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Cheryl Lorraine Evans
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A COMPARISON OF WHITE MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS ATTENDING AN
URBAN BLACK UNIVERSITY AND AN URBAN WHITE UNIVERSITY:
WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY AND PERCEIVED COMFORT WITH
BLACKS

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of
Old Dominion University in Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

A COMPARISON OF WHITE MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS ATTENDING AN URBAN BLACK UNIVERSITY AND AN URBAN WHITE UNIVERSITY: WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY AND PERCEIVED COMFORT WITH BLACKS

Cheryl Lorraine Evans
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The purpose of this study was to determine the difference in White Racial Identity and degree of tolerance for Blacks between two samples of White male undergraduate students attending an urban Black university and those attending an urban White university. The theoretical framework for this study was based in Social Contact Theory as a contributor to racial tolerance and Racial Identity Development Theory as a factor in human growth toward increasing acceptance of diversity. This was a quasi-experimental post-hoc design using intact groups.

The study analyzed the responses of 182 White male undergraduates using three instruments. A Background Questionnaire, designed by the researcher, collected data on the age, military service, parents' education, length of enrollment, racial composition of high school, financial aid and upbringing of the respondents. Two additional tools, designed specifically to measure stage of White Racial Identity, the WRIAS/SAS, and level of tolerance, the Situational Attitude Scale, were also completed by respondents.

Three hypotheses were tested to address the question of whether White male students attending a historically Black university differ in their comfort with Blacks and their level of White Racial Identity development from those attending a predominantly White university.

The procedures for this research involved a mail survey sent to all participants, who were eligible to win a monetary award for their participation. Surveys were coded and analyzed using frequency analyses, t-tests to assess variance in mean scores on each stage of White Racial Identity, and a linear regression analysis to determine the relationship between background and level of tolerance.

Findings supported the hypotheses that White males attending the historically Black university were at higher stages of White Racial Identity and had higher levels of tolerance than their counterparts at the predominantly White university.

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Dedicated to my ancestors who made a way out of no way.
I stand at the summit of the path you carved in the
wilderness. Ida B., Sarah, Rachel, Leah, Miriam, Lena, Lena,
Aunt Bett, Betsey Williams, Aunt Ernie, Auntie, O.L., Yosel,
Doc, W. E. B., Martin, Paul, Myles Horton, and Gene. I honor
you.

Dedicated and consecrated in the name of Warren and
Sylvia Evans who taught me to believe because they did.

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My committee, Dr. Maurice Berube, Dr. Fred Adair and Dr. Martha Smith Sharpe proved that excellence is its own reward. I must give special thanks to Marty Smith Sharpe who was patient and supportive across miles and time, and who really had fun working with the data analyses. I thank Dr. Dana Burnett, my advisor, who told me it would actually be completed one day.

To Jace Feazell, who simply asked the most important questions for many months, "I love you, and I thank you for nagging me."

Let me not forget that this work was completed under the special guidance of Mabray "Doc" Kountze, with extra inspiration from the memory of Lee Overton and Donnie Akridge.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Civilized men and women have gained notable mastery over energy, matter and inanimate nature generally, and are rapidly learning to control physical suffering and premature death. But, by contrast, we appear to be living in the Stone Age so far as our handling of human relationships is concerned (Allport, 1954, p. xiii).

The Making of A New Minority

Racial strife has continued to beset America. In 1991, the United States Civil Rights Commission expressed concern about an increase in the incidents of racial and ethnic tensions in the country and the lack of focused attention being paid to the issue (Education Week, 1991). The practitioners of the past have been White people, and specifically White males. Having constructed the American culture with racial boundaries, they reinforced these conventions with federal and state laws, (e.g., the Naturalization Law of 1790 which was in effect until 1952, specifying that only free White immigrants would be eligible for naturalized citizenship (Takaki, 1982). The task of undoing centuries of inequality has proved arduous and elusive.

Education has been promoted as the antidote to racial bias, however, racism has remained even among the college educated. "A 1982 survey conducted among Ivy League graduates of the late fifties revealed that only 37 percent of Princeton graduates, 46 percent of Yale graduates and 54

percent of Harvard graduates believed Blacks are as intelligent as whites" (Berube, 1984, p. 70).

Although the minority experience of African-American, Asian-American, Latino and Native Americans has been extensively researched and analyzed, the phenomena of White males becoming the American minority during their lifetime had not been researched. Sampling White male students at a historically Black college provided an opportunity to study this phenomenon.

This study was designed as basic and exploratory research to address the question: How do measures of White Racial Identity and comfort with Blacks differ between groups of White male college undergraduates who are in the majority and those who are in the minority? The current study sampled White male undergraduates enrolled in urban universities on measures of their developmental stage of racial identity and levels of tolerance for Blacks.

Despite the intentions of the Founding Fathers to create and maintain a "White" country (Hacker, 1992, p. 4), the demographic realities of the twenty-first century have challenged the status quo. Census projections for the year 2010 place White males as the numerical minority (Estrada, 1988). This transition of White males from a place of primacy and numerical dominance to that of minority group may be a crucial turning point in racial relations. Concrete strategies, developed from studies of the impact of change from numerical and racial majority to minority, have

the potential to provide valuable data upon which to develop theories to assist in the continuing effort to heal America's racial wounds.

Despite the conclusions of Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi and Piazza (1994) that once "genes for surface traits such as coloration and stature are discounted, the human 'races' are remarkably alike under the skin; there is no scientific basis for theories touting the genetic superiority of one population over another" (Subramanian, 1995, p. 54). We are still dealing with the effects of racism. A furor surrounded Murray and Herrnstein's book, The Bell Curve (1994) which asserted that I.Q. is partly heritable and can be quantitatively measured. The authors' assertions that Blacks score lower on I.Q. tests as a factor of race reflects the ongoing dilemma defying solution, and has been challenged in academic circles and affirmed in others.

The roots of racial division run deep in America. Anticipated changes in the nation's population have precipitated a debate over how to change the definition of racial categories which were instituted in the 18th century.

Since the original U.S. Census of 1790, which was supervised by Thomas Jefferson, virtually every Census has defined race differently. The first one allowed for free White males, free White females, other persons (including free Blacks and taxable Indians), and slaves. Even in 1790 it was clear that many slaves had lighter skins than their masters, making a division between Black and mulatto seem logical. But mulattos were needed in the slave pool. In order to increase the size of the slave population, the 'one drop of blood' rule appeared. Even one drop of 'black blood' defined a person as Black and meant that any

child of a slave and a slaveowner would be considered eligible for slavery (Hodgkinson, 1995, p. 174).

The legacy of this policy produced a controversy over the addition of a "biracial/multiracial" category to the 2000 Census (Hodgkinson, 1995). Concern over past social and economic racial inequity is reflected in a related debate over Congressional Bill, H.R. 40, "The Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for the African Americans Act" introduced on January 5, 1993. (The Black Codes, 1994). This bill proposes the awarding of reparations to Black Americans who are the progeny of former slaves.

Recent headlines detail bias at corporate levels in major oil companies (Solomon, 1996, p. 48) as well as challenges to thirty-year old Affirmative Action programs (New York Times, 1996, v146 p. A2-4).

Historical beliefs about race are still with us. Jefferson supported the removal of free Blacks to Africa, believing that Blacks and Whites could never coexist in America (Jefferson, 1817). Benjamin Franklin bemoaned "increasing the Sons of Africa, when we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding Blacks and tawneys, of increasing the lovely White" (Franklin, 1959 in Takaki, 1993, p. 234).

The term "minority" has been used since the mid-1980s to designate segments of the American population that were not part of the Caucasian numerical majority (Casas, 1984). Groups now assigned minority status, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, African-Americans, and Native Americans are projected to become, collectively, the numerical majority by

the year 2050. One factor reflecting this trend, is the census designation, "non-Hispanic White" to identify Caucasians who are not Hispanic in origin, and applies to Whites who are of European origin (Pinal, 1992).

Although three-quarters of the population was non-Hispanic White in 1990, this group would contribute only 35 percent of the total population growth during this decade. After 2030, the non-Hispanic White population would contribute nothing to the nation's population growth because it would be declining in size (Day, 1993, p. vii).

Hispanics comprise the largest growth segment among the following projections.

By 2050, 71 percent of the population would be White, 16 percent Black, 1 percent American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut, and 10 percent Asian and Pacific Islander. The Hispanic-origin population would increase to 23 percent and the non-Hispanic White population would decline to 53 percent (Day, 1993, p. xxi).

With the present "minority" population growth presently at a rate two to fourteen times greater than that for the White population, it might be expected that college enrollments will eventually reflect this shift. In 1991, the United States Department of Education reported the minority population on American college campuses at twenty-one percent. This was an increase of more than nine percent from 1990 (Evangelauf, 1993). It is expected that ethnic diversity on college campuses in the United States will occur at a more rapid rate than the nation's population (Patterson, 1994).

One area of change rarely examined has been the increase in the enrollment of White students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Given the minority status of these students, it is one of few settings in which to examine the transition from majority to minority status and the impact of that transition on racial attitudes and behaviors. Specifically, the study of White male students attending a historically Black urban college may provide data upon which to develop models for the study of a more global racial phenomenon.

Studies of African-Americans on predominantly White college campuses and race relations on college campuses have been extensive (Collison, 1993a, Elfin and Burke, 1993; Sanoff, Mierbrook, Thornton and Pezzullo, 1993; Shea, 1993; Sue and Sue, 1990). Incidents between students of different races, primarily between White and Black students have illustrated the negative consequences of interracial discord (Patterson, 1994).

Terrell (1988) describes a number of racial incidents in American colleges and universities citing the fact that the incidents occurred at predominantly White institutions, with no reports of such incidents at historically Black colleges or universities. He challenges his colleagues to "go on the offensive by incorporating race relations as a major concern into all future programming efforts" (Terrell, 1988, p. 83).

Research suggesting that certain types of interracial contact or inter-ethnic experience can positively influence White students' racial attitudes is rooted in Counseling and Human Development theory (Amir, 1969; Brooks, Sedlacek and Mindus, 1973; Molla and Westbrook, 1990; Sedlacek, Brooks and Mindus, 1973). Practitioners in the field of human development, counselor education and student development have promoted the concept of sequential growth through stages to characterize how individuals develop in specific ways. Classic studies by Piaget (1954); Erikson (1968); Perry (1970); Kohlberg (1969); Gilligan (1982); and Marcia (1966, 1980) have set the stage for further investigation into the dynamics of human growth.

Researchers in the field of Counselor Education have focused on the issues involved in the client/counselor relationship. Studies have demonstrated that racial difference between client and counselor may be an important aspect of the counselor/client interaction (Jackson, 1973; Katz, 1977; Jones and Seagull, 1978). Models of Black self actualization and Minority Development were proposed between 1970 and 1980 (Sue, 1979; Cross, 1971; Akbar, 1979). In 1984, Janet Helms developed a model of White Racial Identity consciousness. This work has provided a foundation for expansion into research on the larger issues of racial identity between diverse groups.

Rationale

The limited amount of literature and research on the characteristics of White male students on predominantly Black campuses indicates a need for more research. For purposes of this study, the institutions were identified as Predominantly White University, "PWU", and Historically Black University, "HBU". This study will expand the research base by collecting data on the difference in levels of racial tolerance and stage of racial identity for White males enrolled at a predominantly White university (PWU) and those enrolled at a historically Black university (HBU).

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based in research on human development models and Social Contact Theory. Using the paradigms developed by Erikson (1968), Perry (1970), Chickering (1969), Kohlberg (1958), Marcia (1966) and others, models of Black and White Racial Identity have been developed to explore the dynamics of inter-group, and interracial conflict. Janet Helms (1993) suggested that racial identity models can be used for guiding research and practice. Claney and Parker cited the need for students to gain more than just a little knowledge of Blacks, and to have experiences with Black individuals, "because insufficient knowledge and contact appear to be correlated with high levels of prejudice" (1989, p. 451).

Social Contact Theory, which has been explored since the 1940's proposes the "idea that interracial contact can

be effective in reducing racial prejudice" (McClendon, 1974, p.47). Newcomb (1956), Allport (1954), Sherif (1958), and Armor (1972), were credited, and criticized for their conclusions on the outcomes of increased contact between the races. McClendon further proposed the concept that "one type of contact alone may not be effective in reducing prejudice" (1974, p. 61). With additional data, and a contextual exploration of the experiences of White male students in the "majority" and "minority," variables which had an impact White racial identity and comfort with Blacks may be identified and provide the foundation for further research.

Purpose of the Study

This study will explore the question: How do measures of White Racial Identity and comfort with Blacks differ between groups of White male college full-time undergraduates who are in the majority and those who are in the minority? Using samples of full-time White male undergraduates enrolled in two urban universities, one, HBU, which is predominantly Black, and PWU, which is predominantly White, this research utilized the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS/SAS) (Helms, 1984) and the Situation Attitude Scale (SitAtt) (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1970) to assess the variation in level of Racial Identity and comfort with Blacks between the two samples.

The populations of major cities in the United States have reflected the shift from Whites as the majority since the onset of public school integration and busing (Hacker,

1992). Using the Census Bureau criteria, "an urbanized area must have a population of at least 50,000" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991, p. 355). Given the trend toward the minority status of Whites living in urban areas, this study has the potential to provide additional data on the impact of that condition for both White college students and others.

Without a greater understanding of the effect of racial demographics on individuals who have been the majority and whose status changes to that of a numerical minority, we may not be adequately prepared for the realities of the near future. Wells-Lawson (1994) advocated a new agenda extending research on issues of equity in higher education to include the experiences of White students at predominantly Black colleges and universities. There are few settings in which this phenomenon can be studied. Examining the effects of this experience has the potential to provide a starting point for understanding the interpersonal adjustments which accompany human development in the area of racial identity and adaptation.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Problem Statement

How do White male students at a predominantly White university and those at a historically Black University differ in their comfort with Blacks and their level of White Racial Identity Development? This study measured the stage of White Racial Identity and the degree of tolerance

for Blacks in both groups.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. White male undergraduate university students attending a historically Black university will score above White males who attend a predominantly White university on a measure (SitAtt) of their comfort with with Black individuals.

