biological racism*.

The four types of racism measure aspects of a single underlying ethnic attitude dimension, which also is cumulative (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993). In other words, at each level, from aversive through biological, the racism becomes more complex, adding in each previous level. So that an ethnocentric racist message also implies aversive racism, a symbolic racist message implies both ethnocentric racism and aversive racism, and a biological racist message implies symbolic, ethnocentric, and aversive racist beliefs. Therefore, coders are instructed to code racist messages by the most complex of the dimensions indicated. Coders are instructed to use

(5) *Cannot code response* when they cannot categorize the message type

(6) (6) *No message reported* when there is no racist message recorded.

The fifth question for the participants is *"What, specifically, did you do or say in response?"* In order to answer this question, the descriptions of responses are coded into a conflict response category scheme suggested by

Kilman and Thomas (1977). In addition to the Kilman and Thomas scheme, which includes (1) avoidance response; (2) accommodating response; (3) confrontational response; (4) collaborative response; a fifth category emerged as (5) appeal to other(s).

(1) *Avoidance responses* are operationalized as responses in which the writer does not act to protect or defend the self, or to challenge the other; as messages where the writer ignores what has happened or doesn't respond at all.

(2) *Accommodating responses* are operationalized as responses in which the writer shows concern for the other person, but shows relatively little concern for self; where the writer focuses on not embarrassing the other, or on politeness, or on agreement. An accommodating response is further operationalized as one that attempts to "save face" for the other, wherein the writer sooths, adapts, harmonizes; or tries to minimize the message.

(3) *Confrontational responses* are operationalized as responses wherein the writer shows concern for self, but shows relatively little concern for the other, the writer indicates or implies that the other is wrong, or that the writer does not like what the other has done or said. Confrontational messages are also operationalized as messages where it appears that the writer's purpose is to "be right", or that indicate the other is wrong, or imply that the other must defend or explain her/himself. Confrontational messages are

further operationalized as messages wherein the writer confronts, challenges, accuses, tries to "out-do" the other; or tells the other what to do.

(4) *Collaborating responses* are operationalized as those responses where the writer shows concern for self and concern for other by attempting to open up the other's perspective, to share information and understanding of the self and the other. Collaborative responses are further operationalized as responses wherein the writer teaches or informs the other, focussing on issues, not on the goodness or badness of the person.

(5) Responses that *appeal to other(s)* are operationalized as responses wherein the writer asks another to intervene, or allows another to intervene and where the writer does not take direct action against the person who communicated the racism, but seeks or allows another's help.

Coders are instructed to use

(6) *Cannot code response* when unable to categorize the message type and category

(7) *No response reported*, when there is no message recorded.

The sixth question asked participants, *"Were you satisfied with what you did or said in response (if anything)?* Participants were asked to provide either a yes or no answer. Responses were coded in the following manner: *(1) Yes* when the writer says "yes" or otherwise indicates that

he/she was satisfied; *(2) No* when the writer says "no" or otherwise indicates that s/he was not satisfied; (3) *Cannot code* when the writer does not clearly indicate either yes or no; and *(4) No response recorded* when the writer does not respond to the question.

Question number seven asks participants, *"What could you have done or said that would have been more satisfying (if anything)?* Responses *(1) avoidance; (2) accommodating; (3) confrontational; (4) collaborating* and *(5) appeal to other(s)* are defined and coded as they are in question number five. In addition, this category provides for *(6) does not offer alternative*, to be used when the writer does not offer an example of a more satisfying response, or when the writer only indicates satisfaction with the actual response; and *(7) cannot code response*, used when the coder cannot determine the writers intent.

If the writer indicated not having experienced racism, which was done by following the instructions to complete only the demographic data or by commenting that the writer had not experienced racism, coders are asked to indicated this in a separate item, *Writer indicates not having experienced racism.*

Coders and coder training

In order to facilitate the coding procedures, the open-ended survey responses were typed onto individual sheets.

Independent coders were hired to code the qualitative data. Coders were undergraduate students enrolled at a state university in the Northwest and one administrative staff member. A codebook (See Appendix E) and codesheet (See Appendix F) were developed for the coding procedures and were used at all training sessions and subsequent coding sessions. There were three coders at the first training session, which included a teaching session in which the researcher discussed the categories with the coders. Approximately ten percent of the data were randomly selected for the coder training. During the next two hours of the coding session, coders independently coded three survey responses and also coded one survey response with one another. Intercoder reliability was calculated on the three independently coded surveys using Holsti's (1969) formula. Intercoder reliability was low in all categories. It appeared that this was in part due to coder confusion with the content analysis process; and in part due to the difficulty of categories, several of which have apparently subtle differences. The three categories that might be argued to be the most pertinent to this research are categories numbers four which codes type of racist message; and categories five and seven which code type of actual response and type of response identified as "more satisfying". At the end of the first training session, intercoder reliability for category four, type of racist message, was .44. Intercoder reliability for category five, type of response to racist message, was .77 at the end of the first training session. Intercoder reliability for category number seven, type of more satisfying response, was .55 at the

end of the first training session. One change was made in the codebook as a result of this first training session. The use of racial epithets had been described as "name-calling", this was changed to "the use of racial epithets", whether they were directed at a specific person or not. These coders participated in a second training session that involved review of the categories and messages and a coding session using eight sample surveys. Intercoder reliability increased substantially for two of the coders, but not for the third. The third coder was not retained.

An additional initial coder training session was held for two additional coders, who repeated the process of the first and second training sessions of the initial coder group. Again, intercoder reliability was low. However, both coders were retained. Categories, the codesheet, and the codebook were refined after this session. Another coding session was held with the four remaining coders. An additional eight percent of the data were selected for this round of coder training. At this session, the coders reviewed the codebook, discussed the categories, and coded another sample of the surveys. At the end of this session, intercoder reliability had improved substantially in most categories. Reliability was determined using Holsti's (1969) formula. In category one, which asks about relationship, intercoder reliability increased to .9. In category two, which asks if the other person is known to the writer, intercoder reliability was 1.0. Category three, which asked the purpose of the communication again exhibited relatively low intercoder reliability and in addition was determined to be virtually identical in

meaning to category one. Therefore, category three was eliminated from the analysis. Category four asked about the racist message. Intercoder reliability improved to .8 for this category. Category five asked about response to racist message. Intercoder reliability for category five remained at .77. Intercoder reliability for category six, which asks if the writer was satisfied with her/his response, was .9 at the end of this training session. For category seven, which asks the writer to describe a more satisfying response, intercoder reliability improved to .88. Categories five and seven are virtually identical. However, in category five, writers are describing their actual responses, which include subtle variations of behavior, making these descriptions more complex and less precise than the hypothetical responses in category seven.

When the independent coding had been completed, coders met to review their category assignments. When there were differences in coding assignments, coders discussed the assignments and attempted to reach consensus. As suggested by Hecht, Ribeau, and Alberts, (1989), differences were "discussed and resolved by returning to the original [response], re-reading the descriptions and interpretations, and exploring possible interpretations . . . (p. 391)." After discussion, coders were able to reach consensus in seventy percent of the category assignments. The remaining thirty percent of the coding differences were resolved through a majority vote of the coders.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis was conducted using SPSS Graduate Pack 10.0. All responses to open ended questions that were coded as "no message recorded" or "cannot code" were treated as missing values.

Research question number one asks, *What kinds of racist messages do ethnic Americans report experiencing?* Research question number two asks, *What communication strategies do ethnic Americans use to respond to racist messages?* The category responses resulting from the content analysis procedure for each of these questions were subjected to a frequency analysis.

Research question number three asks, *What is the relationship of response strategy to racist message type?* In order to answer this question, the frequency results from RQ1 (type of racist message) and RQ2 (type of response) were subjected to cross tabulation and chi square procedures. The Chi-square test is appropriate for categorical date (Toothaker, 1986) and although often used for data that fall into one of two categories, it can be extended to multiple categories (Howell, 1987). The Chi-square test is used to determine if statistically significant differences exist between expected frequencies, given the null hypothesis, and observed frequencies (Vogt, 1999).

Finally, this study seeks to examine the relationship between response strategy and communication satisfaction by asking research

question four: *What is the relationship between the communication response strategy and reported communication satisfaction with the encounter?* Respondents answered the question, "Were you satisfied with what you said or did?" and completed the 16-item measure of Communication Satisfaction (Hecht, 1978). The measure of communication satisfaction was unreliable for this population, so rather than an analysis of variance, chi square procedures were conducted on response and satisfaction reported in the qualitative data to answer this question.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter provides the results of the statistical tests outlined in the previous chapter. Thus, this section addresses the following issues: the types and frequencies of racist messages; the types and frequencies of responses to racist messages; the relationship of racist message type to response message type; and the relationship of response to communication satisfaction.

Of the 102 respondents reporting an ethnicity other than or in addition to white, six percent (N= 6) indicate that they have not experienced racism. Of the respondents reporting experiences with racism, forty-five percent (N = 46) report that they did not know the person who communicated the racism and forty-nine percent (N = 50) report knowing the person who communicated the racism.

