
On the Origins of Racial Attitudes: Correlates of Childhood Experiences

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This study explored the developmental correlates of undergraduates' current racial attitudes and two factors involved in motivation to control prejudiced reactions—concern with acting prejudiced and restraint to avoid dispute. A questionnaire assessed the frequency and nature of participants' childhood experiences with Blacks as well as perceptions of their parents' racial attitudes. Results suggest that automatically activated attitudes may be continually updated, whereas factors involved in motivation to control prejudiced reactions remain related in adulthood to earlier childhood experiences. Positive attitudes were associated only with positive interactions when they were recent (high school), whereas participants' reports of greater concern were associated with more positive interactions at all school levels and with perceptions that their parents were unprejudiced. Greater restraint was associated with delayed and infrequent contact, more negative interactions during middle school, and more parental prejudice.

Why do some people tend to behave in a discriminatory manner while others do not? Are some kinds of childhood experiences more related than others to a tendency to possess and express a prejudiced attitude in adulthood? Recent research on the attitude-to-behavior process suggests that these are complicated questions requiring an understanding of the types of childhood experiences that are related not only to adults' current attitudes but also to their motivations to control the effects of prejudiced attitudes on their behaviors. The present study therefore investigates the childhood experiences that are associated with both automatically activated racial attitudes and motivations to control prejudiced reactions.

According to the MODE model (Fazio, 1990; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999), attitudes can influence behavior through two basic processes. In a spontaneous process, an attitude may be activated automatically and directly

guide behavior (Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999). If a person's automatically activated attitude toward Blacks is positive, that person's behavior toward Blacks should be relatively positive. If the automatically activated attitude is negative, behavior will tend to reflect this negativity, unless a controlled process intervenes.

In a controlled process, relevant attitudes and information are deliberately retrieved, and their implications for a behavior or judgment are carefully considered. The MODE model suggests that for a controlled process to occur, a person must both be motivated and have the opportunity to engage in the necessary effort (Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999). When a motivated, controlled process operates, an automatically activated attitude influences the ultimate behavior less than when a purely spontaneous process occurs. Persons characterized by negative, automatically activated racial attitudes are likely to control their prejudiced reactions if they are both motivated and have the cognitive resources to do so (Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999).

"Bona Fide" Pipeline

Recent research has made it possible to assess racial attitudes without having to rely on participants' self-

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reports. A person's automatically activated attitude toward Blacks can be estimated without his or her awareness by using a priming technique referred to as the "bona fide pipeline" (Fazio et al., 1995). The procedure provides an index of the relative speed with which participants can judge the evaluative connotation of an adjective after being primed with a Black versus a White face. When participants' evaluations of the prime and the adjective are congruent, participants are able to judge the connotation of the adjective more quickly than when their evaluations of the face and adjective are mismatched. Participants' response latencies are recorded for each trial, and the effect size of the Prime (Black or White face) \times Adjective (positive or negative) interaction can then be calculated. This effect size serves as the estimate of automatically activated racial attitude.

Previous research has found that the index of automatically activated attitude obtained by this priming technique is predictive of race-related judgments and behaviors (see Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999, for a summary of the available evidence). For example, participants' attitudes were correlated with the amount of responsibility assigned to Blacks versus Whites for the riots following the Rodney King verdict and with participants' apparent levels of interest and friendliness toward a Black experimenter who was unaware of their scores (Fazio et al., 1995). Estimates of automatically activated racial attitudes derived from the bona fide pipeline also have been found to relate to judgments of the quality of an essay authored by a Black student (Jackson, 1997).

Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions

Recent research has employed the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions (MCPR) Scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997) to assess the more controlled processes potentially involved in race-related judgments and behaviors. Previous studies have shown that the 17-item scale is characterized by two stable factors: a concern with acting prejudiced and a restraint to avoid dispute (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Items that load on the concern factor include "It's important to me that other people not think I'm prejudiced" and "I get angry with myself when I have a thought or feeling that might be considered prejudiced." Items that load on the restraint to avoid dispute factor include "If I were participating in a class discussion and a Black student expressed an opinion with which I disagreed, I would be hesitant to express my own viewpoint" and "I'm not afraid to tell others what I think, even when I know they disagree with me" (reverse-coded).¹

Both the overall scores and the separate factor scores of the MCPR have been shown to moderate the expression of prejudice, for example, on the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) (McConahay, 1986) and on self-reported feelings about the "typical Black male undergraduate"

(Dunton & Fazio, 1997). When participants had negative automatically activated attitudes toward Blacks (according to the bona fide pipeline) and were less motivated to control prejudiced reactions, they expressed more prejudiced attitudes on the MRS and reported more negative feelings about the typical Black male undergraduate. However, when participants with negative attitude estimates were highly motivated to control prejudice, they expressed as little prejudice as did those with more positive attitudes (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995).

Research Questions

Automatically activated attitudes and motivation to control prejudiced reactions play important roles in determining race-related judgments and behavior. Yet, little is known about the development of automatically activated racial attitudes and motivations to control prejudiced reactions. The purpose of this study is to characterize the early experiences associated with different automatically activated attitudes and levels of motivation.

The literature exploring the relation between childhood experiences and adult prejudice is scant, although a few studies inspired by social learning theories and the contact hypothesis do implicate particular types of childhood experiences in the development of adult prejudice. Social learning theories suggest that prejudiced attitudes are learned from parents, peers, and the media. In a study of the transmission of values, Rohan and Zanna (1996) found that parents and their, now adult, children had similar value profiles. Operating on the assumption that accurate perception of parents' attitudes is necessary for the transmission of values, they also provided evidence that adult children accurately perceived their parents' values. Most relevant to the present concerns, Rohan and Zanna observed a modest correlation between parents' and their adult children's scores on a self-report measure of attitudes toward minority groups similar to the MRS.

The role of parents' attitudes in the development of children's attitudes has not been unquestioned, however. The literature has been described as "mixed" in the extent to which research supports the claim that parental attitudes are influential (Aboud & Doyle, 1996, p. 372). Similar to Rohan and Zanna (1996), Mosher and Scodel (1960) found a modest correlation between the ethnocentrism of mothers and that of their 11- to 13-year-old children. Carlson and Iovini (1985) observed a similar correlation between father and adolescent son attitudes. However, neither Katz (1976) nor Davey (1983) found significant correlations. More recently, Aboud and Doyle (1996) observed no relation between mothers' racial attitudes and those of their third-grade children.