Hypothesis 2. White male undergraduate university students who attend a historically black university who are at a stage four or above, on the WRIAS/SAS, (pseudo independence) will have a higher level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the SitAtt than their counterparts attending a predominantly White university.

Hypothesis 3. Specific background characteristics and variables of university enrollment will be related to the level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the SitAtt for White males attending both the predominantly Black and predominantly White University (e.g., Age; Military Service; Racial Composition of High School).

Methods

Research Design

This was a quasi-experimental post-hoc design, with no assignments to groups by the researcher. This study was conducted using intact groups who were measured on a total of thirteen variables. An effort was made to address both

internal and external threats to validity in the implementation of the study.

Population

Institutions were selected based upon their location in urban areas and because each enrolled significant numbers of the target population. Both Universities were located in an urban center, as defined by population (Bureau of the Census, 1991). The predominantly White University, was located in a mid-Atlantic city with a population of 261,229, based on the 1990 census. The historically Black University was also located in a mid-Atlantic city, with a population of 75,695.

Instruments

Background Questionnaire.

This questionnaire was designed by the researcher to gather background data on each respondent. The nine specific items were selected based on factors identified in research studies as having a relationship to college enrollment and/or racial tolerance.

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS/SAS) (Helms and Carter, 1990) is a rationally derived instrument consisting of five 10-item subscales designed to measure attitudes related to Helm's original five stages of racial identity development in the Helm's (1984) model of White racial identity development.

Situation Attitude Scale (SitAtt).

The Situation Attitude Scale was developed by Sedlacek and Brooks (1970) and has been used extensively in student development research measuring attitudes of Whites toward Blacks in various social and personal contexts. The SitAtt consists of ten interpersonal scenarios, followed by 10 five-point bipolar semantic differential scales (e.g., happy ...sad).

Definition of Terms

The White Racial Identity Development Theory (Helms, 1984) defines five Stages of Racial Consciousness through which Whites in a White-dominated society may proceed. These stages are : Contact, characterized by a lack of sense of the self as a racial being; Disintegration, characterized by anxiety related to the desire to interact with and learn about Blacks but fearful of ostracism by Whites; Reintegration, characterized by overt or covert hostility toward Blacks; Pseudoindependence, characterized by an acceptance of Blacks who are similar to Whites; Autonomy, characterized by an acceptance and appreciation for racial differences.

Independent Variables

The selection of Independent Variables for this study was based on research identifying conditions and factors shown to be related to student enrollment and continuance in higher education or to the level of racial tolerance in students. The following variables were identified:

Predominant Enrollment by Race of campus (School); Length of Students' Enrollment; Age; Racial Composition of High School; Urban/Rural upbringing; Living Arrangements-on/off-campus; Receiving Financial Aid; Parents' Education; White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS/SAS) Score.

Dependent Variable

Score of attitude toward Blacks in social and personal contexts measured by the Situation Attitude Scale (SitAtt: Sedlacek and Brooks, 1970).

Data Analysis

Completed surveys were coded and analyzed using SPSS and SAS. Data were analyzed using statistical procedures appropriate for the questions posed by each of the three hypotheses for this study.

Limitations of the Study

The limited number of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's) with significant numbers of White male students narrowed the selection of settings in which the targeted populations could be accessed at the level needed to have a viable sample. There was non-random assignment to the conditions of the study. The study did not ascertain the level of tolerance or stage of Racial Identity of the students prior to their enrollment in the respective institutions. Most Historically Black College and Universities (HBCU's) have small percentages of White male undergraduates which deemed it necessary to survey all members of the population at the HBU.

Further, the data collection for this research was conducted during a time period in which there was heightened evidence of racial polarization in the country. Surveys were mailed between October and December of 1995, which overlapped the O.J. Simpson trial. Polls conducted during that period reported major differences between Black and White Americans in their views about the trial (Streisand, Impoco and Tharp, 1995). In February 1996, The Southern Poverty law center documented numerous "bias" incidents, including the burning of Black churches, occurring across the country in 1995 (Klanwatch Intelligence Report, 1996, p. 7). Thus, "history" could affect the results in the current study.

Even in the absence of external events, the sensitive nature of the subject matter may have presented challenges to the respondents in the degree to which they were willing to complete both surveys honestly. Those respondents who hold other than tolerant attitudes could simply not respond to the survey resulting in a skewed sample. Due to the paucity of studies in this area, there was limited research upon which to base assumptions and develop hypotheses.

Policy Implications of the Study

The current study was designed as basic, exploratory research to shed new light on the "White Minority Experience" that may lead to more effective Student Development programming and interventions. With the changes evident in the larger society, future studies should provide

data on how specific interventions can lead us to greater harmony rather than increased polarization, as illustrated by the comments of a college president in the Carnegie Foundation report, "Campus Life: In Search of Community" (1990) who stated that "achieving a certain amount of success in terms of ethnicity and gender diversity has forced us to rethink what community means within a more richly diverse campus" (Campus Life: In Search of Community, p. A32).

Summary

In summary, this study treated the projected demographic change as more than a shift in numbers. It explored the relationship between the unique American construct of racial identity in White males and changes in tolerance toward Blacks. Using a select sample, the study asked, could enrollment at a Historically Black College or University provide any experiences or reflect any characteristics that would have an impact on tolerance toward Blacks? Are any of the variables selected related to the stage of identity or degree of tolerance for White males?

This study was designed to balance the characteristics of each sample to the highest degree possible, and to explore previously unresearched conditions.

The chapters to follow provide a review of relevant literature, research methodology, data analysis, and conclusions. This study attempted to ask questions about the "new minority" as the change was occurring rather than after the fact.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

This chapter reviews literature which supports the premise of this study which is that the "White Minority Experience" is an emerging phenomena which may hold the key to changing historical racial discord in American society.

This study focuses on research addressing race relations specifically between Black and White Americans. The long and unique relationship between these two groups has produced both academic and social literature dating to the founding of the Republic. Despite research and political interventions, concrete progress has proved evasive.

This chapter provides an overview of demographic changes, race, racism, and an exploration of the formation and manifestations of racism as attitudes and beliefs. Social Contact Theory and Racial Identity Theory are reviewed as outgrowths of efforts to decrease racial separation, and influence historic social changes. White Racial Identity and the White Minority Experience are detailed as well as literature concerning the design and use of the White Racial Identity/Social Attitudes Scale and the Situational Attitude Scale.

America's Changing Racial Profile

In a July 1996 interview discussing his latest book, *Coming Through The Fire*, C. Eric Lincoln assessed race relations in America with the statement,

We are very far from square one. New permissions and opportunities have been granted to Blacks in recent decades, but I am looking for something more than that. I am looking for something that enables you to recognize me as you in blackface and I am looking at my own ability to see you as me in white face (Pomerantz, 1966, p. M3).

The "you" to whom Lincoln refers were White Americans who have by default or design benefitted from being the numerical majority for almost four hundred years.

Demographic forecasters predict that White Americans may soon be the numerical minority, and that by 2010 White males will constitute only 25 percent of the total population.

Ponterotto (1993) attributes the current increase in race-based conflicts to rapid demographic changes interacting with stages of racial identity development. "With regard to demographics, it is now common knowledge that the current White numerical majority will in the next 50 years or so become the numerical minority" (Ponterotto, 1993, p. 80). Estrada confirmed (1988) that the growth of minority populations was two to fourteen times greater than that for the non-minority population, primarily due to their youthful age structure allowing for greater fertility. Thus, this shift in racial demographics has the potential to bring

about a major change in the social structure of American society. That "something," the emergence of White Americans as a minority, is imminent.

The American Majority/Minority Experience

The terms *minority* and *minority groups* are used extensively in American popular language (Ponterotto, 1993). In its original mathematical usage, the term *minority* identified the smaller part of a whole. However, in modern America the term focuses on the social, political and economic status of specific groups. In this study, the definition put forth by Wirth (1945) is most applicable:

A group of people who, because of physical or cultural characteristics are singled out from others in society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society (Wirth, 1945 p. 347).

The current study used the Ponterotto (1993) description of *minority groups* as those individuals who share a unique, racial or cultural heritage and who reflect the lower economic, political, and social status conferred upon these groups by the White majority (Ponterotto and Casas, 1991).

The term *majority group* applies to those who are members of "that group which hold the balance of power, influence and wealth in society. The majority group in the United States consists of the White population generally and more specifically, White middle-class males" (Ponterotto,

1993, p. 8). There is another segment of the American White male population however, which does not fit this designation.

A New York Times article of March 27, 1994, was titled, "Whites Without Money," and provides an insightful profile of the conditions afflicting poor Whites.

Unlike Blacks and other minorities, poor and mostly rural Whites have few defenders, no articulated cause, and they have been made to feel deeply ashamed of themselves. To be poor in a country that places a premium on wealth is in itself shameful. To be poor and White is unforgivable" (Brunt, 1994, p. 38). The consequence of this unforgivable condition is, "envy of power" (Brunt, 1994, p. 38).

Poor Whites, says Brunt, are angry and ashamed of their origins. That rage projects itself against minorities, who, in turn look down on poor Whites (Brunt, 1994). Thus far, academic research has not targeted this population on the issue of racial identity or interracial contact.

Given the demographic projections, it would be prudent to examine the possible impact of an "identity/status switch" in which those now placed in the majority status become the minority. This area has had little empirical investigation, however the available studies provide some insight into how this transformation may impact both groups. In one example, Phinney (1990) reported, "that when Whites are in the minority they show some of the characteristics of ethnic minorities in society" (Phinney, p. 18).

Sensitivity by White males to demographic, social, and political change has also been reported even when they are

in the numerical majority. A University of Cincinnati professor described her experiences with White male students in an article titled, "*Unalienating White College Males*." She quotes one of these students expressing his frustration: "I guess you could say I'm mad. All they ever do is lecture me about how to care about people who would blow my brains out if they could get away with it. Nobody gives a damn about me" (Dziech, 1995, p. 63). This suggests that these feelings are reflective of an overlooked and alienated group who feel ostracized for conditions they did not create directly (Dziech, 1995).

Historical domination by White men does not mean that their experiences are well understood. Some would argue that White men are the least studied of all groups today. Positive symbolic gain could be derived from developing courses on the White male's experience. We need to talk about how White men were viewed in the past and are viewed today and about how both men and women have been burdened by stereotypes (Dziech, 1995, p. 65).

The author recommends taking immediate steps to address the resentment of White males directly and candidly and cites the need to examine and support the White male experience.

Studies of intergroup dynamics (Farley, et al., 1978; Giles, Cataldo, and Gatlin, 1975; Myerson and Banfield, 1955; Stinchcombe, McDill, and Walker, 1969), determined that the racial composition of the groups had an impact on White males' comfort with other participants. These studies were designed to identify the actual point at which discomfort starts. Moreno (1934) theorized the existence of

an individual racial saturation point. This point, also called a tipping point, (Farley, et al., 1978; Giles, Cataldo, and Gatlin, 1975; Myerson and Banfield, 1955; Stinchcombe, McDill and Walker, 1969) has been correlated with specific percentages of each race. Whites tend not to be negatively affected until the percentage of African-Americans exceeds 30 percent of a given group (Farley, et al.; Matthews, 1966; Matthews and Prothro, 1966, Pettigrew, 1967). Other studies proposed that interracial groupings containing equal numbers of Blacks and Whites will be the least harmonious since neither group has numerical superiority (Longshore, 1984; Longshore and Prager, 1985).

A significant study by Davis, Strube and Cheng (1995) investigated the responses of African-American and White male subjects to their inclusion in small groups of varying racial composition as it affected group atmosphere, satisfaction and control. Using groups with compositions varying from, 23 percent, 50 percent and 75 percent African-American, Davis, et al., found the varying racial compositions had significant effects on the perceptions of group members.

The group atmosphere was most favorable when either African-American or Whites were in the majority and was least favorable in those groups in which neither African Americans nor Whites were in the majority. Racial composition may thus provide a powerful cue that prompts differences in comfort without engaging control concerns (Davis, Strube, and Cheng, 1995, p. 130 and 132).

In a subsequent study, using the same design, the researchers (Davis, Cheng, and Strube, 1996) introduced gender as a variable to determine if men and women responded differently to variations in racial group composition. Posing the question, "what racial composition is optimal?" This study randomly assigned the participants by race and gender to 30 four-person groups. Using the Desirability of Control Scale (Burger and Cooper, 1979), a specific measure of the desire to exercise control over events in one's life, their analysis of responses found that males had the least satisfaction with their group when the racial balance was equal, while females reported no similar effects. The researchers posed the question, "is interracial group racial conflict more a male phenomenon?" (Davis, Cheng and Strube, 1996, p. 163). "The data do suggest that small group dynamics are apt to be significantly affected by their racial compositions, and groups that include equal numbers of Black and White men may be most at risk for conflict" (Davis, Cheng, and Strube, p. 164).

Qualifying their findings with the caveat that the small numbers of participants and the lack of background experience information on the sample may have been significant, Davis, Cheng, and Strube (1996) encourage additional research on this long overlooked subject.

Phillips, suggested that one approach to the problem of interracial group interaction must focus on the feelings of white males.

What you have to look at is what makes White males feel inadequate and lead to aberrations on their part. What in their psyche leads to this behavior of inferiority and insecurity, and inequality where they turn to violence and suspicion?" (Farrell, 1996, p. 24).