Item number one on the survey asked the respondent to describe her/his relationship with the person who communicated the racism. Twenty-one percent of the respondents describe the person who communicated the racism as an acquaintance (N = 21), while nineteen percent (N = 19) report the person who communicated the racism as a stranger. Fourteen percent of the respondents (N = 14) report an experience with racism as occurring in a work

context. Another fourteen percent (N = 14) report experiencing racism in a clerk/customer context. Nine percent (N = 9) of the respondents report that it was a friend who communicated the racism. Six percent (N = 6) report experiencing racism in a professional environment. Three percent (N = 3) report that a family member had communicated the racism. (See Figure 1.) Coders were unable to determine the intent of the respondent in six percent of the cases, selecting cannot code (N = 6). Four respondents (N = 4) provided no response to the relationship question. (See Table 1.)

Figure 1

Frequency of Respondents' Relationship to Person Communicating Racism

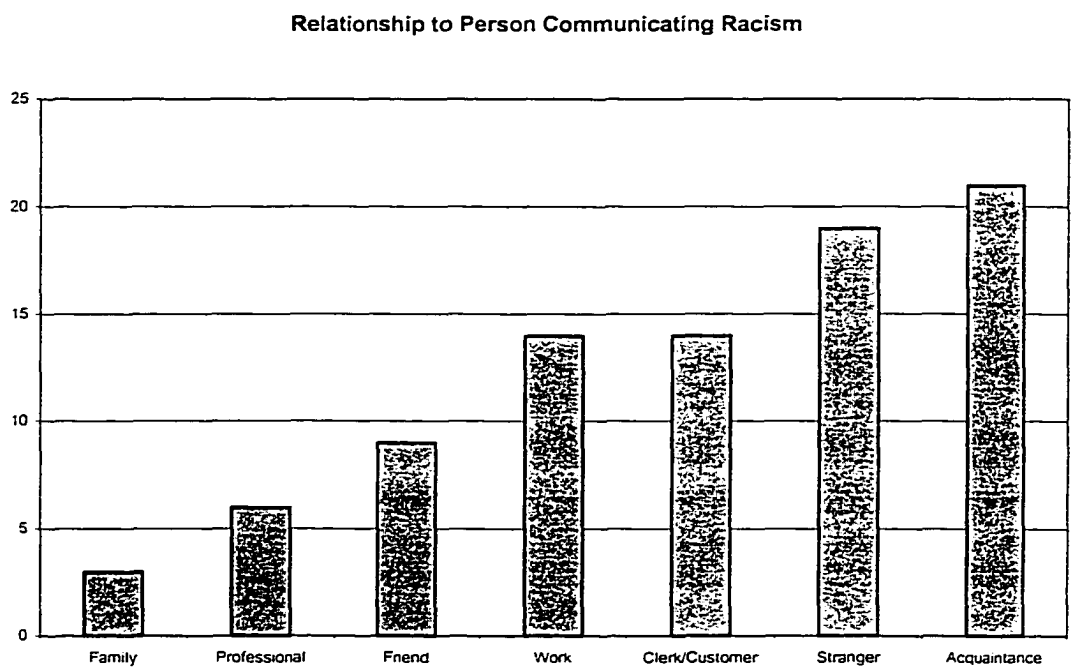


Table 1

Frequency of Respondents' Relationship to Person Communicating Racism

Relationship	Frequency	Percentage
Acquaintance	21	20.6
Stranger	19	18.6
Clerk/Customer Transaction	14	18.6
Work relationship	14	13.7
Friend	9	8.8
Professional relationship	6	5.9
Family	3	2.9
Other (identify/explain)	0	0.0
Cannot code	6	5.9
No response recorded	4	3.9
Report not experiencing	6	5.9

Chi square tests reveal no significant relationship between type of relationship and the ethnicity of the receiver of the racist message. Chi square tests done on type of relationship and type of racist message reveal a statistically significant result when categories are collapsed, χ^2 (2, N = 92) = 8.89, $p < .05$. Categories for the analysis of relationship are *close*, which includes family and friends, *moderate*, which includes acquaintance, work relationships, and professional relationships, and *distant*, which includes

clerk/customer and stranger relationships. Categories for the analysis of racism are *low complexity*, which includes aversive and ethnocentric racism, and *high complexity*, which includes symbolic and biological racism. (See Table 2.) When collapsing response categories into *low concern for relationship* and *high concern for relationship*, and collapsing relationship into *close, moderate,* and *distant,* chi square tests indicate that response is independent of relationship. Chi square tests reveal no relationship between type of racism and type of response when controlling for relationship.

Table 2

Chi-Square Test on Type of Relationship and Type of Racism

		Relationship with Person who Communicated Racism			
		Close	Moderate	Distant	Total
Type of Racism	Low		20	14	34
	High	11	21	17	49
Total		11	41	31	83

Types of Racist Messages

The first research question asked, *What kinds of racist messages do ethnic Americans report experiencing?* Each of the four types of racism,

aversive, ethnocentric, symbolic, and biological, suggested by the coding scheme is reported. (See Table 3 for types and examples.) Nine percent (N = 9) of the respondents describe experiences with the least complex form of racism, aversive racism. Symbolic racism, the third layer of racism on the Guttman scale, constitutes ten percent (N = 10) of the reported experiences with racism. Ethnocentric racism is the second most commonly described form of experience with racism, with twenty nine percent of the respondents (N = 29) describing ethnocentric racist experiences. The most complex form of racism, the highest on the Guttman scale, is the most frequently reported type of racism, biological (N= 43), at forty two percent. (See Figure 2.) Coders were unable to code four percent of the responses (N = 4) and one respondent did not provide a description of the racist message, saying, "I would rather not repeat his unpleasant remarks." (See Table 4.)

Table 3

Examples of Types of Racist Messages

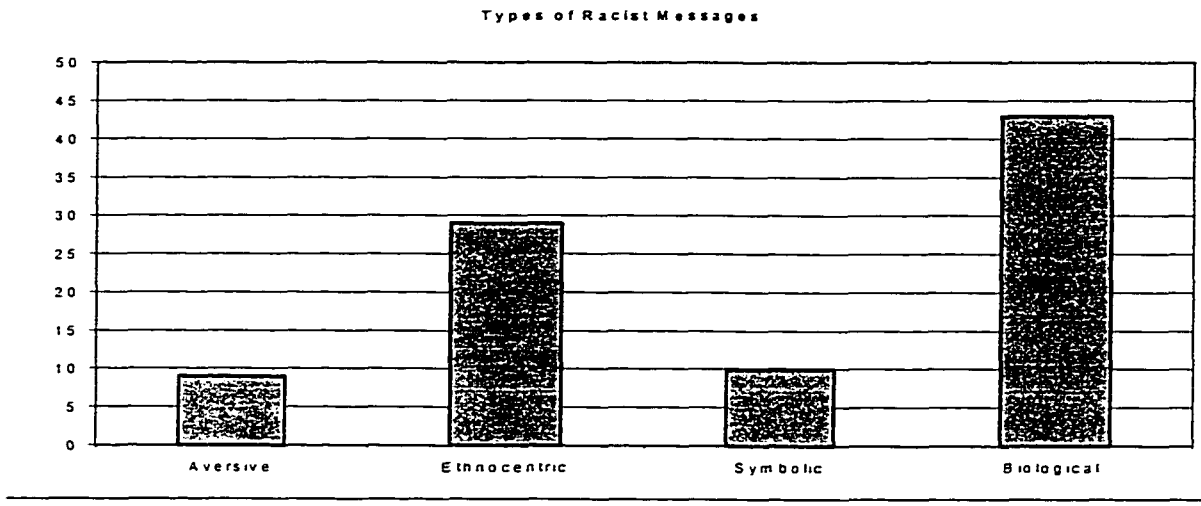
Racism	Example(s)	Frequency (%)
Biological	"You should go back to your country"	42.2
	"He spit in my face and called me a nigger"	
	"You're only ½ bad because you're a ½ breed."	

Table 3 Continued

Racism	Example(s)	Frequency (%)
Ethnocentric	". . . the president of an Arab country would not recognize a computer if he saw one."	28.4
	"I was followed around the store. I was asked if I needed help over five times while no one else was questioned."	
Symbolic	[my husband] "was contributing to the spread of AIDS by marrying out of his culture	10
	"Changed my grade so that I couldn't get an award that was due me."	
Aversive	"His son dropped his drink and my sister caught it before it hit the floor. He stated she had ruined the drink because she touched it."	8.8
	"Don't touch nothing I touch because black people have bugs."	

Figure 2

Frequency of Types of Racist Messages



In examining the relationship between type of racist message and the attribute variables of gender and age, chi square tests show no significant difference in experiencing type of racism for either age, χ^2 (9, N = 92) = 3,93, or gender, χ^2(3, N = 92) = 3.56. Chi square tests examining the relationship between type of racist message and ethnicity result in a statistic with an unacceptable number of cells (79.2%) showing an expected count less than five.