The mixed findings may stem from stronger effects of motivation to control prejudice on the self-reported attitudes of parents than on children's self-reports. If, as Aboud and Doyle (1996) suggested, children display, with age, an "increasing ability to appreciate the differentiated attitudes expressed by their parents" (p. 373), then it may be that children gradually develop motivation to control prejudiced reactions as a function of observing their parents' motivational levels. Studies that have observed cross-generational correspondence in self-reported attitudes may have involved children who already had developed motivational concerns regarding egalitarianism, whereas those that did not may have involved children who had not yet developed these concerns.

Regardless of the reason for the mixed findings concerning parent and child attitudes, insights might be gained by distinguishing between respondents' automatically activated attitudes and their motivation to control prejudiced reactions. Accordingly, this study explored whether the perceived level of parental prejudice is related, directly or indirectly, to attitudes and/or motivation to control prejudiced reactions.

Other types of childhood experiences that have been implicated as potentially relevant to the development of racial attitudes stem from research inspired by the contact hypothesis (e.g., Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1986, 1998; Stephan, 1987). The hypothesis suggests that interracial contact may reduce prejudice provided that (a) contact is of a noncompetitive nature, (b) participants have equal status, (c) participants have ample opportunities to become personally acquainted, and (d) the contact is approved by relevant authorities. It has commonly been assumed that integrated schools, neighborhoods, and churches might provide environments in which many of the conditions specified by the contact hypothesis would be met (see Schofield, 1982, however). If this is true, it might be expected that those people who experienced greater interracial contact in schools and in the neighborhood while children would have less prejudiced attitudes as adults. On the other hand, little is known about the duration of any changes in racial attitudes resulting from contact (Stephan, 1987). Therefore, it is also possible that any changes wrought by interracial contact in childhood might dissipate by adulthood. Given that age seems to be an important factor in the development of prejudice (Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Doyle, 1996), it is also possible that contact may be more effective at reducing prejudice at some ages than at others.

A study by Wood and Sonleitner (1996) did investigate the relation between childhood interracial contact and adult racial attitudes. A randomly selected sample of adults (mean age of 46.5 years) from Oklahoma City was surveyed. The investigators obtained a rough index of

the participants' childhood contact with Blacks in schools, neighborhoods, and churches and correlated this index with a traditional measure of prejudice. They found an inverse relation between childhood interracial contact and prejudice, even after controlling for such potentially relevant factors as education, age, gender, occupational prestige, and family income. However, the index of childhood contact employed in this study made no attempt to distinguish between the potential for contact and actual contact. There was also no attempt to determine the nature of this contact, that is, its positivity or negativity, or at what specific school levels the contact occurred. Finally, as with all the studies of the relation between childhood experiences and adult prejudice, no attempt was made to distinguish between participants' automatically activated attitudes and their motivations to control prejudiced reactions. The present study addresses all these issues.

We focused on perceived parental prejudice and childhood contact experiences as correlates of current attitudes and motivation. Students who had earlier completed the MCPR and the bona fide pipeline measure were asked to report the frequency and valence of their interactions with Blacks during elementary, middle, and high school, as well as their parents' attitudes. Although such retrospective reports are obviously open to the possibility of reconstructive biases, this methodology provided a reasonable starting point for addressing the research questions of interest, especially in light of the costs involved in any longitudinal investigation.

We anticipated that automatically activated racial attitudes, concern with acting prejudiced, and restraint to avoid dispute might display differing patterns of relations with the childhood experience variables. The clearest predictions can be made for the concern and restraint variables. The concern factor has been found to correlate with scores on the MRS and with evaluations of a "typical Black male undergraduate" (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Given that these types of evaluative measures have been employed in studies illustrating benefits of positive intergroup contact (e.g., Gaertner et al., 1999; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Pettigrew, 1997), we expected to observe correlations between the positivity of interracial childhood interactions and concern scores. Similarly, perceived parental prejudice was expected to relate negatively with concern.

Our expectations regarding restraint also stem from literature on the contact hypothesis. Some studies suggest that contact may reduce prejudice through its mediating impact on intergroup anxiety, that is, the extent to which interaction with the outgroup evokes apprehension (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). The restraint factor involves monitoring oneself

in the interest of avoiding confrontation with or about Blacks and, hence, appears closely tied to intergroup anxiety. Given that increased contact is associated with reduced intergroup anxiety, we expected that greater frequency and positivity of interracial interaction during childhood would be associated with lesser apprehension about the possibility of dispute and, hence, lower current restraint. Because parental prejudice is likely to provide a basis for believing that interracial interactions may evoke discomfort and dispute, we anticipated that it would relate positively to restraint. Thus, concern and restraint were expected to display opposite patterns of relations with childhood interracial contact and parental prejudice.

Automatically activated racial attitudes were expected to vary with the positivity of interracial experiences. Attitude formation through direct experience has been shown to produce attitudes that are more accessible from memory than those formed through indirect experience (see Fazio, 1995, for a review of findings regarding determinants of attitude accessibility). Thus, the valence of one's interactions should influence the evaluation that comes to be associated with Blacks, and the direct, experiential basis for the evaluation should result in an association that is sufficiently strong for the attitude to be capable of automatic activation. Theories of prejudice that emphasize a discordance between the underlying affect associated with Blacks and the espousal of egalitarian principles (e.g., Devine, 1989; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986) imply that automatically activated racial attitudes may be associated with early childhood socialization. Although highly accessible attitudes are persistent over time (Fazio, 1995; Zanna, Fazio, & Ross, 1994), we would, however, find it surprising if automatically activated racial attitudes were not updated, at least in a gradual fashion. This reasoning suggests that the racial attitudes may come to reflect the valence of relatively recent experiences.

METHOD

Participants. Indiana University undergraduates (all White) participated for payment or partial fulfillment of an introductory psychology course requirement. The 147 participants were recruited from among 316 students who had completed the MCPR as part of a mass survey. An additional 44 students, recruited by fliers, completed the bona fide pipeline procedure and the Childhood Experiences Questionnaire, but not the MCPR. The index of attitude is not available for 1 person, who committed an excessive number of errors on the priming task. Thus, analyses focusing only on automatically activated racial attitudes are based on 190 participants, whereas any analyses involving only the MCPR are based on 147 participants.