Further examining the impact of racial composition, Helms (1993) suggests that the number of Blacks relative to Whites may influence the character of a group. She adds *racial climate* as a factor which is influenced by: perceptions of power, group racial norms and racial identity coalitions (Helms, p. 191). These variables impact the ability of the group to resolve intra- and interracial conflict and stimulate the process of positive racial identity development (Helms).

Davis (1980) suggested that Whites are accustomed to interacting with Blacks only in minimal numbers, and become distressed when the number of Blacks in any setting exceeds their low racial adaptation levels. Kibel (1972) and Brayboy (1971) reported racial identity development of the group members was an important element in the life of a group, since the individual stages have an impact on the racial identity state of the group as a whole. The current study examined the stage of racial identity development of two groups of undergraduate White males, one in the majority, and the second in the minority. Research by Social Contact theorists provide a context within which to examine the impact of these classifications, and to test the premise, proposed in the mid-1970s, "that individual racism can best

be eliminated by causing Blacks and Whites of equal status to interact" (Helms, 1993 p. 194).

The Literature of Race And Racism

"Racism in American is rooted deeply in the very structures of society and few issues or social problems in contemporary America lack a racial dimension" (Bowser, Hunt, and Pohl, 1981, p. 13). The complexities of this persistent American social construct has produced an abundance of academic analyses. The present overview focused on the perspective of White racism and its impact on Whites as discussed by social scientists and psychologists over the last sixty years.

Racism Defined

Given the many overlapping perspectives from which race has been studied, sociological, psychological, economical and political, it is prudent to review key definitions. Davidio and Gaertner (1986) stated that the popular use of the term *racism* stemmed from its use in the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (1968). As defined by Jones, "Racism results 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" (Jones, 1981, p. 28).

Many forms of racism have been advanced. McConahay and Hough described "*symbolic racism*" (Sears and McConahay, 1973; Sears and Kinder, 1971; McConahay and Hough, 1976) as the form of anti-black feelings, attitudes and behavior emerging among affluent, suburban segments of the American White population characterized by abstract moral assertions about Black Americans. A newly identified form of racism, called "*modern racism*" (McConahay, 1986; McConahay and Hough, 1976), was described as that in which the individual believes that discrimination no longer exists and that minority groups are violating cherished values and making demands for changing in the status quo. Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) further assert that modern racism is subtle and beyond conscious awareness.

Jones (1972, 1981) postulates three forms of racism: *Individual*, which is similar to prejudice but places emphasis on biological considerations and includes discriminatory acts. *Institutional racism* which is the intentional or unintentional manipulation or toleration of institutional policies that unfairly restrict the opportunities of targeted groups. *Cultural racism* which is most subtle and insidious and includes individual and institutional expressions of the superiority of one race's cultural heritage over that of other races.

Ridley defined *racism* as "any behavior or pattern of behavior that systematically tends to deny access to opportunities or privilege to one social group" (Ridley,

1989, p. 60). Ponterotto defines prejudice as, " an attitude or belief that is negative and based on a faulty and inflexible generalization" (Ponterotto, 1993, p. 13). Using these definitions Ponterotto, and Pederson suggest that it is possible for well-intentioned people who are relatively free of race prejudice to unintentionally engage in behavior that is racist. Ponterotto and Pederson state that prejudice transcends all racial/ethnic groups in the United States and all nations of the world. They propose that combating prejudice is everyone's responsibility, but focus on the individual and institutional racism of Whites since power is the force that drives racism and the White male majority hold the balance of power in the United States.

Katz and Taylor (1988) suggested a decline in the overt expression of racism through the 1980s due to the social stigma attached to it and to increased consciousness-raising directed at the general population. Despite this assessment, a survey by the National Conference Of Christians and Jews in 1994 found that racial stereotyping persists. Three thousand respondents were asked to comment on attributes ascribed to various groups. The findings revealed:

- 66 percent of the minorities surveyed (76 percent African-American, 56 percent Latino Americans, 54 percent of Asian- Americans) agreed that White people are insensitive to other people and have a long history of bigotry
- a substantial majority of Whites believe that members of minority groups are not subject to ongoing discrimination.

- substantial majorities of all groups continue to support integration as a goal. (SYNFAX WEEKLY REPORT, March 28, 1994, p. 209).

In *Souls of Black Folks*, W.E.B DuBois concluded that the "problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line" (DuBois, 1903, p. 29) and proposed that both the Negro and the White man are bound and barred by that color line. Given recent events, we appear to carrying this bondage into the twenty-first century.

Skillings and Dobbins, (1991) in alignment with others, (Delaney, 1980; Welsing, 1970) suggest that racism is a disease similar to addiction and prescribe a group treatment program for Whites. Using cognitive development theory, Skillings and Dobbins consider racism the result of cognitive dissonance experienced as a product of the inconsistencies and misinformation Caucasians learn about non-Whites in America.

In the nineties, there was a renewal in revelations of actions consistent with traditional racism. A review of current news reports detail anger, and hostility on the part of White Americans, primarily males, to changes in their status. White males in companies pushing diversity programs were described as "frustrated, resentful and most of all, afraid" (Galen and Palmer, 1994, p. 50). "After two centuries of running the nation, American White men are described as being threatened with a loss of power," (Graham, 1993, p. 26) and, as having a difficult time keeping up with the emerging minorities. With a more diverse

population entering the work force, White men are slowly becoming the minority. Through the year 2005 the Labor Department estimates that half of all labor force entrants will be women, more than one-third will be Hispanics, African-Americans and those of other races (Galen and Palmer, 1994, p. 51).

In his article about the emergence of anti-government militias, Farley (1994.) described irate, gun-toting White men. Leo challenges the stereotype of the "Angry White Male", suggesting that placing all White males in one category, called "gender-boxing," creates a mythical sense of homogeneity (1995, p. 22). Ullman (1996) and Walker (1995) suggested that White males are angry and opposed to preferences which induce worry about losing jobs and business to women and minorities. Ehrenreich (1995, p. 114) describes the "planet of the White guys," where the only form of discrimination left is the kind that operates against White males. Here, White men are routinely shoved aside to make room for less qualified women and minorities. This belief being reinforced by a 1991 National Opinion Research Center study that found a majority of Whites asserting that minorities were lazier, more violence-prone and less intelligent than Whites (in Ehrenreich, 1995).

With all the reports of racial challenges in America despite political and social changes in the last fifty years, questions have been raised as to the reasons for the apparent lack of a solution to the problem. Journalist Tom

Wicker (1993), a Southerner, considers entrenchment as one of the reasons for the increase in hostility between Blacks and Whites. Simply stated, "White People's consciousness raising in the 1950's was directed against segregation not against racism" (Wicker, 1993, p. 39).

In 1992, Wilson reversed his 1977 position on the declining significance of race, when he proclaimed racism on the wane. In the article, "The Rising Significance of Race," (Reynolds, 1992) Wilson states, "if you carefully study the data it is far more clear that racism is far more important than I once believed" (p. 85).

Attempting to Understand Racism

America's racial dilemma has been observed, defined, reviled and analyzed since its infancy. DeToqueville, in 1830 noted, that, "White Americans could countenance slavery only by persuading themselves that human beings of African origin were inherently inferior to the other races of mankind. Americans might set the Negro free but the danger of a conflict between White and Black inhabitants perpetually haunts the imagination of the Americans like a painful dream" (in Hacker, 1992, p. 215).

Myrdal's classic 1944 study *An America Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* proposed a theme that the United States was uniquely beset by the paradox of commitment to universal justice and equality while continuing to treat its principal minority race with a different set of standards. Hacker (1992) challenges

Americans to address these attitudes which cause so much stress because "the expression of racism goes well beyond personal prejudice and discriminatory institutions. It rests on judgments about culture and civilization, and who dictates the meaning of science and history" (Hacker, p. 28). History tells us that the legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia established Black slavery for life in 1682 (McLemore, 1990). However, we still do not know how that decision, ostensibly to divide and weaken the unified rebellion of the Black and White indentured servants, has continued to control the attitudes and judgments to which Hacker referred. Given the change in population, and the persistence of negative racial attitudes, DeToqueville's warnings of conflict are more urgent as we approach the year 2000.

Formation of Racial Attitudes and Beliefs

Prejudice and discrimination have been the primary forms in which American racial attitudes have manifested. Any effort to understand American racism must delve into the causes and cures of these phenomena.

Research on the formation of American racial attitudes and beliefs grew out of patterns of human development theories pioneered by Erikson (1968) and Piaget (1954). These theories, which focus on stages of development, during which specific skills are acquired and issues confronted, have considerable empirical support (Constantinople, 1969; Marcia, 1966; Adams, Shea, and Fitch, 1979). Between ages

three or four, children begin recognize their racial/ethnic background (Aboud, 1987; Katz, 1977). Until the age of seven or eight children gain in their ability to perceive similarities to those who are like them. Ponterotto (1993) observed that ethnic-attitude research on older children, between seven and twelve, is less conclusive, with some studies showing the continuance of negative attitudes toward those who are not similar, until age twelve. While other studies revealed a decline in prejudice after age seven.

A review of literature (Aboud, 1987) on the ethnic preferences of Black children aged two to eight found same group preference and negative attitudes towards Whites in 27 percent of the sample. These attitudes remained high until aged twelve. Fifty-seven (57) percent of the Black children displayed no ethnic preference. However, Ponterotto cautions, "it is important not to overinterpret the meaningfulness of such research since children's expressed attitudes are likely to be an artifact of the research method and the developmental stage of the child" (Ponterotto, 1991, p. 30).

Ponterotto (1993) stated that negative racial prejudice does not develop in a vacuum and (1993) cites the primary sources of learning about racism as: parents, the media, schools, the workplace, and the political arena. "Learning prejudice is easy, and so is expressing prejudicial attitudes" (Ponterotto, 1993, pg. 34). Each of these factors contributes to the development of attitudes which are

assumed to effect how individuals choose to behave when confronted with a choice about how to interact with Black people. With the onset of the historical changes which required more contact between the races, theories were proposed to address how changes in racial attitudes might be affected.

Social Contact Research

Most early work on racial attitudes was conducted by social psychologists interested in reducing prejudice to foster more inter-racial contact (Minard, 1931). Proshansky and Seidenberg (1965) define *attitude* as:

a complex tendency of the person to respond consistently in a favorable or an unfavorable way to social objects in his/her environment which is inferred from the individual's behavior on the basis of how he/she acts toward or what he/she says about the attitudinal object or referent" (1965, p. 97).

Investigators of attitudes have tried to quantify the cognitive, affective and behavioral components and to determine how they are consistently related (Proshansky and Seidenberg, 1965). Many of the classic research studies on attitudinal change focused on issues of race in American culture.

Horowitz, (1936) using a design which parallels the current study, measured the development of White boys' attitudes toward Negro boys in New York City, Tennessee, and Georgia. Using pictorial material Horowitz recorded children's preferences in specific social situations. Horowitz's "Show Me" and "Ranks" tests are precursors of

later attitudinal surveys such as the Situational Attitude Scale (Sedlacek, 1970). Horowitz found that young children were not devoid of prejudice; the southern groups tested showed no more prejudice than that of the children in New York City; White boys in a mixed school showed as much prejudice as those in an all-White school. His major finding was that "attitudes toward Negroes were not determined by direct contact but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes" (Horowitz, 1936, p. 121).

Bettelheim and Janowitz (1949) were among the forerunners of research on ethnic tolerance. Their study on group hostility proposed that hostility toward outgroups was a function of the hostile individual's feeling that he/she had suffered deprivations in the past. Those who had undergone deprivations were more disposed to ethnic intolerance. Using the variables; age, education, religion and socioeconomic status as correlates, they found the most intense anti-Semitism in those individuals who were downwardly mobile.

In their review of research on attitude change and motivating patterns, Sarnoff, Katz and McClintock (1954) found that specific approaches, e.g., rational persuasion, authoritarian suggestions, social rewards/punishments, and direct interpretation, had different outcomes. The direct interpretation method, which used a combination of logic and suggestion produced more liberal attitudes toward Negroes than did the rational persuasion method. Siegel and Siegel

(1957) examined attitude changes occurring over time when reference groups, and membership groups were identical and disparate. Their findings demonstrated that attitude change over time was related to both the membership and reference group. The greatest attitude change occurred in those subjects who gradually took the imposed, initially nonpreferred, membership group as their reference group.

Specific environmental factors, which would be present on a college campus, lend credence to the Social Contact theory. Amir (1969) reviewed interracial attitude variables and concluded that the attitudes of one group toward another are based on the dynamics of the situation. Pettigrew (1969) concluded the effects of contact between different groups was limited to that particular situation. McGuire (1969) reported that long-maintained contact produced a trend toward favorableness. Cover (1995), replicated earlier studies by Crull and Bruton (1979 and 1985) which had provided a basis for research on social contact hypotheses. Results of this study supported the author's hypothesis that social contact did not always lower social distance. Cover (1995) suggests that to lower social distance by contact the groups should not be competitors and their status relatively equal. The current study theorized that two environments which might meet these criteria are college campuses and the military.

The Military and Race

The current study incorporates the variable of military service as a long-term social contact experience which might impact racial attitudes. Allport summarized the findings of investigations done by Smith (1943), Deustch and Collins (1951) with this observation:

Prejudice may be reduced by equal status contacts between majority and minority groups in pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports and provided it is of the sort that leads to the perception of common humanity between members of the two groups (Allport, 1954, p. 281).

A major test of this formula was the desegregation of the U.S. military in the 1940's. A series of classic studies, using the Social Contact model, examined a variety of outcomes prior to, and after, President Truman signed an Executive Order integrating the armed services on July 26, 1948.