Table 4

Frequency of Types of Racist Messages

Racism	Frequency	Percentage
Aversive racism	9	8.8
Ethnocentric racism	29	28.4
Symbolic racism	10	9.8
Biological racism	43	42.2
Cannot code response	4	3.9
No message reported	1	1.0
Report not experiencing	6	5.9

Types of Response to Racist Messages

The second research question asked, *What communication strategies do ethnic Americans use to respond to racist messages?* (See Table 5 for types and examples.) The most common response reported to racist messages is confrontation (N = 40). The second most common response, avoidance, is reported by one third of the respondents (N = 34). Ten percent of the respondents (N = 10) report an accommodational response to the racist message. Five percent of the respondents (N = 5) report using an appeal to other(s) in response to the racist communication. Three percent (N = 3) report a

collaborative response. (See Figure 3.) Unable to discern the intent of four respondents, coders selected the option, cannot code, for four percent of the responses in this category. (See Table 6.)

Table 5

Examples of Types of Response to Racist Messages

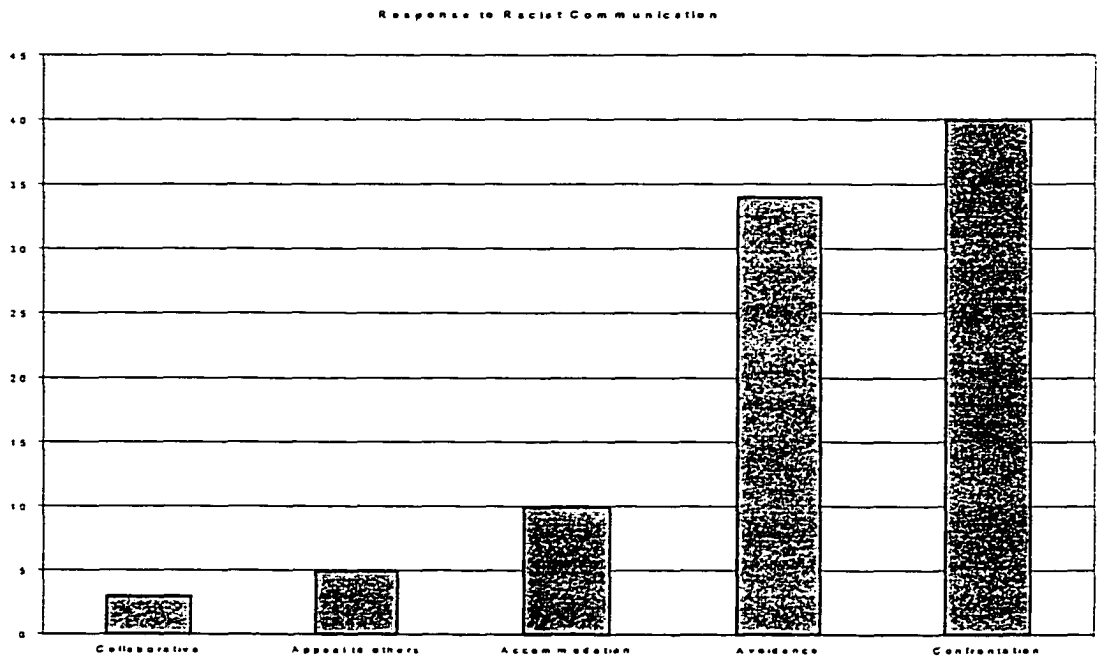
Racism	Example(s)	Frequency (%)
Confrontation	"I told him it wasn't true and that he wouldn't want people to say that about him."	40
	"That since she is white her people are not from here, either, and that she is European."	
Avoidance	"I did not respond, I ignored him even though it irked me."	34
	"I walked away."	
	"I left all the items I was going to buy on a rack and left."	
Accommodative	"I told her I was here legally, that I was Venezuelan and I thanked her for her comment on [my] hard work."	10
	"I had to agree with this person or else I would be hurt."	
Appeal to other	"I said nothing because my dad was doing all the hollering."	5

Table 5 Continued

Racism	Example(s)	Frequency (%)
	"I contacted the HR department and learned my rights."	
Collaborative	"I talked to him and explained that everyone no matter what gender or color they are, all make idiotic [decisions] and mistakes throughout their lives."	3

Figure 3

Frequency of Response Type



In examining the relationship between type of response strategy and the attribute variables of gender, age, and ethnicity, chi square tests result in statistics with an unacceptable number of cells showing an expected count of less than five. Cells with expected counts of less than five are 50% for gender, 75% for age, and 80% for ethnicity. When collapsing response categories, chi square tests reveal that gender is independent of type of response, χ^2 (1, N = 92) = .17. When collapsing response categories, chi square tests on age and response result in a test statistic that continues to have an unacceptable number of cells, 50%, with expected counts of less than five. When collapsing response categories, chi square tests reveal that ethnicity is unrelated to response type, χ^2 (5, N = 92) = 6.20.

Table 6

Frequency of Responses to Racism

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Confrontation	40	40
Avoidance	34	34
Accommodation	10	10
Appeal to other	5	5
Collaborative	3	3
Cannot code response	4	4
Report not experiencing	6	6

Relationship of response strategy to message type

The third research question asked, *What is the relationship of response strategy to racist message type?* Results of the initial chi square yield a statistic with an unacceptable number of cells (80%) showing an expected count less than five. Subsequent analyses using chi square tests and collapsing categories of racism and response reveal that response strategy is independent of message type, χ^2 (1 N = 92) = .14 with one degree of freedom. When collapsing categories and controlling for relationship, chi square tests continue to reveal that response strategy is independent of message type.

Relationship of response strategy to communication satisfaction

The fourth research question asked, *What is the relationship between the communication response strategy and reported communication satisfaction with the encounter?* In addition to answering the question, *Were you satisfied with what you did or said in response, if anything,* respondents completed Hecht's (1978) sixteen item measure of communication satisfaction. Previous reports of reliability (Graham, 1994) of this measure range from .97 for actual conversations to .90 for recalled conversations. The measure was not reliable in this study, however. Correlation between forms is .53; Guttman split-half reliability is .68. Therefore, this instrument is not used in the analysis of communication satisfaction. In response to the question, *Were you satisfied*

with what you did or said in response, if anything, forty-four percent of the respondents (N = 45) report being satisfied. Forty-two percent of the respondents (N = 43) report that they were not satisfied with their response. Four percent of the respondents (N = 4) did not provide a response to this question and coders were unable to code the responses of another four percent (N = 4). (See Table 7.)

Chi square tests show no relationship between type of response and satisfaction with response, χ^2 (4, N = 92) = 1.20. Within categories of response, the lack of relationship is apparent, for example of those using the second most common response, avoidance, 51.6% (N = 16) report being satisfied; and 48.4% (N = 15) report not being satisfied. This pattern repeats itself in the response category most frequently chosen, confrontation. Of those reporting a confrontation response, 48.6% (N = 18) report satisfaction and 51.4% report dissatisfaction.

Table 7

Satisfaction with response

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	45	44.1
No	43	42.2
Cannot code	4	3.9
No response recorded	4	3.9
Report not experiencing	6	5.9

When asked what kind of response would have been more satisfying, one percent of the respondents (N = 1) describe an avoidance response as more satisfying. Three percent of the respondents (N = 3) suggest that an accommodational response would have been more satisfying. Twenty-six percent of the respondents (N = 26) describe a confrontational response as more satisfying. Eight percent of the respondents (N = 8) describe a collaborative response as one that would have been more satisfying. Three percent (N = 3) of the respondents indicate that an appeal to others would have been a more satisfying response. Forty-nine percent of the respondents (N = 50) do not offer an alternative. (See Figure 4.) Coders were unable to code five percent (N = 5) of the responses. (See Table 8.)