First session: Bona fide pipeline procedure. During the initial recruitment, students were asked to commit to two ostensibly unrelated experimental sessions. The first session was devoted to the bona fide pipeline procedure. A White female experimenter unaware of participants' scores on the MCPR served as the experimenter. The procedure closely followed that of Fazio et al. (1995) and, hence, will not be described in detail. Students were told that they would perform a variety of tasks designed to assess the extent to which responding to word meaning was an automatic skill. To bolster the cover story and conceal the researchers' true interest in race, participants completed the experiment in six phases.

The first phase was conducted to obtain baseline latency data. Each trial began with the presentation of a row of asterisks for 315 ms as a warning that a word was about to appear. After a 135-ms delay, one of 24 adjectives appeared. Participants were asked to indicate the connotation of the adjective as quickly and as accurately as possible by pressing either a "good" or a "bad" button. The computer recorded the time between the onset of the adjective and the response.

The second and third phases were administered to support the cover story. In the second phase, participants attended to a series of faces presented on the screen. In the third phase, they were presented with these same faces as well as novel ones and asked which they had been shown earlier.

The fourth phase involved the task of interest. Participants were told that the two tasks they had performed thus far, judging adjectives' connotations and learning faces, would now be combined. The experimenter explained that if judging word meaning was truly an automatic skill, they should be able to perform the adjective connotation task just as efficiently as they did earlier, even if they were given a second task to do simultaneously. Faces would appear in place of the asterisks, and their secondary task was to study these faces for a later recall test while judging the valence of the adjective. A total of 48 photographs digitized as 256-color, 640 × 480 resolution images were presented as primes in each of four blocks. These photographs were taken against a common background and consisted of headshots of Black, White, and Other (Asian and Hispanic) male and female undergraduates. Over the course of the four blocks, each prime was followed by two positive and two negative adjectives. Furthermore, each Black or Other face was paired with a same-sex White face. The same four adjectives followed the paired faces. The 12 White-Black pairs constituted the trials of interest. The 12 Other-White pairs served as fillers to decrease the relative frequency of the Black faces. The fifth (a face recognition task) and sixth (an attractiveness rating task) phases,

which are described in detail in Fazio et al. (1995), were conducted only to support the cover story.

Second session. Approximately 2 weeks later, participants completed a survey about their childhood experiences with minorities. For each of three school levels (elementary, middle, and high school), participants rated their frequency of interaction with each of five racial groups (American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic, and White) on 0 (*never*) to 10 (*very often*) scales. They also indicated how they would characterize these interactions with each of the five racial categories at each school level on 0 (*very negative*) to 10 (*very positive*) scales. Respondents also estimated the percentage of their neighborhood playmates that belonged to each group (0 to 100, divided into 11 categories) and the valence of interactions with each group. Similarly worded questions inquired about the frequency and valence of interactions with authority figures (e.g., teachers, coaches, counselors, clergy, employers, supervisors, etc.) from each racial category.

Parental prejudice was assessed via four questions involving 0 (*not at all*) to 10 (*very much so*) scales (e.g., "To what extent would you characterize your parents as holding prejudicial beliefs about minority groups in general?"). The perceived source of their racial attitudes was measured by asking participants to rate two statements ("My only exposure to ethnic minorities has been through television and the media" and "My attitudes toward ethnic minorities are based on my direct, personal interactions with minority persons") on 0 (*not at all true*) to 10 (*very true*) scales and by the following question: "Where would you place the relative influence of the media and of personal experience in forming your attitudes toward ethnic minorities?" (0 = 100% media to 10 = 100% personal experience).

Finally, participants were asked the following: (a) "Think about the Black person that you know best. How close are you to that person?" (0 = *not at all close* to 10 = *my closest friend*); (b) "At what age did you experience your first vivid and meaningful interaction (positive or negative) with a Black person?" (0 = *preschool*, 1 = *elementary school*, 2 = *middle school*, 3 = *high school*, 4 = *college*, 5 = *has yet to happen*); and (c) "How would you characterize this interaction?" (0 = *very negative* to 10 = *very positive*).

RESULTS

Descriptive Data

Motivation to control prejudiced reactions. As mentioned above, factor analyses have shown the MCPR to involve two stable components: a concern with acting prejudiced and a restraint to avoid dispute (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). A factor analysis based on the entire sample of people who completed the MCPR in the mass survey ($N = 316$)

replicated these findings. Factor scores were calculated for each individual in the present sample.

Unobtrusive estimate of racial attitudes. The data from the bona fide pipeline procedure were used to estimate each participant's automatically activated racial attitude in exactly the same manner as described in Fazio et al. (1995). The effect size of the Race of Photo \times Valence of Adjective interaction for each participant serves as the estimate of automatically activated attitude toward Blacks; more negative scores indicate more negative attitude toward Blacks. A t test on these scores revealed that their mean ($M = -0.065$, $SD = 0.238$) was significantly different from 0, $t(189) = 3.78$, $p < .001$. Thus, on average, the sample was characterized by negative attitudes toward Blacks. The attitude estimates were not correlated with either the concern, $r(144) = .05$, or the restraint factors, $r(144) = .01$, of the MPCR. Thus, as in earlier research (Dunton & Fazio, 1997), these three aspects of prejudice were unrelated in this sample.

Childhood experiences survey. For most of the analyses, each question was analyzed singly. However, for any question that measured the positivity of interaction with both Black and White persons, a difference score was calculated such that higher scores indicated more positive interactions with Black persons relative to White persons. Responses to the four questions asking about parents' racial attitudes were highly correlated, so parental prejudice was indexed as the mean of these responses (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$).

Descriptive statistics, displayed in Table 1, demonstrated that the childhood experiences data were orderly and intuitively reasonable. Students reported having had increasingly more frequent contact with Black persons as they progressed from elementary to high school, $F(2, 350) = 14.66$, $p < .001$. Similarly, interactions with Blacks were relatively more negative in later grades (see Table 1), but these differences were only marginally significant, $F(2, 294) = 2.19$, $p = .113$.