Stouffer's classic study of military institutions, *The American Soldier* (1949), aroused both scholarly interest and debate, made a major contribution to the methodology of social science research, and broke the barrier to sociological research in the American military. Stouffer reported a positive relationship between racial contact and a decrease in negative racial attitudes, and reported the degree to which Black soldiers rejected segregation and discrimination in favor of democracy and equality.

In an equally significant study, Williams (1964) reviewed social contact research and identified differential aspects related to a decrease in prejudice:

1. An authority perceived as legitimate and relevant specifies norms favorable toward contact
2. The two groups have similar values and interests and there is motivation to get along well with members of the other group
3. If the interaction between the groups is cooperative, intimate and prolonged there will be a decrease in negative attitudes
4. There is positive support from reference groups outside the situation and the absence of external threat (Williams, 1964, p. 81-82).

This egalitarian and authoritarian nature of the military met two of the Social Contact theorist's prime conditions for reducing prejudice. He considered the presence of these variables as "elements in a statement of maximum likelihood for the reduction of negative attitudes through intergroup contact" (Williams, 1964, p. 81). Williams based his theory on the "reward-cost" theme developed by Homan, (1961) Winch, (1962) Thibault and Kelly (1959) in which the individual evaluates the rewards and costs of a given relationship in terms of the attractiveness of the relationship and how satisfactory it is (Thibaut and Kelly, 1959). Williams recommended future research focus on the relative importance and interrelationships of these variables and also on the sequence of the events.

The majority of subsequent studies validated the findings that social contact decreased prejudice (Mann, 1959; Harding and Hogrefe, 1952; Suchman, 1958; Wilner, et

al., 1952). A subsequent study by Butler and Wilson (1978) found that separatist attitudes had virtually no effect on the degree of racial contact between Blacks and Whites, but that contact does moderately reduce separatist attitudes and is related to factors such as age, education, prior contact with other races, branch of service, rank, and home region of the country. A later study, conducted during the Vietnam War, (Schexnider, 1975) found that racial contact in the military reinforced separatist attitudes by exposing the gap between expected and perceived equality. Tansik and Driskill's (1977) posttest only study of the persistence of changes in racial attitudes after required training on different ethnic groups, found a small change in military supervisor's attitudes immediately following the course and then significant decay over a three to four month period. This research indicates the value of finding an intervention which will result in longer term attitudinal changes.

In 1974, Hiett, McBride, and Fiman conducted a study of the impact of race relations training programs in the military. This extensive study, using samples of Black and White servicemen in all four branches of the armed forces, collected data using a Racial Perceptions Inventory which measured attitudes in the areas of: perceived discrimination against Blacks; attitude toward racial interaction; feelings of reverse racism; racial climate; and incidences of discrimination. Background variables were: educational level; time in service; home region; previous contact and

off-duty contact. Race relations training was found to have an impact on attitudes, but was very small as defined in terms of the scores. Where change occurred it was primarily in the area of perceived discrimination against Blacks and attitude toward interaction. Hiett, et al., (1974) conclude, "the findings of this study suggest that racial attitudes and perceptions are complex phenomena. A person's race is a key factor in the way he sees the world around him" (1974, p. 113).

Despite the recommendations for ongoing research on racial attitudes in the military, a March 1996 report in *NEWSWEEK* magazine detailed the alarming increase in skinheads and White supremacists among its ranks after the December 1995 murder of a black couple by three enlisted men in the 82nd Airborne division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina (Vistica, 1996). Racism and the military have yet to end their relationship.

By the end of World War II, social scientists had moved from attitude/opinion survey research to an awareness of the interrelationship between attitudes and sociocultural variables such as status, life experiences and ideology (Williams, 1989). In addition to providing concrete data on the value of Social Contact theories, military studies raised the prestige of social science research, (Williams) by contributing to a broadening of the potential policy implications related to changing racial attitudes. Without

the data from this type of research, the military might have remained segregated. "Although military leaders continued into the 1950s to ignore the pressures for social change, civilian political leadership was more responsive, and a continuing flow of research data supported the movement toward desegregation" (Williams, p. 162).

Interracial Contact, Racial Attitudes and Desegregation

By the 1950's, the relationship between inter-racial contact and prejudice reduction was considered important to provide a rationale for social legislation such as public school desegregation. Mann (1959) reported that interracial contact reduced racial prejudice. McClendon (1974) challenged the Allport (1954)/Pettigrew (1969) theory of social contact as being too simplistic. He examined the views of other researchers who introduced new variables for examination. Newcomb (1956) and Rokeach (1960) proposed interpersonal attraction as a factor. "Rokeach hypothesized that equal status contact would reduce prejudice due to shared beliefs" (Rokeach, 1960). Sherif's theory (1958) of subordinate goals holds that when two groups in conflict cooperate toward goals which are important to both, conflict will be reduced. McClendon concluded that "contact will reduce prejudice when it creates a situation in which the prejudice no longer serves its old function" (1974, p. 61).

Numerous studies (Levin et al., 1969 and 1970; Bullock, 1973 and 1975; Warren et al., 1977; Patchen et al., 1975; and Cook, 1971) were conducted during the late 1960s and through

the 1970s using newly integrated school and/or social settings to assess the impact of interracial contact on racial attitudes. These studies were conducted testing newly designed survey instruments, e.g., Social Distance Scale, Projective Picture Test, (Trobuwitz, 1969) and participant interviews. Background information on the participants was collected and analyzed. By the 1980s specific variables were found to correlate with attitudinal change and social contact.

In 1972, Fugate and Kaplan conducted a study of racial interaction in public settings and found that avoidance was greatest in northern settings due to the ambiguity regarding racial contact. He also found avoidance greater among males than females regardless of race.

In a 1975 study, Bullock found more tolerance among White females than White males; and among Whites who attended desegregated urban schools versus rural schools. His next study (1976) found White intolerance related to higher status, parental attitudes and education, and frequent interracial contact.

Libarkin, (1976) found that homogeneity in social class was the most important variable in predicting interracial harmony. The importance of family attitudes was reinforced by Patchen, et al. (1975).

Sedlacek, Brooks and Mindus (1973) studied 1,391 undergraduates and found a high correlation between racial attitudes held by parents and those held by students. Eaton

and Clore (1975) studied Black and White children in a summer camp and found that the positive changes in attitude were generalized to the adults with whom the children interacted.

Social, political, and economic changes were reflected in the focus of interracial Contact Research conducted in the 1980s and 1990s. Sociologists, social psychologists, counseling psychologists and student personnel professionals, were increasingly concerned with the persistence of negative White racial attitudes and increasingly polarized attitudes among Blacks (Reynolds, 1992).

Social Effects of White Racial Attitudes

In 1953, Saenger observed that "no objective research has been undertaken on the effects of social prejudice on those who harbor it" (in Bowser, Hunt and Pohl, 1981, p. 23). This situation still existed in 1972 when Weston stated, "Whites have been neglected as a subject for study" (Weston, p. 16). The major early work focusing on the effects of racism on Whites was by Simpson and Yinger (1965) in which a list of possible benefits and costs are outlined. Of the few empirical studies dealing with the effects of racism on Whites, there were opposing findings. Szymanski (1976) studied the effects of economic discrimination and concluded that Whites did not gain from economic discrimination against non-Whites. Becker's study (1971) found Whites did benefit. Reynolds (1973) argued against the

thesis that racial discrimination is somehow consistent with wealth maximization. Other research focused on the social impacts of racism. Pettigrew (1973) proposed that nonracists are mentally healthier than racists based on social psychological literature.

In an effort to identify types of prejudiced persons, Brigham and Severy (1973) conducted a study of White college students who responded to a 13 dimension racial attitude scale. Their results suggested that Whites had different foundations for their attitudes towards Blacks, which would be a factor in any effort to change these attitudes. Wellman's *Portraits of White Racism* (1977) is a study of racial consciousness. Using case studies, Wellman gave a human face to racial attitudes and the internal ambivalence he found pervasive in all classes.

In 1993, racism was called a "difficult, confusing, painful problem that requires many voices, many perspectives" (Scheurich, 1993, p. 15). Scheurich posed the question, "how and why do we Whites avoid confronting our racism?" (1993, p. 15). Ogbu, (1978) and Hooks, (1990) admonished Whites to begin talking about their own racism. Scheurich (1993b) suggests that one obstacle in the process is the difficulty of hearing something that is painful or embarrassing. He suggests the best approach is one in which "racism can be critiqued while communicating a strong sense of caring and compassion for Whites who undertake the difficult process of confronting their own racism"

(Scheurich, 1993,p. 16). Sleeter (1993) contends that Whites tend to retreat from a personal identification with racism and that they evade discussing the subject to protect their own interests, which she equates with lifestyle, privilege and control of resources.

In a study conducted to explore the relationship between racism and White racial identity, Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994) replicated work done by Carter (1990) who found White men had more confusion about racial identity issues than White women. Using the WRIAS/SAS (Helms and Carter, 1990) and the New Racism Scale (Jacobson, 1985) with a sample of 243 White male and female college students, Pope-Davis and Ottavi found White racial attitudes to be predictive of racism and that there were "significant gender and age differences regarding White racial identity attitudes" (Pope-Davis and Ottavi, 1994,p. 296).

Despite the persistence of American racism, and its "unique construct as an accessory expression of institutionalized patterns of White power and social control" (Bowser, Hunt, and Pohl, 1981,p. 13), it has been noted that there is limited research on the effects of racism on Whites (Ashmore, 1976). Surveys of research on the effects of prejudice and racism show nearly all of it centering on minorities (Bullock, 1966; Campbell, 1971; Ehlich, 1973; Harding et al., 1969; Hoult, 1975; Katz, 1976; Pascal, 1972; Pettigrew, 1975; Westie, 1964).

Pope-Davis and Ottavi advocate more research on Whites.

As we move toward the 21st century, we anticipate that Whites will no longer constitute a majority. Given this potential reality, it may be time for Whites to explore their own cultural identity. This should not be done at the expense of others, but with a commitment by Whites toward understanding themselves as a racial group. Perhaps there is much that can be learned from those ethnic groups, that have had many years of experience in developing and understanding culture and racial identity and seeing it as a form of strength (Pope-Davis and Ottavi, 1994, p. 296).

These sentiments have been further reinforced by President Clinton in his recent initiative to encourage dialogue between the races. "Noting that in a half century, no ethnic group will comprise a majority," Clinton said, "now we know what we will look like, but what will be like" (Virginian-Pilot, 1997, p. A3).

Measuring Racial Attitudes

Racial attitude measurement instruments have been used by researchers since the 1930s (Thurstone, 1931; Ford, 1941), however many had suffered from methodological problems. With the onset of social changes bringing more diversity to college campuses in the 1970s, those problems were finally addressed by practitioners in the field of Student Personnel.

Sedlacek, developed the Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt) to measure the attitudes of Whites toward Blacks in 1970, revising it in 1979 (Minatoya and Sedlacek, 1979). Sedlacek saw a direct relationship between racial attitude measurement and reducing racism and prejudice. "If measuring racial attitudes can help produce behavioral change it has a

use and a function. If it cannot produce change, little or no time should be spent on it save for the curiosity of the pure scientist" (Sedlacek, 1972, p.1).

The Situational Attitudes Scale (SitAtt) was developed to minimize the degree of subject withdrawal from the measurement of racial attitudes and to eliminate the "social set" problem (Sigal and Page, 1920, in Sedlacek and Brooks, 1971, p.1) that kept subject's real feelings hidden as a means of appearing to be tolerant or positive toward Blacks (Rodgers, and Sedlacek, 1979). By adding the word "Black" to social and personal situations, Sedlacek found that there were different and more negative responses than if race were not mentioned (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972a). There were over fifty studies using the Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt) as a dependent measure between 1970 and 1995.

The Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt) asks respondents to select the feeling that best describes their response to ten social or personal situations where race may be a variable. Ten bipolar semantic differential scales (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957) were provided for each situation. Two forms of the SitAtt were developed. Each form contains the same situations, which range from impersonal to highly intimate. The forms differ only in the insertion of the word "Black" on one form to describe the individual in the situation. Positive and negative poles for each item were varied randomly to control for "response" phenomenon in

which respondents anticipate the selections based on a pattern of questioning.

Using the SitAtt, Sedlacek and Brooks found that, keeping all other conditions equal, the insertion of the word "Black" in a social or personal situation resulted in different and more negative responses from White subjects than if race were not mentioned. Using the SitAtt the researchers found that the reaction of the subjects depended upon the particular situation under consideration (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972a). Each of the ten situations presented in the SitAtt was relatively independent of others, which indicated the complexity of racial attitude measurement and the importance of considering the situational context (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1970a; Brooks and Sedlacek, 1970, 1971; Brooks, Sedlacek and Chapels, 1974; Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972; Chapel, Sedlacek and Miyares, 1978; Forrer, Sedlacek and Agarie, 1977).

Introducing new conditions, and variables, Sedlacek was able to assess tolerance in college students across a twenty year period. A 1971 study using the SitAtt found that White students had generally negative attitudes toward Blacks. The 1973 study found that both parents and students had negative attitudes toward having Blacks as roommates. A five-year study to analyze trends in racial attitudes of incoming freshmen between 1971 and 1976 found that race had become less relevant in some situations while remaining significant in situations involving personal contact (Miyares, and

Sedlacek, 1976). Looking at the same issue in 1981, Sedlacek and Minatoya found that White students had few sustained contacts with other races and did not see the need to alter that pattern. By 1984, Sedlacek found that Black and White students with racially isolated backgrounds had attitudes which were similar (Carter and Sedlacek, 1984). In a defining study of the attitudes of White students toward Blacks in a changing political climate, Minatoya and Sedlacek found that students still reacted negatively to situations in which race is specified. Sedlacek concluded, "Using research, program planning, evaluation and redesign, higher education could have a significant impact on how interracial contact is received. The difference between retrenchment and growth is too important to be left to chance" (Minatoya and Sedlacek, 1984, p.78).