Figure 4

Type of more satisfying response

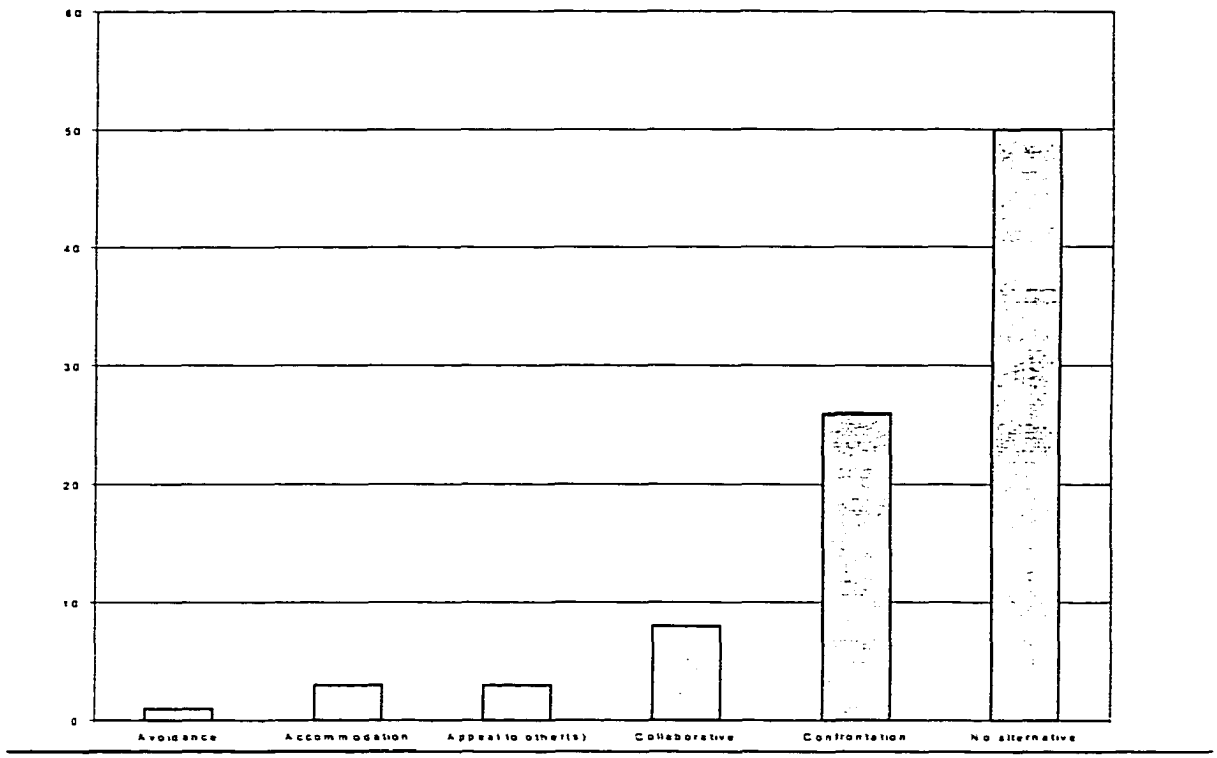


Table 8

Frequency of More Satisfying Responses

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Avoidance	1	1.0
Accommodating	3	2.9
Confrontational	26	25.5
Collaborating	8	7.8
Appeal to other(s)	3	2.9

Table 8 Continued

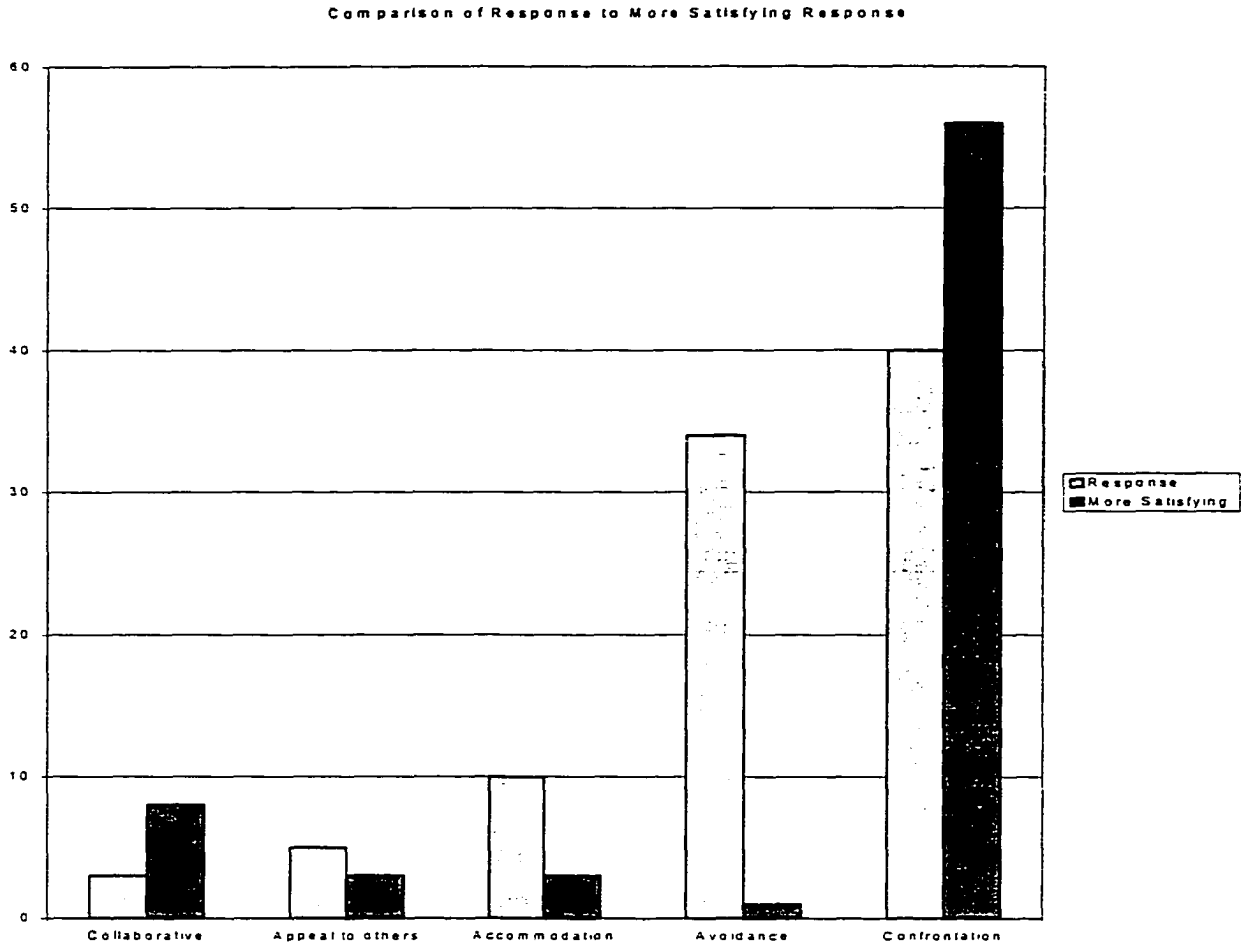
Does not offer alternative	50	49.0
Cannot code response	5	4.9
Report not experiencing	6	5.9

Of the respondents who indicated experiencing racism, eighty-six percent (N = 83) responded to both of the questions, *"Were you satisfied with what you did or said, if anything"* and *"What could you have done or said that would have been more satisfying?"* Of those respondents, forty-seven percent (N = 39) indicated that they were not satisfied with their response. Of those who indicated dissatisfaction, thirty-six percent (N = 14) were unable to offer a more satisfying alternative.

Chi square analysis of *response* to *more satisfying response* yield a statistic with an unacceptable number of cells with an expected count of less than five. However, comparisons of *response* to *more satisfying response* reveal a substantial difference in preferences. (See Figure 5.)

Figure 5

Comparison of Response to More Satisfying Response



Target of racism

Coders were asked to discern the target of the racism. In seventy percent of the reports (N = 72), the target of the racism is the respondent. In three percent of the reports (N = 3), the target of the racism is another. In twenty-one percent of the responses (N = 21), the target of the racism is unclear to the coders. (See Table 9.) Chi square analysis of the relationship between type of racist message and type of response when controlling for target of racism yields a table with an unacceptable number of cells with an expected count of less than 5. However, the patterns of racist messages and responses when controlling for target of racism are consistent with the previous patterns. The most common racist messages are biological and ethnocentric and the most common responses are avoidance and confrontation.

Table 9

Target of Racism

Target	Frequency	Percentage
Directed at writer	72	70.6
Directed at other	3	2.9
Unclear	21	20.6
Report not experiencing	6	5.9

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine types of racist messages, types of responses to racist messages, the relationship between message type and response type, and the relationship between response type and reported communication satisfaction. This chapter proceeds with a brief review and discussion of the results, the implications of these results for future research, and the limitations of this dissertation.

Review of Research Results

Of the 102 respondents reporting an ethnicity other than or in addition to white, six percent indicate that they have not experienced racism. Ninety-four percent of respondents in this study report having experienced racism. This seems to contradict the notion that racism in the United States is diminishing and supports Blauner's (1993) contention that acts of racism are

not anomalous, but are deeply woven in the social fabric as part of a systematic pattern of interactions.

One indicator of the systemic nature of racism is in the relationships reported by the respondents in this study. The responses indicate that one is unlikely to be able to predict the source of racism, as approximately half of the respondents report knowing the person who communicated the racism, and approximately half report not knowing the person who communicated the racism.

Another indicator of the systemic nature of racism is in the relationships which respondents reported experiencing racism. Twenty one percent of the respondents report racism from an acquaintance, another fourteen percent report an experience with racism as occurring in a work context, and three percent report that a family member had communicated the racism.

Nineteen percent of the respondents report the person who communicated the racism as a stranger. Sixty-six percent of the respondents who report racism from a stranger, report biological racism. Over half of all the respondents who report a racist experience with a stranger also report the use of racial epithets. Other racist messages reported in this relationship category range from aversive messages, such as "Get away from me. Don't talk to me," to ethnocentric racist messages, such as [he] "Gave me a dirty look and asked if I was Spanish," to symbolic racist

messages, for example, implying that too many minorities receive scholarships.