Simple correlations among the childhood experiences variables, presented in Table 2, provided further evidence that the data were orderly. Parental prejudice, frequency and valence of interactions, and the participants' perceived bases of their attitudes formed a cluster of variables that were interrelated in predictable ways. Greater parental prejudice was significantly associated with less-frequent interactions with Blacks at the elementary, $r = -.24$, and middle school, $r = -.20$, levels. However, parental prejudice was less strongly associated with the frequency of interactions with Blacks during high school, $r = -.07$. The correlation for elementary school was significantly stronger than for high school, $z = 2.12$, $p < .04$, and the correlation for middle school was marginally stronger, $z = 1.80$, $p < .08$.² Thus, the data were

TABLE 1: Descriptive Statistics for the Childhood Experiences Data

Description of Variable	M	SD	N
Frequency of interactions with Blacks in elementary school	3.73	3.43	180
Relative positivity of interactions with Blacks versus Whites in elementary school	-1.47	2.40	155
Frequency of interactions with Blacks in middle school	4.34	3.37	182
Relative positivity of interactions with Blacks versus Whites in middle school	-1.56	2.28	160
Frequency of interactions with Blacks in high school	4.95	3.21	184
Relative positivity of interactions with Blacks versus Whites in high school	-1.81	2.33	170
Percentage of Black neighborhood playmates	4.03	7.36	181
Relative positivity of interactions with Black neighborhood playmates	-3.73	3.95	108
Parents' prejudice	3.05	2.33	186
Frequency of interactions with Black authority figures	12.44	12.36	180
Positivity of interactions with Black authority figures	-0.92	2.27	144
Degree of intimacy with most familiar Black person	4.16	2.93	184
Age of first vivid and meaningful interaction with a Black person ^a	1.59	1.17	185
Positivity of first vivid and meaningful interaction with a Black person	7.68	2.42	182
Exposure to ethnic minorities primarily through TV and media	2.38	2.86	185
Attitudes toward ethnic minorities based on direct personal interactions	6.80	2.56	184
Relative influence of personal experience (vs. media) in forming attitudes	6.44	2.06	183

NOTE: Unless otherwise noted, data represent ratings on 11-point scales (0 to 10). All variables labeled "relative" are difference scores (Black-White), such that higher ratings indicate more positive interactions with Black relative to White persons.

a. Ratings were made on a 6-point scale (0 to 5), such that higher numbers represent later first interactions (0 = pre-school to 5 = has yet to happen).

consistent with the notion that as children became more autonomous, the frequency of their interracial interactions with Blacks was less heavily influenced by their parents' attitudes.

Greater parental prejudice also was associated with more negative interracial interactions (see Table 2). As might be expected, parental prejudice was less strongly associated with negativity as the participants progressed through school. In particular, the correlation between parental prejudice and elementary school positivity ($r = -.35$) was significantly stronger than it was for middle school ($r = -.15$), $z = 2.92$, $p < .01$, and high school ($r = -.16$), $z = 2.21$, $p < .03$. These data supported the notion that as children grew older, their perceptions of their

interactions with Blacks were less heavily influenced by their parents' attitudes.

Frequent interactions (at all school levels and in the neighborhood) also were associated with positivity. Participants who reported having interacted more frequently with Blacks also were more likely to recall these interactions as having been positive. Frequent interactions also were associated with (a) participants' disagreement with the statement that their exposure to minorities has primarily been through the media, (b) participants' beliefs that their attitudes were based primarily on personal experiences, and (c) participants' reports that their first meaningful interactions with Black persons occurred at an earlier age. Greater parental prejudice also was associated with participants' beliefs that their attitudes were not based on personal experience. Together, these descriptive statistics suggest that participants understood the measures and responded in an internally consistent manner.

Simple Correlations

Each of the variables from the experiences survey was correlated with the automatically activated racial attitudes, as well as with the concern and restraint factor scores of the MCPR (see Table 2). Variables that predicted each aspect of racial prejudice are discussed in turn.

Automatically activated attitude. Respondents who reported more positive interactions with Blacks in high school had significantly more positive attitudes, $r = .16$. Although this correlation was not significantly greater than those for elementary, $r = .07$, or middle school levels, $r = .08$, neither of these latter correlations differed significantly from 0. Because undergraduates enrolled in introductory psychology were the respondents, the findings suggest that the valence of recent experiences contributed to automatically activated racial attitudes.

The only other variable significantly related to the attitude estimate was the participant's belief that his or her attitude was based on personal experience. The more participants reported that their attitudes were based on direct experience, the more positive were their automatically activated attitudes toward Blacks, $r = .20$.

Concern with acting prejudiced. Concern correlated with perceived parental prejudice and with the valence of interactions with Blacks. Reports of greater parental prejudice were significantly associated with less concern, $r = -.17$. Greater positivity of the "first vivid and meaningful interaction with a Black person," $r = .19$, and of interactions with Black persons at every educational level, all $r_s \geq .20$, were associated with more concern. Furthermore, the correlation between positivity and concern was strongest at the elementary school level. Although

TABLE 2: Correlations Among Childhood Experiences Variables

Description of Variable	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Frequency of interactions with Blacks in elementary school	.37** (155)	.66** (178)	.18* (157)	.48** (178)	.05 (164)	.35** (176)	.20* (108)	-.24** (180)	.39** (175)
2. Relative positivity of interactions with Blacks versus Whites in elementary school	—	.21** (155)	.64** (150)	.12 (153)	.433** (152)	.10 (151)	.46** (105)	-.34** (155)	.13 (151)
3. Frequency of interactions with Blacks in middle school		—	.37** (160)	.59** (180)	.14 (168)	.33** (178)	.21* (108)	-.20** (182)	.39** (178)
4. Relative positivity of interactions with Blacks versus Whites in middle school			—	.24** (158)	.63** (156)	.10 (157)	.35** (106)	-.16* (160)	.08 (157)
5. Frequency of interactions with Blacks in high school				—	.32** (169)	.25** (179)	.23* (107)	-.10 (184)	.32** (178)
6. Relative positivity of interactions with Blacks versus Whites in high school					—	.06 (165)	.29** (169)	-.16* (170)	.06 (165)
7. Percentage of Black neighborhood playmates						—	.43** (108)	-.18* (181)	.24** (177)
8. Relative positivity of interactions with Blacks versus White neighborhood playmates							—	-.37** (108)	.16 (105)
9. Parents' prejudice								—	-.18* (144)
10. Frequency of interactions with Black authority figures									—
11. Relative positivity of interactions with Black versus White authority figures									—
12. Degree of intimacy with most familiar Black person									
13. Age of first vivid and meaningful interaction with a Black person									
14. Positivity of first vivid and meaningful interaction with a Black person									
15. Exposure to ethnic minorities primarily through TV and media									
16. Attitudes toward ethnic minorities based on direct personal interactions									
17. Relative influence of personal experience (vs. media) in forming attitudes									
18. Estimate of automatically activated attitude									
19. Concern with acting prejudiced factor									
20. Restraint to avoid dispute factor									

NOTE: All significance levels are two-tailed. Numbers in parentheses represent *N*s.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

the correlation was significant at later levels of schooling, the association decreased with age. The correlation was greater for elementary school positivity, $r = .45$, than for either high school positivity, $r = .22$ ($z = 2.58$, $p < .01$) or middle school positivity, $r = .27$ ($z = 2.43$, $p < .02$). These findings suggest that concern with avoiding prejudiced

reactions is more likely to stem from elementary school experiences than from later experiences.