A 1979 survey of male and female freshmen students found generally negative attitudes about Blacks. White women were found to be more positive toward Blacks than White men in situations allowing social distance (Rodgers and Sedlacek, 1979). In earlier studies, researchers found White women more negative towards Blacks than White males (Bogardus, 1959). The findings of White students having negative attitudes toward Blacks in situations involving close personal contact remained consistent in studies by Sedlacek in 1985.

A study of racial attitudes of White university students by Patterson (1994) found that the students in his

sample displayed different attitudes toward persons who were Black, Hispanic and American Indian than towards those who are White or Asian American. Patterson also reported White females as having less racist attitudes than White males.

A review of ten-year trends, 1978-1988, found that racial attitudes among incoming White students were as negative in 1988 as they had been ten years earlier. White students were found to be less open to interracial contact (Balenger, Hoffman and Sedlacek, 1992).

In a discussion of research implications, it was suggested that future research expand beyond simple assessment of attitudes and begin to address behaviors that follow negative White racial attitudes (Balenger, Hoffman and Sedlacek, 1992):

Researchers may be particularly challenged in their efforts to study the behavioral components of racism. Future research should investigate how Blacks and Whites relate in various campus situations, because certain types of interaction may reduce racial prejudice. Research following from Carter's (1990) work on the relationship between racism and White racial identity holds great promise. Research on White racial identity development has the potential to help us understand why Whites might not be sufficiently motivated to work with Blacks toward achieving full racial equality (Balenger, Hoffman, and Sedlacek, 1992, p. 250).

After years of focus on the value of Social Contact Theory in interracial attitudes research, attention was drawn to new developmental models. The value of this approach was validated with extensive studies emerging from the field of counseling and human development.

Racial Identity Development Theory

Racial Identity is a "complex and provocative concept that has evoked strong responses among the most circumspect of scholars" (Taylor, 1990, p. 66). The complexities of race in America are reflected in the diverse and controversial assessments of Racial Identity research. Despite the differing views, racial identity theory is seen as providing a foundation for the study of the origins, nature, and prevention of prejudice (Ponterotto, 1993, p. 37).

The basic tenets of racial identity theory are:

(a) All people go through a sequence of developmental stages with regard to the incorporation racial identity as part of their self-concept; (b) Each stage is associated with specific attitudes, beliefs and affective responses toward one's own and other racial groups; (c) Successful resolution of each stage moves the individual toward a more positive identification with his or her own race and a valuing of other racial groups; (d) Due to their different sociopolitical experiences in the United States, Blacks and Whites go through different sequences of racial identity development; (e) Since Whites have more power in the United States, they can retreat to avoid progressing through the stages of White Racial identity development (Regan, 1992, p. 43).

Exploration of racial identity is a uniquely American perspective on a uniquely American dilemma.

Definitions of Terms

In 1980, the State of Louisiana repealed its racial Classification Law which defined a person as Black if they had one thirty-second African ancestry, but retaining a law that identified as Black any individual who had any African ancestry, the "one-drop" rule that uniquely characterizes the classification of American Blacks (Utne Reader, 1994, p. 87). Given the degree to which Americans have gone to determine and regulate the racial classifications of its citizens, this issue continues to confound and confuse.

To the degree that a society does not distort its history and group definition, identity formation should be a relatively straightforward matter. However when the society itself fundamentally distorts reality, identity formation becomes more complex. I contend that in the United States, racial group memberships have been subjected to these fundamental distortions, with attendant consequences for the development of positive racial identities (Regan, 1992, p. 2).

The following definitions are used in the study of racial identity development.

Racial Identity: Helms (1993) defines racial identity as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's *perception* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group and the quality of that identification" (Helms, 1993, p. 3).

Race: In the context of racial identity development, race is defined as " a sub-group of peoples possessing a definite combination of physical characteristics, or genetic origin, the combination of which to varying degrees

distinguishes the subgroup from other subgroups of mankind" (Krogman, p. 49).

Racial identity development theory: is concerned with the psychological implications of racial-group membership (Helms, 1993, p. 4). Black and White racial identity theories examine psychological development from the level of racial similarity (Helms, 1993, p. 4).

Historical Perspectives

Racial Identity development theories evolved from models of human ego development. Erikson (1950, 1968) outlined human development in the form of a series of crises through which human beings must explore and master their own lives. The adolescent stage, characterized by identity versus role confusion, allows for the solidification of decisions and commitments to a belief system. Further work by Marcia (1966, 1980) reinforced the need for each individual to experience a crisis in accepting or rejecting ideas from childhood to successfully form an adult identity.

As relates to race, Erikson (1968) suggested that the process of identity development was "located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his/her communal culture" (p. 22). Erikson believed that the need for a group identity was an evolutionary key to survival, but was an unfortunate outcome of the human tendency to form groups (Phinney and Alipuria, 1987). Erikson suggested that the ultimate goal of identity development was to transcend an affiliation with only one racial group (Taylor, 1990).

The terms used by Marcia (1980): *Identity Diffusion*; *Foreclosed*; *Moratorium*; and *Achieved Identity* described stages in the process of moving from adolescence to adulthood. Subsequent studies (Phinney, 1990; Phinney, Lochner and Murphy, 1990; Waterman, 1984), correlated the later stages, *Achieved Identity* and *Moratorium*, with higher levels of psychological functioning and higher levels of self-esteem.

Most of the Identity Development research on how adolescents and young adults develop commitments to identity focused on the areas of occupation, religion, ideology and gender roles (Ponterotto, 1993). Research on racial/ethnic identity commitment levels has only recently been seen as "central to self as are the traditionally researched areas—namely career, political philosophy, religion and gender role" (Ponterotto, p. 41).

Black Racial Identity Development

Historically, the development of racial identity theories focused primarily on the racial identification of minority populations.

Counseling psychologists began to develop theories of racial identity in the 1970s as an outgrowth of observations made on the changes in self-esteem and behavior of Black students who attended predominantly White college and universities. Theorists were attempting to present a framework in which practitioners could be more sensitive to

racial issues which might influence the counseling relationship (Helms, 1993, p. 9).

Studies in the field of Counselor Education found that racial differences might be an important aspect of the counselor/client interaction (Jackson and Kirschener 1973; Katz, 1977; Jones and Seagull, 1977). Changing behaviors and increased militancy by Blacks presented challenges to the traditional views held by counselors and psychologists.

Much of the literature of the era played on White fears that Blacks would act out their anger toward White society via passivity, mistrustfulness, and or/overt hostility. Since there were no psychological models available for explaining how it was possible for Black people to develop healthy non-vengeful personalities in spite of the racial discrimination to which they had been exposed, most of the psychological literature engaged in deficit-modeling or the enumeration of all the alleged deficiencies but none of the strengths in the 'Black' personality (Helms, 1993, p. 10).

As a consequence of the concerns for their "client as problem" (Helms, 1993, p. 9) models of identity stages were proposed to designate which type of Black clients would be most likely to be "problematic for which race of counselors" (Helms, 1993, p. 10). In 1971, Vontress proposed that there were, "three types of Black people: "Black, Colored and Negro. Each type demonstrated a different type of racial identity via their inter and intra-racial thoughts, feelings and behaviors" (Helms, 1993. p. 10).

The goal of the "client as problem" model was to diffuse counselor anxiety by making the behaviors of certain Blacks more predictable. Despite its dubious validity, this

concept gave rise to further investigation of racial identity.

Nigrescence models, defined as "the developmental process by which a person "becomes Black" (Helms, 1993) were an attempt to separate aspects of Black identity development that occurred in response to racial oppression from those that occurred as a part of normal self-actualization. (Maslow, 1970). Many models of Black self-actualization and Minority Development were proposed between 1970 and 1984. (Akbar, 1979; Banks, 1981; Cross, 1971; Dizzard, 1970; Gibbs, 1974; Gay, 1984; Jackson, 1975; and Milliones, 1980). These models parallel the framework of Erikson and Marcia in using developmental stages through which individuals passed from "least healthy, White-defined stages of identity to most healthy, self-defined racial transcendence" (Helms, 1993 p. 17).

In the Cross model (1971, 1978), the least healthy stage, *Preencounter*, is characterized as having an identity defined and approved by Whites to the denigration of a Black world view. The stage of highest development, "*Internalization*" is the point at which there is an "internalized, positive, personally relevant, Black identity allowing for the rejection of all forms of oppression" (Helms, 1993, p 28). The formulation of specific characteristics for each stage was tied to cultural values which were investigated by Carter and Helms (1987). Their results suggested racial identity attitudes and gender as

predictive of complex Afrocentric value orientations and variables to be considered to increase effectiveness in the client-counselor relationship.

Using the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Parham and Helms, 1981) with Black college students, Helms (1990c) found there might be a curvilinear relationship between stage of racial identity and tolerance for diversity in which students at either end of the continuum, either the earliest stage, Preencounter, (Cross, 1971) or the latter stage, Internalization, (Cross, 1971) might express a greater tolerance for diversity.

Using her Multigroup Ethnic Identity measure, a scale which assesses attitudes toward interactions with other ethnic groups, Phinney (1990) found no relationship between tolerance and racial identity. In follow-up studies of Black college students, (Parham and Helms, 1981; Phinney and Alipuria, 1987) positive relationships were found between racial identity, preference for the race of a therapist, individual cognitive styles and self-esteem (Helms and Parham, 1990, Parham and Helms, 1985a).

As with other developmental models (Perry, 1970; Erikson, 1968 Marcia, 1966) movement from one stage to the next is precipitated by a challenge or confrontation with some "environmental stimulus that jars the individual's self concept" (Taylor, 1990, p. 72).

As in the current study, Parham and Williams (1993) sought to explore the relationship between Racial Identity

attitudes and various demographic variables: SES, income, gender, educational level and racial designation. A secondary purpose was to explore how individuals feel about specific factors, (e.g., home region, parental messages about race, educational environments) that influenced their identity development. Using the WRIAS/SAS, a background questionnaire and a developmental questionnaire, a sample of church going African Americans was surveyed. Overall results indicated that racial identity attitudes are related to where one is born and where one grew up. Significant relationships were found between education level, income level and racial identity, with higher levels of education associated with lower "immersion" (stage in which there is increased exploration of Black culture and heritage) scores and higher income levels associated with higher "pre-encounter" (stage in which there is behavior which devalues Blackness) and lower "internalization" (stage in which there is a decline in anti-White feelings) scores. Parham concludes with the suggestion that the Cross model of nigrescence may require expansion given the emergence of attitudes not accounted for in the original linear stages. The importance of this study is its incorporation of additional variables and in the broader community-based sample.

The term "disequibration" (Kurfiss, 1981) is applied to the actual experience that causes self-examination and growth, or denial and retreat or entrenchment. During the

time these models were being conceptualized, there was a widespread demand for change in the status quo in the Black community. The effects of racism produced a major "disequilibrating" crisis and fostered a new way of looking at Black identity.

White Racial Identity Development

Models of White Racial Identity have been developed by Ganter (1977), Hardimen (1982), Carney and Kahn (1984), Terry (1977), Kovel (1970), Gaertner (1976), Jones (1972), and Helms (1984).

The earliest constructs were White typologies in which theorists presented different ways of being White. Terry (1977) described three types of Whites. The first type, "Color Blind" denies race because to recognize it would make them racist. "White Blacks" attempt to adopt a Black identity and "New Whites", recognize that they are White, that racism is inherent in being White in America, and take responsibility for eliminating racism (Regan, 1992).

Typology models were followed by primary process oriented models which postulate a series of stages through which Whites first become aware of their racial consciousness and then grow into an acceptance of a pluralistic world view.

Hardiman (1982) and Helms (1984) proposed linear models of White racial identity development in which the White person progresses through a series of stages differing in the extent to which they involve racism and consciousness

of Whiteness. Helms (1984, 1990) suggests that if racism is denied, a positive White identity is less likely to develop (Helms, 1990b). This positive White identity is characterized by the abandonment of racism and the development of a non-racist White identity (Helms, 1990b, p. 49).

White racial identity development examines the process White Americans must undergo to acknowledge their race and accept the social implications of their racial group membership, power, privilege, and responsibility for making changes (Ponterotto, 1993, p. 63).

First to publish a theory of White racial identity, Hardiman (1982) constructed a model from research in sociology, anthropology and psychology. She proposed five stages of social identity and then five stages of White Racial Identity. Hardiman begins with, *Lack of Social Consciousness*, in which individuals are not aware of the internalized social norms to which White people are expected to conform. The last stage is *Internalization*, when the individual has balanced his/her racial identity with their overall social identity and are eager to teach others what they have learned (Ponterotto, 1993, p. 69).

The Helms model (1984) postulates stages which can be identified using a written self-assessment tool, the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS/SAS) which was developed in 1990. Helms and Carter (1990a) suggested that White racial identity occurs in a linear five stage process

in which the White individual moves from a stage of naivete with respect to race or racism to a sophisticated state of biculturalism or racial transcendence" (Helms and Carter, p. 67).

Helm's research, independent of Hardiman's (1982), sought to explore the process through which some Whites, "despite pervasive socialization toward racism, appear to have developed a White consciousness not predominated by racial distortions" (Helms, 1993, p. 53). An early instructor in anti-racism training, Karp (1981) described the process as one in which, "Whites must address their feelings of oppression, must seek out accurate information, discharge feelings related to racism, and consequently change their attitudes and behaviors" (Karp, p. 88).