Fourteen percent of the respondents report experiencing racism in a clerk/customer context. The physical context of these experiences varies from a candy store to a grocery store to boutique specialty stores. These experiences are primarily ethnocentric racism. In these encounters a clerk or store manager implies that the respondent can't afford to shop in the store, can't afford to make a purchase, or is potential thief who has either stolen a credit card to make a purchase, or is going to steal merchandise. Reports of aversive racism in this context include experiences from the customer perspective in which the respondent is avoided by the clerk; and experiences from the clerk perspective, in which the respondent is told by the customer that s/he does not want the respondent's assistance, but wants the help of someone else.

Six percent of the respondents report experiencing racism in a professional environment. Of these six respondents, four reported experiencing racism in a school environment. One report was from an African-American mother whose daughter had had surgery and although the mother had informed the school administration, the administration had not informed the teacher. In a subsequent discussion, the teacher told the mother that she had assumed her daughter had simply chosen not to attend school and that she further assumed that her mother had supported her absence. One respondent reports that a teacher lowered her grades so that

she would not be able to receive a reward. In a similar vein, another student reports that an administrator suggested to him that he should not enroll in honors classes, even though he was qualified, saying, "there [are] no other Asian students" in the honors classes. These three reports of ethnocentric racism stand in contrast to a report of biological racism by a coach, who is quoted as saying to his players, "Damn you stupid, Niggers," "Fucking beaner what Mommasita didn't make tortillas for you this morning," and "Cracker boy sit your ass on over there."

Another respondent reports experiencing symbolic racism in a professional context, which happened when the respondent was driving and was stopped by a police officer. One of the issues that link these examples is the notion of institutional racism. These respondents' reports of interpersonal racist experiences of racism are simultaneously experiences with an institutional structure that is perpetrating racism.

Nine percent of the respondents report that it was a friend who communicated the racism. Three of these respondents report the use of racial epithets. Two directed at the respondent, [we were playing basketball and] "He spit in my face and called me a nigger," and [no context reported] "Chink." The third report of racial epithets in a friendship relationship was an epithet directed at someone other than the writer. Three other respondents report messages from friends that either directly say or indirectly imply that the respondent does not belong here: "I wish you'll blacks and minorities would go back to where you came from;" [to a Chinese American] "Go back

to the railroads;" and a more vaguely worded report, about "coming from Africa." Seven of the nine reports of racism in friendship relationships were reports of biological racism. Friendships may be a particularly fruitful relationship context in which to examine the notion of the salience of intergroup issues. Communication accommodation theory suggests that divergence occurs when, in this case, for example, a majority member wishes to emphasize group membership differences or to assert relational power. A closer examination of racism in friendship relationships may be informative in terms of shifts of salience from interpersonal identification to in-group identification.

The pervasiveness of experiences of types of racism within this wide spectrum of relationships seems to belie the notion that racism and prejudice are diminishing; and also seems to belie the notion that overt racism has been supplanted by a more covert, aversive racism. Chi square tests reveal no significant relationship between type of relationship and the ethnicity of the respondent, indicating that members of ethnic groups are having similar experiences with racism. Chi square tests indicate that response is independent of relationship and that racism and response are independent of relationship.

Chi square tests done on type of relationship and type of racist message reveal a statistically significant result when categories are collapsed. When collapsing relationship categories as *close*, *moderate*, *distant*; and collapsing racism categories as *low complexity* and *high*

complexity, indicate that in *close* relationship, those with family and friends, ethnic group members are more likely to experience symbolic or biological racism, than to experience aversive or ethnocentric racism. One explanation for this finding is that actors feel less social constraints in friendship and family relationships than they feel in more distant relationships.

Types of Racist Messages

The first research question asked, *What kinds of racist messages do ethnic Americans report experiencing?* Each of the four types of racism, aversive, ethnocentric, symbolic, and biological suggested by the coding scheme is reported.

Nine percent of the respondents describe experiences with aversive racism. All of the reported experiences with aversive racism are in moderate to distant relationships, including acquaintances, clerk/customer, and strangers. Experiences with aversive racism range from lack of greeting or help in a clerk customer context to interactions that express dislike, to aversive interactions that imply infection in a stranger context. Respondents cite experiences of entering a store where the clerk, "Did not greet me . . . did not help me," and experiences that are explicit expressions of dislike, " she "said that she did not like 'Latinos'. Did not know I was Latina." Two respondents described aversive racist behavior that implied infection: "He

stated she [my sister] had ruined the drink because she touched it," and "Don't touch nothing I touch because black people have bugs."

The literature on racism suggests that aversive racism, a more subtle form of racism, is more common than biological racism. Respondents do not, however, report these experiences as more common. They are, in fact, the least frequently reported experiences with racism. Experiences with aversive racism may be more common than reported in this study. One might argue that aversive racist experiences are less salient than, for example, biological racist experiences, because they are less distinct and less hurtful. These are questions that need to be examined, but these data indicate that the experience of aversive racism is no less painful than the experience of biological racism. It does indicate, however, that it is less common.

Symbolic racism constitutes ten percent of the reported experiences with racism. A number of the examples of symbolic racism are examples that imply blocking social success, such as lowering a student's grade, suggesting that a student not enroll in a honors class, suggesting that minorities get too many scholarships, firing an employee without reason, and preventing job advancement. Two of the examples have to do with police authority, one a direct experience with police and one a discussion with a co-worker about police abuse of power.

It is somewhat unsurprising to find a relatively low reporting of experiences with symbolic racism. Most of the literature discussing symbolic

racism (see van Dijk, 1987, for example) describes symbolic racist discourse as discourse between majority members, who first deny racism, and then use symbolic racism to solidify in-group solidarity. Symbolic racism may also be experienced primarily institutionally and may be difficult to tap experientially.

Ethnocentric racism is the second most commonly reported racism, with twenty nine percent of the respondents describing ethnocentric racist experiences. A number of the ethnocentric racism experiences refer to messages in a work context that directly state or imply that an ethnic group member is incapable of performing a job well. Another respondent describes a classroom experience that implies incapability, during a small group discussion, the discussion leader, " . . . thought that Japanese can't speak English, so she skipped my turn."

Other experiences with ethnocentric racism involve the communication of stereotypes, or convergence to stereotypes, such as the report of one Latino about a job interview experience, where the interviewer, "Upon introduction, recognized my Hispanic name, and responded with a very stereotypic, "Hey Vato" kind of thing, complete with the "Mexican Voice" and the appropriate body language."

It is somewhat unsurprising to find ethnocentric racism to be prevalent, constituting approximately thirty percent of the reported experiences. Ethnocentric racism is primarily about differences, although the notion of differences implies that out-groups should adapt to the in-group.

The majority group generally does not perceive these messages as racist, so there are somewhat limited social constraints within the group about expressing these feelings.

The most frequently reported type of racism is biological, reported by forty two percent of the respondents. This is somewhat surprising and may be an artifact of the coding process in two ways. First, coders were instructed to code any messages containing racial epithets as biological racism. Second, coders were instructed to code only one message type for each respondent and to code the most complex form of racism expressed in the message. Both of these issues having been identified, a review of the current literature on modern racism, or neo-racism, suggests that biological racism is not prevalent. This study suggests that biological racism is prevalent.

Twenty-four of the respondents report racial epithets. This accounts for fifty-seven percent of the reports of biological racism. Racial epithets are described in the literature as dehumanizing messages, which have been shown to have physical effect on those toward whom it is directed (Calver, 1997). Therefore, they are coded as biological racism in this study. Racial epithets are perhaps the most divergent forms of communication, increasing not only interpersonal distance, but emphasizing intergroup power differences as well. There are obvious social constraints on the use of racial epithets, yet twenty-five percent of the respondents report experiencing them. Once again, the results of this study belie the notion that the nature

and expression of racism has changed. Further, there appears to be no pattern to the experience of biological racism.

Chi square tests show no significant difference in experiencing type of racism for either age, or gender. Chi square tests examining the relationship between type of racist message and ethnicity result in a statistic with an unacceptable number of cells (79.2%) showing an expected count less than five. However, a review of the distribution of biological racist messages shows that percentages for racist biological messages range from a low of thirty six percent for Hispanics to a high of seventy-one percent for American Indians/Alaska Native respondents. Experiences with biological racism for respondents reporting multiple ethnicities is fifty-seven percent.

Responses to Racist Messages

The second research question asked, *What communication strategies do ethnic Americans use to respond to racist messages?* The two most commonly reported responses to racist messages comprise seventy-four percent of the total reported responses. This may be unsurprising given the nature of these first two responses, confrontation and avoidance.

Ohbuchi and Chiba (1996) describe one dimension of conflict in terms of confrontation-avoidance. The authors suggest that responses along this dimension are not directed at argument, but rather are reflective of emotional response. These authors suggest that choices along the confrontation-

avoidance dimension indicate the degree of control over expressing negative emotions, or willingness to express negative emotions, rather than the degree problem-orientation.