Restraint to avoid dispute. Restraint was correlated with many of the same variables with which concern was correlated. However, the direction of the relations was different. More negative interactions with Black students in

<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>
.24** (139)	.34** (178)	-.45** (178)	.20* (176)	-.47** (179)	.06 (178)	.23** (177)	-.12 (179)	.09 (142)	-.27 (142)
.50** (131)	.22** (153)	-.13 (155)	.37** (154)	-.18* (154)	.13 (154)	.26** (152)	.07 (154)	.45** (123)	-.13 (123)
.15* (142)	.46** (180)	-.38** (181)	.15* (179)	-.43** (181)	.07 (180)	.17* (179)	-.13 (181)	-.03 (144)	-.29** (144)
.40** (132)	.25** (158)	-.04 (159)	.31** (158)	-.11 (159)	.07 (158)	.04 (157)	.08 (159)	.24** (127)	-.26** (127)
.17* (142)	.50** (182)	-.42** (183)	.05 (180)	-.39** (183)	.15* (182)	.18* (181)	-.07 (183)	-.02 (147)	-.14* (147)
.37** (139)	.20* (169)	-.07 (170)	.30** (169)	-.06 (169)	.14 (169)	.11 (167)	.16* (169)	.20* (136)	-.10 (136)
.16 (141)	.27** (179)	-.32** (180)	.08 (177)	-.30** (180)	.00 (179)	.11 (178)	-.10 (180)	-.05 (143)	-.14 (143)
.31** (97)	.15 (107)	-.19 (108)	.22* (107)	-.03 (108)	-.05 (108)	.02 (107)	.07 (107)	.09 (86)	.01 (86)
-.21* (144)	-.10 (184)	.14 (185)	-.26** (182)	.17* (185)	-.07 (184)	-.23** (183)	-.09 (185)	-.17* (147)	.17* (147)
.33** (144)	.39** (178)	-.26 (179)	.10 (176)	-.35 (179)	-.04 (178)	.15 (177)	-.05 (179)	-.06 (145)	-.00 (145)
—	.18* (143)	-.24** (144)	.19* (142)	-.11 (143)	.04 (143)	.10 (141)	.13 (143)	.01 (116)	-.14 (116)
	—	-.21** (183)	.21** (180)	-.39** (184)	.19** (183)	.34** (182)	.00 (183)	.07 (147)	-.24** (147)
		—	-.09 (182)	.36** (184)	-.04 (184)	-.21** (182)	.11 (184)	.04 (146)	.16 (146)
			—	-.14 (181)	.20** (181)	.24** (179)	.08 (181)	.19* (143)	-.17* (143)
				—	-.21** (184)	-.51** (183)	.03 (184)	.06 (147)	.23** (147)
					—	.47** (182)	.20** (183)	-.12 (146)	-.15 (146)
						—	.11 (182)	.13 (145)	-.20* (14)
							—	.05 (146)	.01 (146)
								—	-.05
									—

middle school were associated with greater restraint, $r = -.26$; the valence of one's interactions in elementary and high school was unrelated to one's restraint. Restraint also was inversely correlated with the valence of one's "first vivid and meaningful interaction with a Black person," $r = -.17$, and with the intimacy of one's relation with "the Black person that you know best," $r = -.24$. Greater

parental prejudice, in contrast, was associated with more restraint, $r = .17$.

In addition, less-frequent contact at both the elementary and middle (but not high) school level was correlated with greater restraint. The correlation between restraint and frequency of contact in high school, $r = -.13$, was lower than that for the correlation between

restraint and frequency of contact in middle school, $r = -.28$ ($z = 2.08, p < .04$), or elementary school, $r = -.28$ ($z = 1.73, p < .09$). These findings imply that restraint stems primarily from elementary and middle school experiences. Finally, respondents who believed their attitudes were based on media influences reported more restraint, $r = .23$. This is consistent with the finding that reports of infrequent interactions at the elementary and middle school levels were associated with more restraint.

Interactions Among Survey Variables

Although simple correlations are useful for considering the relations among the various childhood experiences and automatically activated attitudes, concern, and restraint, some of the experience variables may moderate the effects of others. For example, children might generally be influenced by their parents' attitudes, but this influence might lessen as they have more contact with Blacks. A series of hierarchical regressions predicting the automatically activated attitudes, concern, and restraint were conducted to examine the possibility of interactions among various early experiences. We focused on those experience variables that the simple correlations had implicated as related to attitudes, concern, or restraint. Hence, we conducted regressions involving "school" variables. The relative positivity of interaction with Blacks versus Whites in elementary school, the frequency of interaction with Blacks in elementary school, and one's parents' prejudice served as predictor variables in this analysis. These analyses were repeated for variables associated with the middle and high school levels. We also conducted regressions involving the "first interaction" variables. The predictors were time of the first meaningful interaction with a Black person, positivity of that interaction, and parents' prejudice. For each hierarchical regression, the first-order variables were entered simultaneously in the initial block, followed by all two-way interactions and, finally, by the three-way interaction.

This series of regression analyses did not reveal any significant interactions when either the attitude estimate or scores on the concern factor comprised the dependent variable. However, the regression analyses revealed a number of interactive effects when predicting scores on the restraint factor. The results of each analysis will be reported separately below.

Two-way Positivity \times Frequency of Interactions at the Elementary and Middle School Levels. The two-way interaction between positivity and frequency was significant at the elementary level, $t(116) = 2.63, p = .01$, and marginally significant at the middle school level, $t(120) = 1.91, p < .06$. To interpret the interactions, values that were 1 standard deviation above and below the means of each of the implicated variables were entered into the regression

equation, and the scores predicted by the regression equations then were plotted (Aiken & West, 1991). The interactions are displayed in Figure 1. These interactions are consistent with the hypothesis that restraint develops in part from a fear of conflictual interactions with Black persons. When past interactions with Black persons were negative or infrequent, restraint was greater. However, when past interactions were both frequent and positive, fear of dispute seemed to be reduced and restraint was lower.