Helms conceptualizes a two-phase process of White Identity Development. The first phase, "abandonment of racism" has three stages:

1. CONTACT-naivete about Blacks and ignorance of self as a racial being
2. DISINTEGRATION-anxiety related to the conflict between The desire to interact with Blacks and fear of ostracism by Whites
3. REINTEGRATION-overt or covert hostility toward Blacks

The second phase, "defining a non-racist White Identity" has three stages:

4. PSEUDOINDEPENDENCE-curiosity about Blacks who are similar to Whites themselves
5. IMMERSION/EMERSION-emotional and cognitive restructuring requiring an emotional catharsis releasing previously denied or distorted feelings
6. AUTONOMY-acceptance, appreciation and respect for racial differences

Helms is careful to describe the progression as ongoing rather than terminal. "This is a process wherein the person is continually open to new information and new ways of thinking about racial and cultural variables" (Helms, 1993, p. 66).

One of the first published studies of comfort with Blacks in the context of White racial identity was conducted by Claney and Parker, (1989) who found that Whites who were in the earliest state of development, foreclosed, or who were well acquainted with Black individuals, stage five, were more comfortable in situations with Blacks than Whites who had a moderate amount of contact with Blacks, (stages, two, three and four).

Taylor (1990) examined the effect of five variables predicted by the Perry Scheme of Intellectual and Ethical Development (1970, 1981) which theorized marked differences in the educational views of college students as a function of their cognitive development. These views, reflecting differences in personality and style, appeared to be related to their comfort or discomfort with a pluralistic world view

and tolerance for diversity (Taylor, 1990). Using measures of: intellectual development, self-esteem, racial identity, and lifestyle, she found that for White students, racial identity and intellectual development were significant positive indicators of tolerance.

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale, WRIAS (Helms and Carter, 1990b) is called the Social Attitudes Scale (SAS) when used by researchers to diminish respondent reactivity. The WRIAS/SAS was designed to operationalize the Helms model and has been used extensively in recent years. In this study, WRIAS/SAS was used to assess the stage of White racial development of the participants.

Each stage in the Helms model describes predictable attitudes, cognitions, feelings and behaviors with as they related to self, others and institutions. Empirical validation has been possible through the development of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scales (WRIAS; Helms and Carter, 1990).

The WRIAS/SAS, (Appendix H) is a rationally-derived instrument consisting of five 10-item sections and currently consists of five scales measuring Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudoindependence and Autonomy (Helms and Carter, 1990). An additional Immersion/Emersion scale is under development. For each of the 50 attitudinal statements, respondents are presented five-point Likert scales (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly

agree) to describe themselves. Respondents select from statements such as: "I hardly think about what race I am;" "I feel as comfortable around Blacks as I do around Whites;" and "Blacks and Whites can have successful intimate relationships." The subscale with the highest mean score indicates that the individual's beliefs correspond with this stage in the model (Helms, 1993, p. 69).

Specific attitudes have been found to correlate with each stage:

1. Contact-correlated with reduced anxiety and desire to initiate social contact with others (McCaine, 1986).
2. Disintegration-correlated with symbolic racism reflecting discomfort with Black People (Helms and Carter, 1990).
3. Reintegration-correlated with symbolic racism reflecting attitudes about cross-racial intimacy, Black character and public policy (Helms, 1990).
4. Pseudoindependence-intellectualizing racial discomfort.
5. Autonomy-correlated with racial acceptance.

Numerous studies of the SAS/WRIAS have validated the measure. Carter, (1990) investigated the relationships between the SAS/WRIAS Scales and Jacobson's (1985) Symbolic Racism scale. For White men, attitudes evolving from all five stages of White racial Identity development, as assessed by the SAS/WRIAS, positively predicted racism. For

White women, only Contact attitudes were negatively related to racism (Regan, 1992, p. 50). Claney and Parker's findings, (1989) in their study which operationalized Helms' (1984) model in a fifteen item scale, found a curvilinear relationship between racial identity development and perceived comfort with Black people; "those students who were either completely foreclosed (stage one) or who were well acquainted with Blacks (stage five) were more comfortable in situations with Blacks than Whites who had a moderate amount of contact with them (stages two, three and four)" (Claney and Parker, p. 449).

In the first study testing the SAS/WRIAS (Carter, 1984) each scale had Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficients of 0.90. In a subsequent study (Helms and Carter, 1987) reliability coefficients for each scale were reported in the ranges below :Contact-.55 to.67; Disintegration -.75 to.77; Reintegration -.75 to.82; Pseudo-Independence-.65 to.77; Autonomy-.65 to .74. Each scale has repeatedly exceeded the median reliability coefficient for personality tests of .54 as reported by Anastasi (1982).

The development and continued refinement of the SAS/WRIAS has allowed the study of White Racial Identity development to grow in scope and impact. However, the SAS/WRIAS has not been without critics. Swanson, Tokar and Davis, (1994) examined the content and construct validity of the SAS/WRIAS in two studies. They concluded,

The WRIAS appears to be the most frequently used measure of White American's racial identity development, and it will likely continue to be the instrument of choice. Preliminary evidence suggests that the WRIAS has some promise as a research and diagnostic tool, there is strong need to further investigate the instrument's psychometric properties. (Swanson, Tokar and Davis, 1994, p. 201).

Using factor analysis these researchers found confusion between Disintegration and Reintegration and between Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy. The Contact subscale had the lowest internal consistency coefficient of the five scales. In conclusion, there is an acknowledgment of the difficulty of measuring developmental constructs and suggest that the SAS/WRIAS needs further attention and revision. (Swanson, Tokar and Davis, 1994,). In her study of the construct validity and reliability of the WRIAS/SAS Alexander (1992) concluded that the reliability of the subscales ranged from very low to moderate.

The fact that this tool has been used continuously, despite challenges to specific aspects of its value, has allowed additional data about White Racial Identity to be collected and analyzed. Given the importance of this field of study, it is incumbent on researchers to continue testing the accuracy of this tool. In the last ten years of research into Racial Identity Development, the SAS/WRIAS has been tested repeatedly and has become widely accepted as a reliable instrument in this field of study.

Since the development of the SAS/WRIAS, specific studies, primarily with college undergraduates, have used the measure to explore racial dynamics. Block, Roberson and

Neuger (1995) found that White individuals with high levels of Autonomy attitudes had more positive reactions to interracial situations in the workplace.

Carter's (1990) study showed that men and women differ in their White racial identity attitudes. Men were found to have higher levels of Disintegration attitudes, suggesting that the White men in the sample were more "confused about racial issues as compared to White women" (p. 48). This finding was not corroborated by Curtis (1993) in her study of the construct validity of the SAS/WRIAS. She reported no difference in the responses to the WRIAS/SAS based on gender, or age. Curtis (1993) did find significant difference on SAS/WRIAS scores when analyzing for educational level. Curtis (1993) found students in vocational education had stage means higher than those in undergraduate and graduate programs.

Education, more than any other single factor has a direct bearing on an individual's own racial identity. The implication seems to be that education, no matter what the age, or which gender is tested, is the key to helping individuals become more racially aware and more highly developed in their own identity (Curtis, 1993, p. 88).

In a replication of the Carter (1990) study, Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1993) found Reintegration attitudes predictive of racism among college students. Repeating the same study with university faculty, Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1992) found Reintegration attitudes predictive of racism.

Gilchrist (1993) used the SAS/WRIAS to investigate the relationship between racial identity and age, gender and ethnicity. Using qualitative and quantitative analyses, Gilchrist's results supported the concept of racial identity, however she suggests it is a trait rather than a stage, and recommends additional research.

Overall, research using the SAS/WRAIS has validated the relationship between White racial identity attitudes and racism (Ponterotto, 1993, p. 79). The work of Hardiman, Helms, Carter and others has raised important questions and proposed specific ways of examining the ongoing dilemma of race in America. The current study attempted to add to the knowledge base of White racial identity dynamics as they are activated in White males as the minority.

White Students on Historically Black Campuses

Historically Black colleges have always enrolled White students and hired White faculty and administrators (Hazzard, 1989, p. 5). In fact, three of the first students at Howard University were White females. The experiences of these students has rarely been examined and the limited research on full-time White students on predominantly Black campuses has focused on descriptive and academic issues. The current study explores the attitudes and development of White male students on a historically Black campus from the perspective of racial identity and tolerance and compares them to those of White male students on a predominantly

White campus. Earlier studies provide an overview of what is known about this unique population.

One study using a design which parallels the questions posed by this study was conducted by N. Brown (1973). She compared Negro students attending a predominantly White University and those attending a Historically Black University on a measure of personality characteristics. Her findings reported that the students attending the predominantly White University were more like their White counterparts than the Black students attending a Black University. The current study sets a tone for the possibility of similar results for White students.

C. Brown (1980) wrote a synopsis of the White presence at traditionally Black Public College and Universities between 1837 and 1980. Brown found that despite steady increases, Whites were only ten to twelve percent of the total student enrollment. Brown cites specific concerns on the part of Black alumni, faculty and students who feared that "reverse integration" of these institutions would have the same outcome as public school integration (Hazzard, 1989). In the years following the 1954 Supreme Court decision many formerly Black public schools had been taken over administratively by Whites to the detriment of Black educators. Brown outlined the pros and cons of increased White enrollment but cautioned administrators to be prudent in their decision making on the subject.

Concerns of Black students related to the increased presence of White students were studied by Stocker and Magee (1988). Fayetteville State, one of the largest HBCU's, had an enrollment of 20 percent White undergraduates in 1987. The results of a survey of Black students found that 87 percent had no difficulty communicating with White students, 85 percent were not disturbed by their presence and 84 percent indicated they would welcome White students' participation in school functions. To date there have been no follow-up studies to further validate these results.

Willie advocated (1991, 1994) the increased recruitment of White students by Black colleges, stating his strong support of HBCU's, their special place in the upliftment of the African-American, and his belief that one way to liberate Whites in America from outdated stereotypes is to have them experience being in the minority.

Attendance at a predominantly Black college or university could do for Whites what attendance at a predominantly White college did for Benjamin Mays and others; eliminate for all time the myth of the inherent inferiority of all Blacks and the myth of the inherent superiority of all Whites (Willie, 1994, p. 157).

He quotes a four decade analysis by Schuman (Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo, 1985) which:

revealed a change in White racial attitudes away from absolute segregation but not toward full integration. A large proportion of Whites object to any action that might facilitate a change from a White to a Black majority and this opposition has decreased very little since the 1940s (Schuman, et al., p. 117).

Willie concludes, "a White minority educated in the presence of a Black majority contributes both to integration and liberation" (Willie, 1994, p. 158).

Hazzard (1989) reviewed studies on the reasons White students selected a Black College or University and found that the prevailing responses were; convenience, relevant courses and degrees and low tuition. At the time of this earlier research, the majority of the White students identified location and financial costs as major factors in their decision. Hazzard concludes her report with recommendations for the recruitment and retention of Whites as minority students at HBCU's, believing that this is an "idea whose time has come" (Stevenson, 1958, p. 298).

A study of White students at five predominantly Black colleges found these students to be older than their White counterparts enrolled at predominantly White institutions (Brown and Stein, 1972). In their 1977 study, the Southern Regional Educational Board collected data from White students at twenty predominantly Black schools in which approximately 10 percent of the students were White. Results found that extracurricular activities and personal services, such as counseling and financial aid, were the areas of most concern for White students. A study of the reports of racial incidents toward White students attending Black universities found that historically Black campuses are places where White students who are in the minority are not subjected to blatant acts of racial intolerance (Nixon and Henry, 1992).

Libarkin (1984) conducted a study using personal interviews with a small sample of White students enrolled at an HBCU. The students described their experience as a good one and indicated that they had improved their understanding of Black people (Libarkin, 1984).

In a 1990 study, the Southern Regional Educational Board found that White students at historically Black institutions were more likely to be upper-level or graduate students, married, enrolled part-time, living off-campus, and have higher grade point averages. They were also more likely to have selected education as their major. Further findings reported that the students' opinions about campus climate reflected their membership in the majority or minority group on campus rather than race, and White students indicated a lack of opportunity to express their concerns (Abraham and Jacobs, 1990).

Nettles, (1988) found that Black students attending White public universities were more dissatisfied than White students with the Black college experience. White students on Black campuses and Black students on White campuses reported higher ratings on feelings of discrimination than Whites on Whites campuses and Blacks on Black campuses (Nettles, 1988).

In her 1994 re-analysis of the Nettles (1982) study, Wells-Lawson found that when student background characteristics are taken into account, race, school type, and their interaction make a difference in the prediction of

academic performance, feelings of discrimination, and student perceptions of the accommodation of diversity in their campus environment. White students on Black campuses perceived more accommodation of diversity in the campus environments than that perceived by Black students on White campuses.

One of the few major studies of the beliefs held by White students attending a Black College, a study focusing on housing and student activities, was conducted by Stevens (1976). Using a questionnaire distributed by Student Affairs administrators at six HBCU's, she collected data on the total enrollment of White students and the number residing in campus dormitories. Fifty percent of the students gave cost as the primary reason for selecting that institution, however only 9 percent lived on campus. This study also found that 61 percent reported having friendly relationships with Black students, and 70 percent would recommend a Black College to other White students.

The findings of this twenty-year old study were encouraging. White students who have attended Black colleges may hold the key to healing our long-standing racial dilemma.

Objections from outside sources were numerous and strenuous, taking a toll on the friends of the Caucasians enrolled. However, Caucasian students felt that their experiences at the Negro Institution had taught them much that could not be learned from the textbooks (Marsh, 1971, p. 20D).

Summary

In summary, the limited data on White students enrolled in HBCU's reflects the lack of attention that has been paid to the "white minority experience." This is an area of great promise and possibility, which has the potential to enhance our understanding of how to move to a truly egalitarian society as envisioned by many of all races.

Clearly Whites in the United States have been burdened for years with the notion of White supremacy. Such a burden is a silly and unnecessary one to carry. This notion resulted in a civil war during the 19th century and almost contributed to the disintegration of this nation. It is possible that this burden can be lifted from Whites only by a "double-cultured" White person who has been immersed in the Black experience as well as the White experience. Such an individual with a broad multicultural perspective, after a sojourn among blacks, might be able to return to his or her own people and help them to lay down the heavy and useless ideology of White supremacy (Willie, 1994, p. 160).