The most commonly reported response to racist messages is confrontation, at forty-percent. It is, perhaps, unsurprising, that divergent responses, such as confrontation are found in response to divergent messages. Examples of confrontational messages appear with each type of racism and in each type of relationship. For example, one respondent, replying to biological racism from her grandmother directed at her fiancé said, "He has been my best friend for ten years. I do not acknowledge the color of his skin with stereotypes." Another respondent, replying to ethnocentric racism from an acquaintance said, "That was some of the stupidest crap I have ever heard." Another respondent replying to biological racism from a friend says, "I said I couldn't stay with a person who held diametrical beliefs to my own. I wanted an apology for his statements." Yet another respondent, replies to aversive racism from an acquaintance by saying, "(Fuck you) I was only fourteen years old."

Confrontation suggests the willingness to express negative emotions. In addition, from another perspective, the expression of confrontation is also an expression of low commitment to the relationship. Kilman and Thomas (1977) suggest that confrontation may be an appropriate strategy choice when the actor feels the need to protect the self from others.

The second most common response, avoidance, is reported by one third of the respondents. Although avoidance and confrontation appear, on the surface, to have little in common, the authors cited above suggest this is not the case. As with confrontation, the choice of an avoidance strategy indicates the degree to which an actor is willing to express negative emotion. In addition, as with confrontation, avoidance expresses a relatively low commitment to the relationship. In addition, avoidance, a non-accommodative response, may be explained as a maintenance response, or a response that shows low solidarity with the other. There are no examples of avoidance in close relationships of family and friend, or in professional relationships. The majority of avoidance responses, sixty-four percent, are in the distant relationships of clerk/customer and stranger. This is unsurprising since avoidance responses show low commitment to the relationship. It is also unsurprising in that uncertainty is high in these relationships, so it follows that an actor would be reluctant to express negative emotions.

Examples of avoidance include, responding to a stranger expressing a biological racist message, "I always ignored the comments. But felt very distressed. I would talk to other people about what happened." Another respondent, replying to an ethnocentric racist message in the workplace says, "I pretended I did not notice – I simply did not acknowledge the gesture." When asked what she did in response to aversive racism in a clerk/customer relationship, one respondent says, "Nothing. I walked away from the counter."

Kilman and Thomas suggest that avoidance may be an appropriate strategy choice when the actor perceives no chance of satisfying her own concerns, when the actor has low power, or when the actor is frustrated by something that would be difficult to change. All of these conditions may be present during an experience with racism.

Thirteen percent of the respondents use either an accommodational or collaborative response to racism. Both of these responses show a relatively high concern for the relationship, unsurprisingly, neither one is associated with a stranger relationship. There are no accommodational responses associated with family, but they are associated with friends, acquaintances, work and professional relationships. Collaborative responses are associated only with family and acquaintance.

Five percent of the respondents report using an appeal to other(s) in response to the racist communication. Much like an avoidance response, this strategy does not involve direct interaction with the person who communicated the racism.

The data yield no discernable relationships among response strategies. Chi square tests using collapsed categories for response strategies reveal that gender is independent of type of response, with a chi square test statistic of .17 with 1 degree of freedom. When collapsing response categories, chi square tests reveal that ethnicity is unrelated to response type with chi square tests resulting in a statistic of 6.20 with five degrees of freedom.

Relationship of Responses to Racist Messages

The third research question asked, *What is the relationship of response strategy to racist message type?* Results of the initial chi square yield a statistic with an unacceptable number of cells (80%) showing an expected count less than five. Subsequent analyses using chi square tests and collapsing categories of racism and response, reveal that response strategy is independent of message type, resulting in a chi square statistic of .14 with one degree of freedom. When collapsing categories and controlling for relationship, chi square tests continue to reveal that response strategy is independent of message type.

Theorists of symbolic racism, or modern racism, generally believe that symbolic racism is different than traditional racism, that there is a correlated, but distinct set of beliefs associated with modern racism. Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) operationalize forms of racism in order to test them empirically. They argue that they are separate forms of racism that exist along a continuum. In other words, the four types of racism, aversive, ethnocentric, symbolic, and biological, measure one underlying ethnic attitude dimension, which is also cumulative. It may be that message recipients are tapping into the underlying attitude dimension, rather than into the content message. Ethnic group members who experience racist messages may be responding to the relationship dimension of the message,

rather than to the content dimension. This notion is supported by the types of response most frequently seen to each of the different types of racism. The most common response to racism across all categories is confrontational. In addition, confrontation is the most common response within categories of racism. The most common response to racism, whether it is aversive, ethnocentric, symbolic, or biological, is confrontation. The second most common response across categories is avoidance. This is also true within three of the four categories, aversive, ethnocentric, and biological. Ohbuchi and Chiba (1996) suggest that confrontation and avoidance represent a dimension of conflict in terms of willingness to express negative emotion. If that is the case, these responses make sense within that framework, if respondents are tapping into the underlying dimension of ethnic attitude, rather than into the content dimension of the message.

Relationship of Response to Satisfaction

The fourth research question asked, *What is the relationship between the communication response strategy and reported communication satisfaction with the encounter?* In addition to answering the question, *Were you satisfied with what you did or said in response, if anything,* respondents completed Hecht's (1978) sixteen-item measure of communication satisfaction. While previous reports of reliability (Graham, 1994) of this measure range from .90 to 97, the measure was not reliable in this study.

Correlation between forms is .53; Guttman split-half reliability is .68. Therefore, this instrument was not used in the analysis of communication satisfaction.

It may be that since respondents were recalling extremely dissatisfying encounters with racism, that the questions on the satisfaction measure seemed incongruent. Only thirty-five percent of the items are worded negatively, so the survey may appear to readers to ask about positive communication encounters. Perhaps if the proportions of positively to negatively worded questions were inverted, the measure would have been reliable for this sample responding to this survey about dissatisfying communication. Another issue, suggested by Hecht (1978), is that the measure of satisfaction was developed and tested among Caucasian, Midwestern college students and its reliability and validity are undetermined for populations that may systematically differ from that population, as is the case in this study.

In response to the question, *Were you satisfied with what you did or said in response, if anything,* forty four percent of the respondents report being satisfied. Forty two percent of the respondents report that they were not satisfied with their response. Chi square tests show no relationship between type of response and satisfaction with response. Within categories of response, the lack of relationship is also apparent. Of those reporting a confrontation response, 48.6% report satisfaction and 51.4% report dissatisfaction. A similar pattern emerges with those choosing an avoiding

response, where 51.6% report being satisfied; and 48.4% report not being satisfied.

The lack of relationship between response and satisfaction may be that the notion of satisfaction taps into the relational dimension of a communication encounter. This, in fact, is Hecht's (1978) intent in developing an instrument to measure satisfaction. Hecht maintains that interpersonal satisfaction is one of the discriminators of relationship development. In contrast to attempts to satisfy relational concerns, the choice of avoiding and confronting strategies imply a lack of concern for relational issues.

One contributing factor to the apparent independence of response to satisfaction may be within the survey itself. The survey simply asked respondents to recall a time when they had experienced racism. Respondents recalled a wide variety of social and relational contexts to describe their experiences with racism. It may be possible to discern a pattern of response within contextual constraints. For example, confrontational responses to symbolic racism in the workplace may be associated with satisfaction, whereas responses to symbolic racism within other contexts, such as encounters with the police, may not lend themselves to choices such as confrontation or collaboration, or in fact, to satisfaction.

Implications for further research

While this study does not yield significant results in terms of the relationship of racist messages to responses, it does raise several issues that merit further examination.

Previous studies (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, for example) suggest that approximately half of the majority population hold non-racist beliefs, yet in this study, ninety-four percent of the respondents report experiencing racism. If, indeed, majority members hold primarily aversive or ethnocentric racist attitudes, and even those in small number, then there are implications for interethnic communication training, to help prevent the inadvertent communication of attitudes that majority group members do not hold. Another area where there are implications for communication training may be indicated in this study in two ways. First, respondents show a relatively limited range of actual responses to racism; and show an even more limited range of alternative responses, even when the actual response is not satisfying.

As reported in previous studies, majority members may hold a number of different racist views, but this study suggests that minority members respond to the one underlying dimension. Prior studies have constructed racism scales of attitude dimensions based on white populations. It may be informative to construct racism scales based on behavioral dimensions experienced within the minority population.

Other issues arise in terms of contexts for the study of the interpersonal communication of racism. Social contexts, for example, may

be relevant to understanding the issues involved in communicating racism. The experience of racism in friendship contexts or work or professional contexts may yield important insights that were not revealed in this study across social contexts.

Another issue in terms of studying the communication of racism is the age of the population. While the relatively young age of respondents in this study indicates that racism is a current social experience, the youth of the respondents may be a limiting factor in the type of racism experienced.

The pervasiveness of the experience of racism in this study indicates that the intersection of interpersonal communication and racism is one that continues to want examination.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is identified above, and that is the broad context in which the communication of racism is examined. While the unstructured nature of the questionnaire provides some rich detail of experience, there was also a substantial variation in the amount of detail recalled. In addition, the relatively unstructured nature of the questionnaire contributes to the broad range of contexts reported. This broad range of contexts may have played a role in revealing an apparent lack of relationship between racist message and response.