Parental Prejudice \times Positivity \times Frequency at the High School Level. For the regression using high school variables to predict restraint (but not those using elementary or middle school variables), the two-way interaction between positivity and parent prejudice was statistically significant, $t(129) = 2.36, p < .03$, but qualified by a significant three-way Positivity \times Parents' Prejudice \times Frequency interaction, $t(128) = 2.11, p < .04$ (see left panels of Figure 2). The simple correlations reported earlier had revealed that greater parental prejudice was associated with more restraint. This relation held true among those participants who reported negative interactions in high school and was especially strong if those interactions had occurred frequently. The relation also was true, although weakly so, among those who reported relatively infrequent but, nonetheless, positive interactions. However, the relation was reversed among those who reported frequent, positive interactions. Therefore, whereas those with negative experiences reported more restraint as their parents' prejudice increased, those with frequent, positive interactions reported less restraint as their parents' prejudice increased.

Time of First Meaningful Interaction \times Positivity of this Interaction \times Parental Prejudice. This analysis yielded a significant two-way interaction between the time of the respondents' first meaningful interactions with a Black person and their parents' prejudice, $t(136) = 2.90, p < .01$. However, this interaction was further qualified by a marginally significant three-way interaction involving time, positivity, and parental prejudice, $t(135) = 1.87, p = .063$ (see right panels of Figure 2). The general pattern was for restraint to increase with parents' prejudice. This positive association between parental prejudice and restraint was strongest when the respondents' first interactions with Blacks occurred at a later age. However, when this first meaningful interaction was both at an early age and positive, restraint was actually inversely related to parental prejudice. In this case, early, positive interactions seemed to mitigate the amount of discomfort normally anticipated among those raised by prejudiced parents. Interestingly, positive interactions occurring at a later age did not produce such a benefit, suggesting that early positive experiences with Blacks are

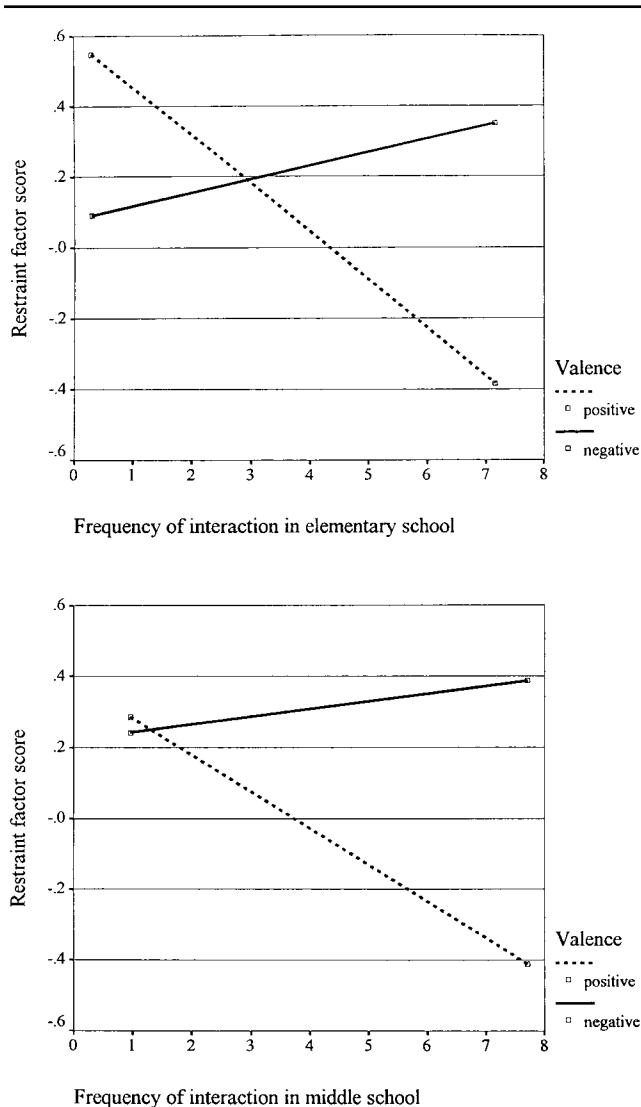


Figure 1 Regression lines predicting scores on the restraint factor score as a function of the frequency and valence of the interaction in elementary (top panel) and middle school (bottom panel).

critical to overcome the awkwardness and anxiety felt by people whose parents are prejudiced.

Attitude × Concern × Restraint Profiles

The previous analyses have explored the experiences associated with each of the three aspects of prejudice (attitude, concern, and restraint) considered singly. Although these aspects of prejudice are empirically distinct from one another (recall the null correlations among the three measures), it is useful to consider how they might jointly relate to childhood experiences. When attitude, concern, and restraint are viewed as a whole, the findings presented thus far suggest that two profiles may be related in a systematic way to childhood

experiences. More specifically, those with negative attitudes, low concern with acting prejudiced, and high restraint to avoid dispute appear to have had experiences that would foster prejudice. By contrast, those with positive attitudes, high concern with acting prejudiced, and low restraint to avoid dispute seem to have had early experiences that one would intuitively associate with less prejudice.

To explore these two profiles more fully, we focused on two subgroups of the sample: (a) those participants whose attitude estimates and concern factor scores were above the respective sample medians but whose restraint scores were below the median ($N = 21$) and (b) those whose attitude estimates and concern factor scores fell below the median but whose restraint factor scores were above the median ($N = 15$). Despite the small size of the resulting groups, differences of at least marginal significance were apparent on a number of the childhood experiences variables. The more positive profile tended to be associated with greater positivity of interaction in elementary school (M s of -0.62 vs. -2.31), $t(27) = 1.91$, $p = .066$, less parental prejudice (M s of 1.97 vs. 3.44), $t(34) = 1.71$, $p = .097$, greater degree of intimacy with one's most familiar Black acquaintance (M s of 5.27 vs. 3.57), $t(34) = 1.78$, $p = .084$, greater positivity of first vivid and meaningful interaction (M s of 8.47 vs. 7.15), $t(33) = 1.63$, $p = .112$, stronger judgments that one's attitudes were based on direct personal experience (M s of 7.47 vs. 6.00), $t(33) = 1.86$, $p < .072$, and a belief that attitudes were influenced more by personal experience than by media influence (M s of 7.43 vs. 5.43), $t(33) = 2.85$, $p = .007$.