The literature of race, social contact theory, racial identity development and racial interaction among college students is replete with concerns over the resolution of interracial tensions. The present demographic realities warrant careful attention given the pending change in the actual numbers of people of color in the United States. Our history has taught us that the human tendency to compete for perceived rewards can produce conflict and possible violence. We, in higher education, have an opportunity before us to address the "identity/status switch" of White males from the majority to the minority in a proactive and constructive manner. As we approach the new millenium, we can choose to foster the development of students toward the

direction of self-acceptance and universality, and bring about a new level of learning and tolerance. It is worth every effort to master the challenge posed by DuBois, once and for all. This study is a first step in the effort to build a bridge to a new understanding of race and racial development. It is possible that only through walking a mile as a "minority" will those who have been the "majority" reject old patterns and teach their peers a new way of living in our American rainbow.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Purpose

The current study, basic, and exploratory in nature, was designed to investigate the degree to which different groups of American White undergraduate males vary in their racial identity and racial tolerance. Initial interest in this area led the researcher to question the relationship between enrollment at a HBCU and racial tolerance; do students who enroll at HBCU's have different characteristics upon entry or does their experience at the HBCU's affect racial tolerance? While this study did not purport to test these hypotheses, it did explore how a measure of racial identity and comfort with Blacks differ between White male undergraduates who attend institutions in which their status is either that of the numerical majority or numerical minority.

This chapter will detail the procedures used to identify institutions and access the respondents. Complete descriptions of population, the data collection process, instruments used, and data analysis follow.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Problem Statement

How do White male students at a predominantly White university and those at a historically Black University differ in their comfort with Blacks and their level of White Racial Identity Development?

Hypotheses

The current study was designed to test three hypotheses:

Hypothesis one: White male undergraduate university students attending a historically Black university will score above White males who attend a predominantly White university on a measure of their comfort (SAS/SitAtt) with Black individuals.

Hypothesis two: White male undergraduate university students who attend a historically Black university who are at stage four or above, Pseudoindependence, as measured by the WRIAS/SAS will have a higher level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the SitAtt than their counterparts attending a predominantly White university.

Hypothesis three: Specific variables of student background and university enrollment will be related to the level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the SitAtt for White males attending both the predominantly Black and predominantly White university. (e.g., Age, Military Service, Racial Composition of High School).

Research Design

General Description

This was a quasi-experimental post-hoc design. The subjects were members of intact groups which did not allow for random assignment (Borg and Gaul, 1989). However, the sample from the PWU was randomly selected from the total population of White male undergraduates.

In this study, data were collected from two samples of undergraduate White males in attendance at institutions of higher education, both public urban universities. The instruments, procedures and incentives were equalized to decrease the possible impact on response rate.

This study was designed with the understanding of the possible threats to internal validity which address whether or not the experimental treatment, in this case, the enrollment at universities with different racial compositions, made a difference for this population. Factors which were possible threats to internal validity in this study were:

History: As outlined in Chapter 1, a number of racially significant events occurred during the time the study was conducted. The background of each participant was a factor and many background characteristics were included as independent variables.

Maturation: The actual time enrolled in either institution as well as chronological age would be a

possible threat to validity. Both factors were included as independent variables and effects were analyzed.

Instruments: Both samples were administered the same instruments with the understanding that the instruments were designed as attitude measures and pose questions which respondents might consider offensive.

Subjects were students already enrolled in either a PWU or HBU. Both samples were mailed survey packets containing; a cover letter describing the study, a Lottery/Consent form, a Background Questionnaire, an Instruction Sheet, a Social Attitudes Scale Survey (WRIAS/SAS), and a Situational Attitudes Survey (SitAtt). Both packets were identical with the exception of the cover letter identifying the students' institution. Participants were given an address to contact the researcher with any questions. To obtain valid results, it was necessary to address the importance of confidentiality. This study was designed to allow respondents complete anonymity. Given the sensitive nature of the survey instruments, and provide the distance necessary for the most honest responses possible to the two instruments, the researcher made no personal contact with any of the subjects or members of the respective university communities to preclude the possibility of introducing bias in the data collection process. The decision was made to mail no follow up materials to non-respondents to reinforce the guarantee of anonymity. The priority of this exploratory study was to garner candid responses on two measures of

attitudes toward Blacks. To that end, the choice was made to encourage participation with the offer of the chance for a monetary award, reinforcing the optional nature of the study.

Independent Variables

The selection of Independent Variables was consistent with conditions and circumstances, determined by prior research, to be related to tolerance and comfort with Blacks, as detailed in Chapter II.

Background Data

The predominant enrollment of race by campus was a major factor in the design of this study. The selection of an HBU over a PWU was theorized as a primary indicator of the subject's comfort with Blacks (SCHOOL).

The stage development theoretical framework for this study proposes that individuals grow through specific stages based on life experience. Having the age (AGE) and class standing (CLASS) of the respondents was necessary to support the use of a developmental model.

Extensive research and specific historical interventions involving racial tolerance in the military provided the basis for the selection of Military Service (MILSERV) as an independent variable. It was theorized that those who had served in the military would have had prior exposure to training programs and firsthand involvement with Blacks.

Social Contact theorists proposed that interracial contact would decrease prejudice and improve interracial relations. The variables which related to amount of contact with Blacks, (e.g., predominant enrollment by race; length of enrollment; racial composition of High School; Urban/rural upbringing; on/off campus living) emerged from Social Contact theory. The duration of enrollment, time since first enrolled, living arrangements, on- or off-campus, (LIVARR), background (BGKGRND), and high school racial composition (HSRACIAL), were selected as independent variables to ascertain whether or not amount of contact would have an impact on racial tolerance.

Researchers concerned with attitude development theorized that bias was learned from parents. They further proposed that educational level of parents had a bearing on the degree of tolerance in their offspring. Ponterotto (1993) postulates a relationship between negative racial attitudes and similar attitudes held by parents. Studies on interracial contact during the era of school integration included data on parents' educational levels (Bullock, 1975) and theorized a connection between values imparted by parents and the level of interracial tolerance of their children. The educational level of parents' (MOM'S/ED/DAD'S/ED) was included as an independent variable as indicated by prior research.

Research on recruitment and retention in higher education is replete with discussions of the importance of

financial aid. Financial Aid (FINAID) was selected since it is a major factor in college enrollment for many students, and used as an incentive for the recruitment of "minority" students. This study included this variable to determine whether students received financial aid might impact the choice of enrollment on the part of the subjects.

Social Attitudes Scale (WRIAS/SAS)

A final independent variable for the current study was the stage of White Racial Identity as measured by the WRIAS/SAS developed by Helms (1984). This instrument measures the stage of development based on the following sequence:

Stage One - *CONTACT*: characterized by naivete about Blacks and ignorance of self as a racial being; oblivious to racial/cultural issues; approaches the world with a color blind perspective; views Blacks with curiosity and/or trepidation.

Stage Two - *DISINTEGRATION*: characterized by the awareness of the social implications of race on a personal level; can feel caught between White and Black culture; does not want to assume responsibility for discrimination by acknowledging the benefits of their Whiteness; conflict between the desire to interact with Blacks and fear of ostracism by Whites.

Stage Three - *REINTEGRATION*: characterized by overt or covert hostility toward Blacks; idealization of everything

perceived to be White and denigration of everything thought to be Black.

Stage Four - *PSEUDOINDEPENDENCE*: characterized by an acceptance and curiosity about Blacks who are similar to Whites themselves; internalization of Whiteness and capacity to recognize personal responsibility to relieve consequences of racism; intellectual understanding of unfair benefits of growing up White in the United States.

Stage Five - *AUTONOMY*: characterized by an acceptance, appreciation and respect for racial differences; racially transcendent world view; internalized positive, nonracist White identity; values cultural similarities and differences; seeks to acknowledge and abolish racial oppression (Helms, 1993, p. 68).

Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of each stage through which White individuals in a White-dominated society may progress.

Table 1

Stages of White Racial Identity

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5
CONTACT	DISINTEGRATION	REINTEGRATION	PSEUDOINDEPENDENCE	AUTONOMY
naivete	anxiety related to	overt or covert	acceptance and	acceptance,
about	conflict between	hostility toward	curiosity about	appreciation
Blacks;	desire to interact	Blacks	Blacks who are	and respect
lack of	with Blacks and		similar to Whites	for racial
sense of	fear of ostracism			differences
self as	by Whites			
racial				
being				

(Helms, 1993, p. 68).

Dependent Variable

Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt)

The Situational Attitude Scale was developed by Sedlacek and Brooks (1970) and has been used extensively in student development research measuring attitudes of Whites toward Blacks in various social and personal contexts. The SitAtt was developed to measure the attitudes of Whites towards Blacks in a manner that would make psychological withdrawal difficult (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972. p. 2).

Instrumentation

Three instruments were used in this study.

Background Questionnaire

This questionnaire (Appendix F) was developed by the investigator to collect data on each participant. Items were selected based on prior research studies which identified specific background and student characteristics described in the independent variables section above.

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale, (WRIAS/SAS) (Appendix G)

This survey was developed by Helms and Carter (1990) using the premise that:

Attitudes about Whites, Whiteness, and White culture as well as attitudes about Blacks, Blackness, and Black culture propel the person's racial identity development. Each stage is characterized by attitudes about Whites and oneself as a White person and attitudes about Blacks and one's relationship to them. The stages, and attitudes reflective of those stages, are aligned from least sensitive to race and racism to most aware or conscious of race and racism (Helms, 1993, p. 68).

Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt) (Appendix H)

This measure of attitudes towards Blacks was developed in 1970 by Sedlacek and Brooks and has been used extensively in student development research.

Reliability and Validity

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS/SAS) (Helms and Carter, 1990) is a rationally derived instrument consisting of five 10-item subscales designed to measure attitudes related to Helm's original five stages of racial identity development. When used by researchers, Helms recommended using the title, "Social Attitudes Scale," to diminish respondent reactivity. This instrument has been in use since the mid 1980's and has been tested for reliability and validity. In a study to examine the validity of Helms' model of White racial identity development Tokar and Swanson (1991) found intercorrelations indicating that WRIAS/SAS scales for Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy subscale scores were the predictor variables that were significantly related to self-actualization measures.

The five scales were designed to measure each of the five stages: Contact; Disintegration; Reintegration; Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy. (Helms and Carter, 1990). For each of the fifty attitudinal statements, respondents use a five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree) to describe themselves. The subscale with the highest mean

score indicates that the individual's beliefs correspond with this stage of White racial identity.

This instrument has been in use since the mid 1980's and has been tested for reliability and validity in a number of studies (Helms, 1990; Westbrook, 1986 and 1987; Carter, 1990; Regan, 1992; Swanson, Tokar and Davis, 1994; Alexander, 1992).

Helms reported (1993) that each scale has been found repeatedly to exceed the median reliability coefficient of .54 reported by Anastasi (1982) for personality tests.

Psychometric Challenges

Research on White Racial Identity has been conducted since the 1980's, and thus is a relatively recent development. The foundation for this research is developmental psychology, whose proponents, Piaget (1954), Kohlberg (1958) and others suggest that individuals,

progress along a hierarchical continuum which is divided into a sequence of stages, with each stage representing a qualitatively different way of thinking. While this development is seen as sequential, it does not occur in a lockstep fashion from stage to stage, but develops unevenly over time (King, 1978, p. 36).

Thus, even stage models of development with extensive empirical grounding, and greater longevity, such as the Perry theory of student development (1970) have been challenged due to the "difficulty in separating its underlying constructs" (King, p. 40). Piaget (1954) further proposes that "development proceeds at an irregular rate and

requires readiness on the part of the individual for movement to a higher level of functioning" (King, p. 37). These basic factors of developmental theory suggest an inherent challenge in measuring distinct stages, since there appears to be no finite beginning or end to each stage. The overlapping quality of developmental stage theory present challenges to any measure designed to quantify distinct stages. This challenge has surfaced in White Racial Identity research.

Concerns have been raised in previous studies as to the reliability of the Helms measure. Alexander (1992) found the reliabilities of the subscales to range from .33 (Contact) to .76 (Disintegration). She found, "the reliability of the subscales of the WRIAS/SAS ranged from very low to moderate, with 77.4 percent of her sample unclassifiable on any subscale (Alexander, 1992, p. 18). Davidson (1991) reported serious limitations to the WRIAS/SAS in its present form. Newswanger (1995) made suggestions for specific technical revisions in WRIAS/SAS items. Grandner (1991), Tokar and Swanson (1991), and Gilchrist (1993) found that the high level of intercorrelation between the subscales an indicator that the scales may not be measuring pure constructs. Tokar and Swanson reported that the WRIAS/SAS, "appears to need further psychometric investigation and perhaps some modification" (1991, p. 299). Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994) found moderate reliability overall, exceeding the median alpha coefficient of .54, but suggested further refinement

of the scales (1994. p. 295). The most serious challenge to the WRIAS/SAS was made by Swanson, Tokar and Davis who stated:

The process of White Racial Identity may be better described by a greater number of substages or as a number of phases rather than stages. While we acknowledge the difficulty of measuring developmental constructs, the psychometric evidence to date raises doubts about what the WRIAS/SAS is truly measuring. The WRIAS/SAS needs further attention and most likely considerable revision (1994, p. 215).