Another limitation in the structure of the survey is that it asks respondents to recall a racist experience. Recalled experience is limited in terms of its reflection of actual events. This may have led to an inordinate amount of recall in terms of biological racism, which may have been more salient than other types of racism the respondents have experienced. The large proportion of reported experiences with biological racism may also have been effected by the instructions to code only the most complex form of racism in any given message. Nevertheless, this study tells us that respondents experience biological racism, but it is not informative in terms of the proportion of experience of biological racism.

Another limitation of this study is its focus on the receiver of the racist message, and the message, but not on the sender or the interaction.

Conclusion

While it is important to understand the limitations of the present study, it does contribute to our understanding of the processes of the interpersonal communication of racism. Previous studies claim that biological racist attitudes are declining; yet this study may indicate that this is not the case. It calls for a reexamination of attitudes of the majority group and perceptions of experience from the minority perspective. Most studies of racism have been done from the perspective of the majority group, that is, the focus has been primarily on attitudes held toward minorities. The contribution of this study is

that it examines the experience of racism from the perspective of the recipient. It is necessary to further examine the experience of racism from the co-cultural perspective in order to understand the intersection of race and social power.

In addition, this study extends the notion of communication accommodation theory in that it examines specifically racist messages, which represent one of the most divergent message types. This intersection of race and social power may provide new theoretical insights into accommodation and divergence.

This study also provides insight into the responses that minority members use to racist communication and suggests that response options are somewhat limited, either by the relational context, or perhaps by cultural or communication constraints. In any case, it suggests that communication training might be beneficial for those who are recipients of racist messages. It also suggests that there are fruitful opportunities for interethnic training for the white majority, most of who believe they hold non-racist attitudes, but hold dissimilar notions about racist experiences than ethnic members.

The need to understand the processes involved in the communication of prejudice based in ethnic and race differences become ever more compelling, as national and cultural boundaries become more fluid. The data produced in this study provide for a step forward in the understanding of the interpersonal communication of racism and its responses.

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APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form

Research conducted under the auspices of the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus

This study, entitled, *The Interpersonal Communication of Racism: Response Strategies*, is being conducted by Barbara Harville. It is being conducted under the auspices of the University of Oklahoma – Norman Campus.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may choose not to participate, without penalty, at any time during the survey. All of your answers will be confidential.

It should take less than 15 minutes to complete this survey.

The purpose of this research is to examine types of racist messages and the way people respond to them. The study asks you to answer a series of open-ended questions and to fill out a short survey about your feelings about the racist encounter.

Answering these questions may make you feel uncomfortable since the survey asks you to recall an incident in which you experienced racism.

It is hoped that this research will provide knowledge for improving effectiveness and satisfaction when responding to racism.

Your answers will be confidential.

I, _____, agree to participate in this research.
(signature)

If you have questions about the research or your participation you may contact Barbara Harville, University of Alaska Anchorage, 3211 Providence Dr, Anchorage, AK 99508 or telephone 907-786-4396. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant you may contact the Office of Research Administration, 1000 Asp Ave, Room 314, Norman, OK 73019 or telephone 405-325-4757.

Results of the survey should be available by April, 2001.

APPENDIX B

Please recall a time when you experienced racism.

How would you describe your relationship to the person who communicated the racism?

Did you know this person before the event? _____Yes _____No

What was the original purpose of the communication?

What, specifically, did he/she do or say that was racist?

What, specifically, did you do or say in response?

Were you satisfied with what you did or said in response (if anything)?

What could you have done or said that would have been more satisfying (if anything)?

APPENDIX C

Measure of Communication Satisfaction

The purpose of the questionnaire is to help understand the interaction you have just described. On the next two pages, you will be asked to react to a number of statements. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree that each statement reflects the interaction that you just described. The *4* or *middle position* on the scale represents "undecided" or "neutral," then moving out from the center, "slight" agreement or disagreement, then "moderate," then "strong" agreement or disagreement.

1. The other person let me know that I was communicating effectively.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

2. Nothing was accomplished.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

3. I would like to have another conversation like this one.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

4. The other person genuinely wanted to get to know me.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

5. I was very dissatisfied with the conversation.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

6. I felt that during the conversation I was able to present myself as I wanted the other person to view me.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

7. I was very satisfied with the conversation.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

8. The other person expressed a lot of interest in what I had to say.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

9. I did NOT enjoy the conversation.

   Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

10. The other person did NOT provide support for what he/she was saying.

Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

11. I felt I could talk about anything with the other person.

Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

12. We each got to say what we wanted.

Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

13. I felt that we could laugh easily together.

Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

14. The conversation flowed smoothly.

Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

15. The other person frequently said things that added little to the conversation.

Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

16. We talked about something I was NOT interested in.

Agree: 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : Disagree

APPENDIX D

Please provide the following information:

Sex

_____ Male _____ Female

Age

_____ 18 – 24 _____ 25 – 34

_____ 35 – 44 _____ 45 – 55 _____ over 55

Ethnicity (select one or more of the following)

_____ American-Indian or Alaska Native

_____ Asian-American

_____ Black or African-American

_____ Hispanic or Latino

_____ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

_____ White

_____ Other (please identify) _____

Educational level

_____ Freshman _____ Sophomore _____ Junior _____ Senior

CODE BOOK

_____ **Record the Identification # at the top of the response sheet**
Example: **O01 or A 22 or F47**

ITEM 1

1. **Family** is someone the writer identifies with a family relationship term, such as grandmother, father, sister, cousin, etc.

2. **Friend** is a relationship the writer describes as "friendship"; as someone s/he knows well; or otherwise indicates relational closeness

3. **Acquaintance** is a relationship that the writer describes as "acquaintance" or as a "friend of a friend" or other person in a social situation that the writer does not know well

4. **Work relationship** is a relationship within the workplace, such as coworker, employee or supervisor

5. **Professional relationship** writer or other is a teacher, physician, attorney, pastor, etc.

6. **Clerk/Customer Transaction** is an interaction where the writer or other is a salesperson, agent, or customer

7. **Stranger** is a person that the writer describes as a "stranger" or identifies as never having met

8. **Other** use this when the writer reports a relationship that does not fit in the category scheme – indicate what writer has written

9. **Cannot code** use this when you cannot identify/explain what the writer has said

10. **No response recorded** use this when this space is empty or does not identify a relationship

ITEM 2

Person known to writer?

1. **Yes** use if writer replies "yes" or other wise indicates "Yes".
2. **No** use if writer replies "no" or otherwise indicates "No".
3. **Cannot code** use if you cannot discern the writer's intent.
4. **No response recorded** use if writer did not answer this item.

ITEM 3

1. **Personal/Social** writer is interacting with friends, acquaintances, or family; or is interacting with supervisor, coworker about non-work topics, or when interacting with a stranger in a social way

2. **Work** writer is interacting with supervisor, employee, coworker about work-related topics

3. **Professional** writer or other is a teacher, physician, attorney, etc. communicating about professional related issues

4. **Clerk/customer business transaction** writer is customer, clerk, or other involved in a business/money transaction

5. **Stranger Interaction** use when there it is an interaction with a stranger, but was not a social/friendly interaction

6. **Other** use this when the writer reports an interaction that does not fit in the category scheme – indicate what writer has written

7. **Cannot code** use this when you cannot identify/explain what the writer has said

8. **No response recorded** use this when this space is empty or does not identify a purpose

ITEM 4

Coding directions

The four types of racism measure aspects of a single *underlying ethnic attitude dimension*, which also is *cumulative* . . . In other words, a biological racist also incorporates symbolic, ethnocentric, and aversive racist beliefs."

Therefore, **code responses by strongest dimension recorded**

1. **Aversive Racism**

Aversive racism "expresses itself in a reluctance on the part of white people to engage in any kind of intimacy with ethnic people and in the rejection of contact with ethnic groups"

An **aversive racist message** is one that indicates

That the person is uncomfortable being with or communicating with someone who is not part of his/her group:
Example: "I wouldn't know what to talk to a black person about."

Reluctance to communicate or interact with others:
Example: "I don't have anything against Japanese people, I would just rather not work with them."

Rejection of contact:
Example: Someone who doesn't go to a certain club or restaurant because there are Native people there.

Rejection of intimacy with members of different groups:
Example: Someone who doesn't want to see a movie because it is about Mexicans. (This person is indicating that they don't want to know "those people".)

Aversive racism does **not** express itself through **racial epithets** or through **violence.**

ITEM 4 Continues on the next three pages

ITEM 4 Continued

2. **Ethnocentric Racism**

Is the "view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to that group," it is the "differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroups, and the demand . . . that outgroups must adjust to the cultural standard and the norm and value system of the ingroup"

Ethnocentric messages differentiate based on group membership. Either you are like me, or you are not like me. You **should** be like me. Because **I'm better than you.**

Ethnocentric messages indicate that

Ethnic groups should adapt their standards, norms and values to reflect the main group:
Example: If they want to live in this country, let them learn to speak English."

One's own group is the center of everything and that others rated in terms of goodness or badness depending on how close they come to being like one's own group.
Examples: "She just won't fit in. She's not like us." "Can you believe how dirty they are?" "They don't care about education or getting a job."

White people behave better than ethnic minorities:
Example: "You can always tell when there are Puerto Ricans around – there's a fight." "It's always the Vietnamese who try to steal from my store."