A series of hierarchical regression analyses also explored whether the two profiles were systematically related to extreme childhood experiences. For each of the experiences variables, the attitude estimates, concern, and restraint factor scores were entered as predictors, followed by the two-way interactions and then the three-way interaction. We focused on the three-way interaction because any such effect indicates that a given variable is jointly related to attitude, concern, and restraint. The interaction was significant for three variables: (a) the relative positivity of interactions with Blacks in elementary school, $t(115) = 2.11$, $p < .04$; (b) parental prejudice, $t(138) = 2.33$, $p < .03$; and (c) the degree to which attitudes were believed to be based on personal experience as opposed to the media, $t(136) = 2.16$, $p < .04$. We examined the values predicted by the regression equations for attitude, concern, and restraint scores 1 standard deviation above and below the respective means. Of the eight resulting combinations, the two profiles of interest were indeed associated with the most extreme values on the three experience variables. Those with positive attitudes, high concern, and low restraint were characterized by the most positive elementary school interactions, the

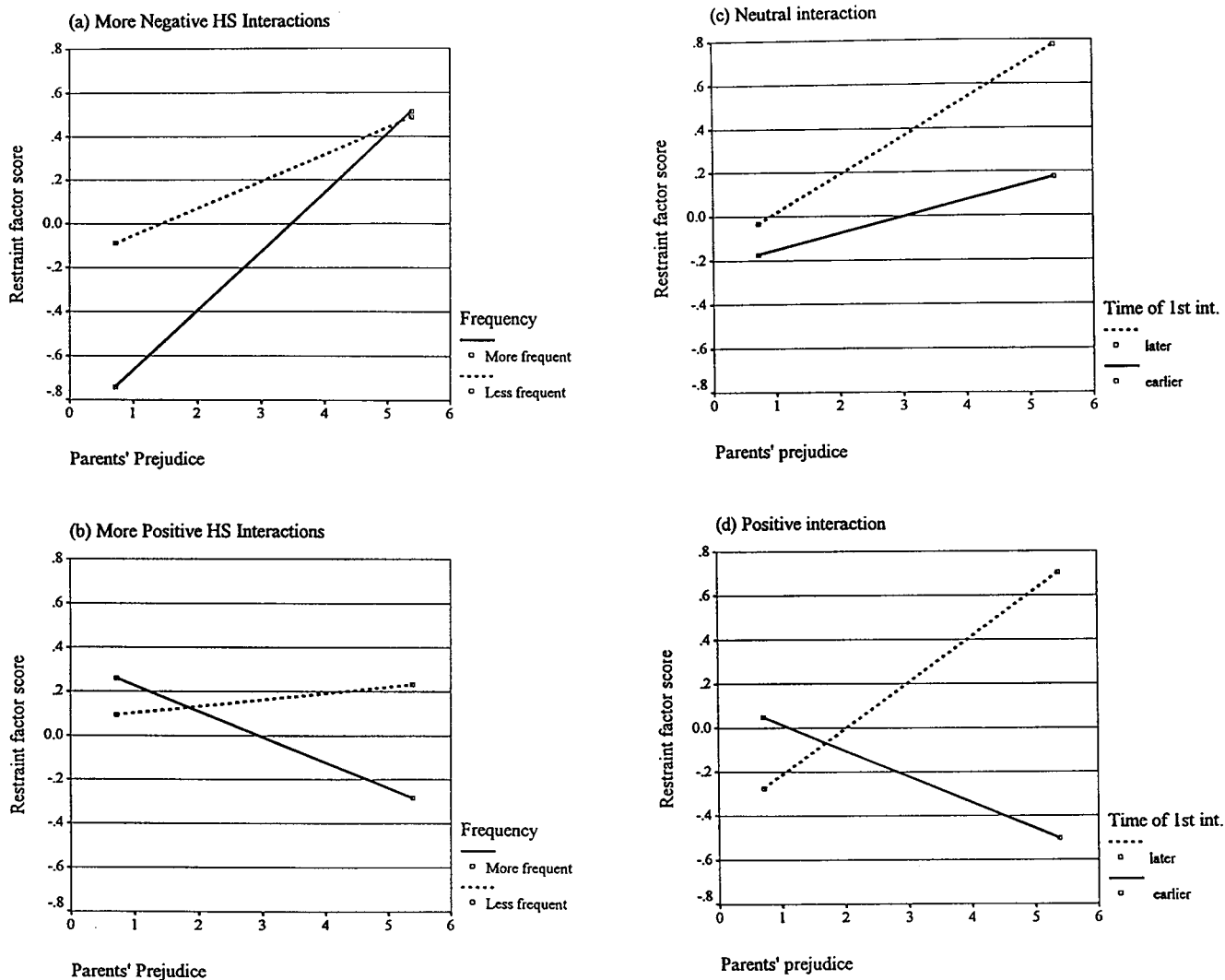


Figure 2 Regression lines predicting restraint factor scores (a) as a function of parental prejudice and frequency of interaction with Blacks in high school given relatively negative (top left—a) versus relatively positive (bottom left—b) interactions and (b) as a function of the parental prejudice and the timing of the first meaningful interaction with Blacks given relatively neutral (top right—c) versus relatively positive (bottom right—d) first interactions.

NOTE: HS = high school.

least parental prejudice, and the strongest judgment that their attitudes derived from personal experience (predicted values of 0.02, 2.09, and 7.50, respectively). In contrast, those with negative attitudes, low concern, and high restraint had the most negative elementary school interactions, the greatest parental prejudice, and the least personal experience basis for their attitudes (predicted values of -3.53, 4.20, and 5.22, respectively).

DISCUSSION

The major goal of the study was to identify the types of childhood experiences reported by individuals with varying automatically activated racial attitudes, concern with acting prejudiced, and restraint to avoid dispute.

Automatically activated racial attitudes. More positive attitude estimates were associated with respondents' beliefs that their attitudes were based on personal experience rather than information from other sources. Those with positive attitudes also were characterized by relatively positive interactions with Blacks in high school, but not necessarily by more frequent interactions with Blacks or less parental prejudice. For the predominantly college freshmen respondents in the sample, high school experiences occurred between 1 and 4 years earlier. Thus, automatically activated racial attitudes may be modified over time by relatively recent experiences.

Because we obtained information about respondents' childhood experiences from their retrospective self-

reports, we cannot be certain about the direction of causality. The participants' current attitudes may have affected their ratings of their high school experiences. However, the internal consistency and intuitively sensible relations of the childhood experiences data (as was reported earlier) do allow a measure of confidence that the participants' self-reported experiences bear some resemblance to their actual experiences. Moreover, an argument that current attitudes influenced reconstructive memory processes would appear to have difficulty accounting for the lack of correlation observed for the elementary and middle school years. One would think that these more temporally distant events would have been all the more subject to reconstructive bias if the relations reflected an effect of attitude on self-reports rather than an effect of past experiences on current attitudes (see Hirt, McDonald, & Erickson, 1995). Ultimately, however, any interpretations will need to be verified by longitudinal research.

Concern with acting prejudiced. Concern was most strongly related to the valence of elementary school interactions. It also was related (although less strongly) to the valence of later interactions and to perceived parental prejudice. The most obvious interpretation is that these children learned that they should not act prejudiced from their parents while still very young and these values were reinforced by positive interactions early in childhood. It may be that egalitarian values need to be instantiated early in childhood to play an important role in adult life.

These results are interesting in light of Rohan and Zanna's (1996) finding that degree of prejudice against minority groups was correlated for parents and their adult children. Because no correlation was found between parental prejudice and adult children's automatically activated racial attitudes in the present study, parents' and adult children's measured levels of prejudice in the Rohan and Zanna study may have been similar because the parents and children shared similar values (e.g., motivation to control prejudiced reactions). In other words, if both parents and their adult children were equally concerned with acting prejudiced, it is likely that a modest correlation between their scores on measures such as the MRS would be observed even if their automatically activated attitudes were uncorrelated. Given that we also observed a correlation between parental prejudice and adult children's restraint to avoid dispute, parents and their adult children may have shared a similar reluctance to express prejudiced views in the interest of avoiding dispute.

Restraint to avoid dispute. Restraint to avoid dispute appears to have more complex origins. Similar to concern, it appears to develop fairly early. However, unlike concern, which was negatively related to parental prejudice and positively related to valence of interracial interactions, restraint correlated positively with parental prejudice and negatively with the valence of interactions. Moreover, restraint was the only aspect of prejudice for which frequency per se seemed to matter. Positive interactions were associated with more concern even if these interactions were rare. This was not true for restraint. Restraint was relatively low only when a person had many early and positive experiences with Blacks. When interactions were either rare or negative, respondents generally reported a greater need to monitor their behavior more closely.

The interpretation that higher restraint generally reflects a social awkwardness and an anticipation of the potential for conflict is further supported by the interactions found between the first meaningful interaction with a Black person and parents' prejudice. Recall that when participants' first interactions with a Black person occurred early in life, parents' prejudice mattered little—especially when participants' first interactions were also positive. Apparently, the early positive experience helped even those with prejudiced parents to overcome discomfort about interacting with Blacks. However, when the first meaningful interaction was at a later age, participants whose parents were more prejudiced reported more restraint. Observations of their parents' prejudice may have made these individuals anxious that they would say or do something considered unacceptable while interacting with Blacks.

Although not directly related to restraint, high school experiences were not irrelevant to the development of restraint. Instead, the valence and frequency of experiences with Blacks at the high school level moderated the impact of parental prejudice. Parental prejudice was generally correlated with greater restraint. However, this relation was attenuated among those with positive high school experiences, especially frequent ones.

These findings point to a fundamental duplicity regarding high restraint to avoid dispute with or about Blacks. On one hand, such restraint is a motivational force that is to be valued because it does promote the control of overtly prejudiced expressions and behavior. Individuals for whom negativity is automatically activated in response to Blacks are less likely to express such negativity overtly if they are characterized by high restraint to avoid dispute (see Dunton & Fazio, 1997). On the other hand, the present findings suggest that restraint promotes control because the individuals'

backgrounds are such that their inexperience with Blacks and/or their prejudiced home environment provide cause for their believing that their actions might provoke dispute.

Profiles. Another major finding of the study was that extreme childhood experiences may promote the development of differing combinations of automatically activated racial attitude, concern with acting prejudiced, and restraint to avoid dispute. The findings suggest that a positive and a negative profile can be distinguished. The positive profile involves both positive automatically activated attitudes and a strong motivational concern with acting prejudiced. Of importance, it is accompanied by little reason to believe that one is likely to encounter problems interacting with, or rendering judgments about, Blacks (low restraint). The negative profile, on the other hand, involves negative automatically activated attitudes and relatively little concern about egalitarian standards (i.e., low concern). It is accompanied by a sense that one is likely to experience dispute with or about Blacks and, hence, a strong (and seemingly warranted) desire to avoid such dispute by willingly restraining oneself.

In summary, childhood experiences and parental racial attitudes do matter. Although a causal argument cannot be made with the present data, the current study does show a relation between childhood experiences and several aspects of adult prejudice. Perhaps more important, the present findings suggest the utility of a multifaceted concept of prejudice. The two components of motivation to control prejudiced reactions, concern and restraint, and automatically activated racial attitudes were related to different kinds of experiences. Clearly, future research involving the MCPR Scale should not only retain the distinction between the two factors but also use them as independent predictors of any race-related judgment or behavior. Concern and restraint motivations may not be evoked to the same degree in any given situation. Some situations may cue egalitarian concerns, whereas others may cue a desire to avoid conflict (see Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Investigation of the situations likely to evoke each type of motivation would allow us greater accuracy in predicting not only who might behave in a discriminatory manner but when they would be more likely to do so.

Obviously, caution must be exercised in considering the implications of this study's findings. As noted earlier, the study is limited by its reliance on people's reconstruction of their past. Only extremely effortful and costly longitudinal research will be capable of truly discerning the origins of racial prejudice. Nevertheless, in lieu of such longitudinal work, the present study has implicated various childhood experiences as correlates of automatic and controlled components of prejudice.

NOTES

1. In a study recently conducted in our laboratory involving a sample of 216 participants, a correlation of .50 was observed between scores on the concern factor of the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions (MCPR) Scale and the endorsement of egalitarian values, as assessed by the Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988). Restraint factor scores were uncorrelated with egalitarianism ($r = -.01$).

2. Only cases that had valid values for all three variables could be included in these statistical tests. Hence, the correlations differ slightly from those reported in Table 2, which were based on all available cases. The same is true of tests comparing correlation coefficients that are reported later in the Results section.

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