People who are white are more valuable than people who are not white:
Example: "Well, people who live in that neighborhood are going to get shot."

ITEM 4 Continues on the next two pages

ITEM 4 Continued

3. **Symbolic Racism**

Symbolic racism is "a mixture of antiblack feeling and the adherence to cherished American moral values such as hard work, individualism, and delayed gratification"

Symbolic racism messages suggest that ethnic minorities should not have the same political and social rights.

Symbolic racism messages indicate that

Ethnic minorities threaten the American way of life:
Example: "They will take our jobs if we don't stop them."

America must be protected against foreign/ethnic invasion:
Example: "We can't let everyone in the world into this country."

Minorities have too many rights or more rights than they deserve:
Example: "But now they've got more rights than we do."

The different cultures in the United States are a threat to American culture:
Example: "All these people with different values are going to ruin America."

Symbolic racism messages

Work to cut ethnic people off from social power:
Example: Abuse of police or other institutional power.

Work to cut ethnic people off from economic well being:
Example: Discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.

Symbolic racism messages also include messages **against affirmative action.**

ITEM 4 Continues on the next page

ITEM 4 Continued

4. **Biological Racism**

Biological racism has two components:

A belief in the innate quality of interethnic differences – races are **born different**
A belief in the **superiority of one's own race**

Biological racism messages includes messages that indicate that

Ethnic minorities have no right to be here:
Example: "Why don't you go back where you came from?"

Ethnic groups are less intelligent:
Examples: "They just aren't that smart." "The only thing they're good for is ..."

Differences between ethnic groups are innate:
Example: "They are born criminals."

Intermarriage hurts society:
Examples: "People should stick to their own kind." "Blacks and white shouldn't date." "I have a lot of Korean friends, but I wouldn't marry one."

Ethnic groups should live in different neighborhoods or otherwise be physically separated:
Example: "If they've got to be in this country, they should keep to themselves."

Racial epithets also indicate **biological racism** because they dehumanize others: using terms such as chink, nigger, spic, and honky, which are examples of racial epithets.

5. **Cannot code response** use this when you cannot categorize the message type

6. **No message reported** use this when this when there is no racist message recorded

ITEM 5

1. **Avoidance Responses**: The **writer does not act to protect or defend the self**, or to challenge the other. There is **relatively little communication action** in an avoidance response. Writer **ignores** what has happened / **doesn't respond** to it at all:
   Examples: "I just left." "I didn't say anything."

2. **Accommodating Responses**: The writer **shows concern for the other person**, but **shows relatively little concern for self**. The writer may focus on **not embarrassing the other**, or on **politeness**, or on **agreement**. An accommodating response is one that **attempts to "save face"** for the other. Writer **sooths** or **adapts** or **harmonizes**; or tries to **minimize the message**:
   Examples: "Everyone has a right to their own opinion." "I tried not to make a big deal out of it."

3. **Confrontational Response:** The writer shows **concern for self,** but shows **relatively little concern for the other.** The writer may indicate or imply that the **other is wrong**, or that the writer **does not like what the other has done or said. The writer sends a relational message that indicates the other is wrong, or the other must defend or explain her/himself.** Confrontational messages **are often direct,** but may also **be indirect. If it appears that the writer's purpose is to "be right", the message is probably confrontational. Writer confronts other, challenges, accuses, or tries to "out-do" the other; tells the other what to do:**
   Examples: "What do you mean by that?" "You're an idiot." "Don't say things like that."

4. **Collaborating Response:** The writer shows **concern for self and concern for other.** The writer may try to **open up the other's perspective, to share information. The writer attempts to share an understanding of the self and the other.** Rather than imply that the other is wrong, **the writer implies that each will understand the other more fully with more information. Writer teaches or informs other, focuses on issues, not on the goodness or badness of the person:**
   Examples: "I explained to him that people in my country are similar to Americans in many ways."

5. **Appeal to other(s): Writer asks another to intervene, or allows another to intervene. Writer does not take direct action against the person who communicated the racism, but seeks or allows another's help.**

6. **Cannot code response** use this when you cannot categorize the message type

7. **No response reported** use this when this when there is no message recorded

ITEM 6

1. **Yes** use this response if the writer says "yes" or otherwise indicates that he/she was satisfied

2. **No** use this response if the writer says "no" or otherwise indicates that s/he was not satisfied

3. **Cannot code** use this when you cannot identify/explain what the writer means; or when the writer indicates that s/he was both (somewhat) satisfied and (somewhat) dissatisfied

4. **No response recorded** use this when this space is blank

ITEM 7

1. **Avoidance Responses**: The **writer does not act to protect or defend the self**, or to challenge the other. There is **relatively little communication action** in an avoidance response. Writer **ignores** what has happened / **doesn't respond** to it at all:
   Examples: "I just left." "I didn't say anything."

2. **Accommodating Responses**: The writer **shows concern for the other person**, but **shows relatively little concern for self**. The writer may focus on **not embarrassing the other**, or on **politeness**, or on **agreement**. An accommodating response is one that **attempts to "save face"** for the other. Writer **sooths** or **adapts** or **harmonizes**; or tries to **minimize the message**:
   Examples: "Everyone has a right to their own opinion." "I tried not to make a big deal out of it."

3. **Confrontational Response:** The writer shows **concern for self,** but shows **relatively little concern for the other.** The writer may indicate or imply that the **other is wrong**, or that the writer **does not like what the other has done or said. The writer sends a relational message that indicates the other is wrong, or the other must defend or explain her/himself.** Confrontational messages **are often direct,** but may also **be indirect. If it appears that the writer's purpose is to "be right", the message is probably confrontational. Writer confronts other, challenges, accuses, or tries to "out-do" the other; tells the other what to do:**
   Examples: "What do you mean by that?" "You're an idiot." "Don't say things like that."

ITEM 7 Continued on next page

ITEM 7 Continued

4. **Collaborating Response:** The writer may try to **open up the other's perspective, to share information. The writer attempts to share an understanding of the self and the other.** Rather than imply that the other is wrong, **the writer implies that each will understand the other more fully with more information. Writer teaches or informs other, focuses on issues, not on the goodness or badness of the person:**
   Examples: "I explained to him that people in my country are similar to Americans in many ways."

5. **Appeal to other(s): Writer asks another to intervene, or allows another to intervene. Writer does not take direct action against the person who communicated the racism, but seeks or allows another's help.**

6. **Does not offer alternative**
   Writer indicates only that s/he was satisfied with the response; or
   Writer says there was nothing else that could have been done; or
   Writer says that s/he can't think of anything else

7. **Cannot code response** use this when you cannot categorize the message type

ITEM 8

1. **Directed at writer** use this when the racism was directed specifically and directly at the writer; at a family member; at a member of the same ethnic group

2. **Directed at other** use this when the racism was directed at someone other than the writer; other than a family member; or at a member of a different ethnic group

3. **Unclear** use this when you cannot discern the target of the racist message

ITEM 9

Writer indicates s/he has not experienced racism: Use if the writer makes this comment or if the survey is blank.

APPENDIX F

_____ **Coder's Initials** _____ **Identification # at the top of the response sheet**

ITEM 1 How would you describe your relationship to the person who communicated the racism?

1. ____ Family
2. ____ Friend
3. ____ Acquaintance
4. ____ Work relationship
5. ____ Professional relationship
6. ____ Clerk/Customer Transaction
7. ____ Stranger
8. ____ Other (identify/explain) _____
9. ____ Cannot code
10. ____ No response recorded

ITEM 2 Did you know this person before the event?

1. ____ Yes
2. ____ No
3. ____ Cannot code
4. ____ No response recorded

ITEM 3 What was the original purpose of the communication?

1. ____ Personal/Social
2. ____ Work
3. ____ Professional
4. ____ Clerk/Customer/ Business transaction
5. ____ Stranger Interaction
6. ____ Other (identify/explain) _____
7. ____ Cannot code
8. ____ No response recorded

ITEM 4 What, specifically, did he/she do or say that was racist?

1. ____ Aversive racism
2. ____ Ethnocentric racism
3. ____ Symbolic racism
4. ____ Biological racism
5. ____ Cannot code response
6. ____ No message reported

ITEM 5 What specifically, did you do or say in response?

1. ____ Avoidance
2. ____ Accommodating
3. ____ Confrontational
4. ____ Collaborating
5. ____ Appeal to other(s)
6. ____ Cannot code response
7. ____ No response recorded

ITEM 6 Were you satisfied with what you did or said in response (if anything)?

1. ____ Yes
2. ____ No
3. ____ Cannot code
4. ____ No response recorded

ITEM 7 What could you have done or said that would have been more satisfying (if anything)?

1. ____ Avoidance
2. ____ Accommodating
3. ____ Confrontational
4. ____ Collaborating
5. ____ Appeal to other(s)
6. ____ Does not offer alternative
7. ____ Cannot code response

ITEM 8 Target of racism

1. ____ Directed at writer
2. ____ Directed at other
3. ____ Unclear

ITEM 9 Writer indicates not having experienced racism

____