With respect to the specific stages, Contact, the first stage appears to be the most difficult to quantify. Given that this stage is defined as a lack of awareness and naivete on the part of Whites, it presents an even greater challenge to concrete measurement. Tatum (1994) states that "individuals at the Contact stage perceive themselves as completely free of prejudice, unaware of their own assumptions about other racial groups" (1994, p. 464). Bollin and Finkel (1995) describe the response of a White female pre-service student teacher, in the Contact stage, who is asked to respond to the meaning of terms such as race, class and gender, "In your classroom it shouldn't make a difference what race, class or gender a child is. Even though you are aware it shouldn't make a difference" (p. 26). The difficulty of measuring this construct is confounded by the degree of sensitivity to racial issues and underlying feelings of discomfort. Describing this dynamic Tatum, states, "White students, in particular, often struggle with strong feelings of guilt when they become

aware of the pervasiveness of racism in our society. These feelings are uncomfortable and can lead White students to resist learning about race and racism" (1994, p. 463).

The WRIAS/SAS is a self-report survey which requires respondents to answer challenging questions with candor. Given the subject matter, and the difficulty of measuring stages which are not finite, it is reasonable to expect challenges to the degree to which the instrument can assess each stage.

While this researcher recognized that there are psychometric limitations to the WRIAS/SAS, at present, it is the most widely used instrument in the study of White Racial Identity. It is one of very few instruments available grounded in a theoretical framework and has been tested in numerous research studies. The reliability coefficients have been consistent over time and have generally exceeded the .54 median (Anastasi, 1982).

In an effort to address the challenges of reliability and the WRIAS/SAS, a review of reliability coefficients for studies using the WRIAS/SAS was done to assess the consistency of results with different sample sizes and populations. There were no prior studies conducted exclusively on male college students, however, the reliability coefficients of the present study were consistent with findings reported in the literature. Table 2 summarizes the reliability findings of this study as well as prior studies using the WRIAS/SAS.

Table 2

Summary of Alpha Coefficients for the Reliability of the White Racial Identity Scale

Study	n	Sample	Cont	Disin	Rein	Pseudo	Auto
Helms and Carter #1 1987*	506	M&F	.55	.77	.80	.71	.67
Helms and Carter #2 1987*	176	M&F	.67	.76	.75	.65	.65
Westbrook 1986	350	M&F	.67	.75	.82	.77	.74
Tokar and Swanson 1991	308	M&F	.61	.78	.84	.65	.71
Carter 1988	66	M&F	.53	.77	.80	.71	.67
Pope-Davis and Ottavi 1994	234	M&F	.50	.73	.76	.68	.64
Curtis 1993	147	M&F	.56	.81	.79	.57	.36
Evans 1997	182	M	.49	.83	.83	.71	.62
n=sample size M=males F=females * (Helms, 1993, p. 71).							

The three types of information on the validity of the WRIAS/SAS are content, construct and criterion.

Discussing content validity, Helms (1993) states the WRIAS/SAS includes items identified by other authors as being important components of White racial identity development. The greatest similarity is in respect to the stages from Reintegration through Autonomy. "Visual examination and logical analysis of the subscales suggests that items do reflect identity issues considered by White identity theorists (Hardiman, 1979; Terry, 1977) to be important aspects of White identity development" (Helms, p. 72, 1993).

Construct validity of the WRIAS/SAS concerns the adequacy of the scale to measure the hypothetical construct of White racial identity. The WRIAS/SAS subscales were examined by Helms to reveal interrelationships or correlations. Table 3 details the results of the correlation analysis.

Table 3

Summary of Matrix of Correlations Among the White racial
Identity Attitude Scale

SCALES	2	3	4	5
	DIS	REIN	PSEUDO	AUTO
CONTACT	-20	-32	49	39
DISIN		72	-52	-63
REIN			-55	-49
PSEUDO				63
AUTONOMY				

Note. From Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research, and Practice (p. 73), by J. E. Helms (Ed.) 1993, Westport, CT: Praeger. Copyright 1993 by Janet E. Helms. Reprinted with permission.

In a study to examine the validity of Helms' model of White Racial Identity Development, Tokar and Swanson (1991) found intercorrelations indicating that WRIAS/SAS scales for Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy subscale scores were the predictor variables that were significantly related to self-actualization measures.

Helms found Contact attitudes, representative of weakly positive racial identity attitudes, most similar to Pseudo-Independent racial attitudes. She further postulated that none of the interscale correlations were high enough to suggest that the scales are redundant, but that the pattern conforms to general "styles" of White Racial Identity Attitudes, one set which is characterized by reactivity and discomfort with racial issues, the other characterized by positivity and intellectual/emotional comfort with racial issues (Helms, 1993).

To assess the criterion validity of the WRIAS/SAS, each of the subscales was correlated with measures of other personality constructs to determine if the pattern for each stage is consistent with identity theory. Studies by McCaine (1986), Carter (1987), Hill, Helms, Spiegel and Tichneor (1988) found Contact attitudes related to interpersonal receptivity as long as the contact was initiated externally. Findings related to Disintegration attitudes (Westbrook, 1986; Helms and Carter, 1987) found higher Disintegration attitudes reflective of discomfort with interpersonal

interactions and a desire to affiliate with those who are White. Studies by McCaine (1986), and Carter (1987) support the character of the Reintegration stage as related to idealization of Whiteness and denigration of Blackness. Pseudo-Independent attitudes were found to be related to "liberal" racial attitudes in studies by Westbrook (1986) and Carter (1987). Evidence that Autonomy attitudes are the most flexible and racially accepting were found by Westbrook (1986).

The current study presents the opportunity to test the validity of the WRIAS/SAS by examining the relationship of this measure to the Situational Attitudes Scales (SitAtt). The validity and reliability of the WRIAS/SAS have been tested and data are sufficiently consistent to support the usage of each of the five scales. Helms (1993) cautions that the differences in racial circumstances in specific environments may produce different findings than those reported by others with respect to reliability coefficients.

Situational Attitudes Scale (SitAtt)

The SitAtt consists of ten interpersonal scenarios, followed by 10 five-point bipolar semantic differential scales (e.g., happy ...sad). Two forms of the SitAtt were developed, each containing the same situations, scales and instructions, however the word "Black" is inserted into each situation in Form B.

In the present study, only Form B was administered given that the purpose of the study was to ascertain

interracial sensitivity (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972). "The SitAtt can be used as an independent or dependent variable wherever a measure of racial attitudes is called for. In individual cases it is recommended that Form B be administered alone and responses compared to a norm table" (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972, p. 3) (Appendix I).

Since its development, in 1970, the SitAtt has been used extensively in over seventy studies of racial attitudes among college students and has been found to be effective in measuring the effects of race and ethnicity on situational attitudes.

"The reliability of the SitAtt was estimated by the computation of communalities in principal components factor analysis" (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1969). The median communality for Form A was .64 and for Form B was .65. In a later study Belanger, Hoffman and Sedlacek (1992) reported median communality for combined forms A and B at .60. The SitAtt has satisfactory internal consistency, with reliability coefficients ranging from .64 to .90 across numerous samples (Belanger, Hoffman and Sedlacek, 1992; White and Sedlacek, 1987).

In a 1993 report, Sedlacek reported, "the SitAtt methodology has been shown to have validity and reliability in measuring prejudice toward a wide range of racial, cultural and religious groups as well as older persons and athletes." (Sedlacek, 1993, p. i). "The SitAtt methodology can be used to determine the presence of absence of

prejudice and the degree to which it is present. The test-re-test and coefficient alpha reliability estimates are in the .70 to .89 range" (Sedlacek, p. 3).

In earlier studies, the validity of the SitAtt was determined by the mean response differences between Form A and Form B. In Form B, any significant mean differences were attributed to the word "Black" (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1970). The SitAtt has been tested for validity in numerous studies and has been found valid (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1970; 1971a,b; 1972a,c; Sedlacek; Brooks and Chaples, 1971; Brooks and Sedlacek, 1971; 1972; Brooks, Sedlacek and Chaples 1971; Ball, 1971; Eberly, 1972; Chaples, Sedlacek, and Brooks, 1972).

Data Collection Procedures

Population

The population being studied was White male undergraduate students, enrolled full-time at urban universities, one PWU, predominantly White, the other, HBU, historically Black. The total sample of 773 was drawn from all the White male undergraduates, 423, in attendance at the HBU total enrollment 3,381, (Fall 1994) and 350 randomly selected White male undergraduates, enrolled at the PWU.

The undergraduate student enrollment at the PWU in fall 1995 was 11,463. Of this number, 4,062 were White males, representing 35 percent of the total enrollment. A total sample of 350 White male undergraduates, enrolled at the PWU, was randomly selected by the Office of Institutional

Research and all individuals in the sample were mailed survey packets. The PWU had a Black student enrollment of 17 percent in fall 1995.

The total enrollment at the HBU the fall of 1994 was 3,381. Of this number 87 percent were Black. White students comprised 13 percent of the total enrollment. White male undergraduates numbered 423 and were 12 percent of the total student body. Survey packets were mailed to all of the White male undergraduates.

There was non-random assignment to the conditions of the study. Also, this study did not ascertain the level of tolerance or stage of Racial Identity of the students prior to their enrollment in the respective institutions.

Access

Most historically Black colleges and universities have such small numbers of White male undergraduates, that there were few settings in which the targeted populations could be accessed. The level needed to have a viable sample was set at a minimum enrollment of 200. The sensitive nature of the study created challenges in gaining permission to access students. Initial approval by a Historically Black University located in a southern state was withdrawn and resulted in the need to select an alternative Historically Black institution with a significant White male undergraduate enrollment.

Two historically Black Universities, one located in the south and the second in the mid-Atlantic had a White

male undergraduate enrollment figure above the minimum of 200 and were contacted for permission to collect data. Final approval for access from the mid-Atlantic Historically Black University was obtained in July of 1995.

Institutions were selected based on their location in urban areas and because each enrolled significant numbers of the target population. Both universities were are located in urban centers as defined by population. Based on the 1990 census, the city in which the predominantly White university was located had a population of 261,229. The city in which the predominantly Black university was located had a population of 75,695.

Data Collection

A total of 773 survey packets were mailed. Of that number, 423 were sent to the HBU sample, and 350 to the PWU sample. Of the 350 mailed to the PWU students, twenty-four were returned by the postal service. 85 were completed, making a return rate of 26 percent.

Of the 423 surveys mailed to the HBU sample, 97 were returned complete, making a return rate of 23 percent. Eleven packets were returned by the postal service as non-delivarable.

Given the sensitive nature of the survey and the reasonable need to avoid follow up, a 20 percent return rate was set as the minimum acceptable for this study.

Procedures

After receiving approval from the PWU Human Subjects Committee, and the Associate Dean of Research of the HBU, survey packets were prepared for each sample.

Each packet contained: an Introductory cover letter (Appendix E); a Lottery/Consent Form and Instructions (Appendix E); a Background Questionnaire (Appendix F); two Instruments, the Social Attitude Scale (WRIAS/SAS) (Appendix G) and the Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt) (Appendix H); and a large stamped and preaddressed return envelope. Recipients were instructed to complete the Lottery/Consent form which would confirm their voluntary participation and serve as their entry in a lottery which would award fifty dollars to three participants. In addition, the subjects were instructed to complete the background questionnaire and both survey instruments, and to return all materials in the stamped envelope.

Mailing labels were provided by the Offices of Institutional Research at both the HBU and the PWU. Upon receipt of these labels a survey code was assigned to each subject. This code was written on each stamped/addressed return envelope to insure accuracy in data collection and ensure confidentiality.

All those who returned surveys by the stated deadline were eligible to enter a lottery in which three participants at each university would be selected to receive \$50.00.

The HBU surveys were collected between September and

October of 1995. The PWU were collected between November and December of 1995.

As survey packets were returned, each background questionnaire, Social Attitude Scale (WRIAS/SAS) and Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt) was coded with the survey code assigned to that subject. Lottery/Consent forms were also coded and separated from the survey instruments.

Once the deadline for return of packets passed, all Lottery/Consent forms were collected and individual tickets were made using the assigned survey codes. Three numbers from each institution were drawn by a neutral party and Postal Money Orders for \$50.00 were mailed to each winner.

Data Reduction and Coding

Background Questionnaire

The background questionnaire completed by all participants collected responses on the Independent Variables for this study and was coded to facilitate data reduction and analysis (Appendix F).

Scoring

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale

The WRIAS/SAS was hand scored using a template for the ten questions related to each subscale. All WRIAS/SAS raw scores were first transferred from individual surveys to a scan sheet which was then overlaid with a template. The responses were coded numerically (e.g., 1=strongly disagree 2=disagree 3=uncertain 4=agree 5=strongly agree). For each

scale the numerical values circled by the respondent were added together and divided by the total of ten (10) scale items. The result was a total value calculated for each subscale as per Helms (1992).

Situational Attitude Scale

The Situational Attitude Scale was hand scored with a template on which the responses were assigned numerical values on a continuum of 0----4. (0= negative racial attitude/low tolerance; 4 =positive racial attitude/high tolerance). "SAS is scored so a high score equals positive racial attitude" (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972). Scores were summed across item responses and divided by 100 (Sedlacek and Brooks, 1972) resulting in a final score for each respondent.

Data Analysis

All coded data were entered into a data file for analysis with SPSS and SAS. Data were analyzed using statistical procedures specific to each hypothesis. These analyses produced statistical data on the impact of the independent variables on the racial and social attitudes toward Blacks held by the respondents.

Hypothesis #1: White male full-time undergraduate college students attending a historically Black college will score above White males attending a predominantly White college on a measure of their comfort with Black Individuals. A t-Test was used to compare means on the Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt) for each sample.

Hypothesis #2 : White male full-time undergraduate college students who attend historically a Black college who are at a stage four, Pseudoindependence or above will have a higher level of comfort with Blacks, as measured by the SitAtt, than their counterparts attending a predominantly White university. Data were analyzed using a t-Test to compare means between institutions on the SitAtt for each respondent who was at a stage 4 or higher on the SAS/WRIAS.

Hypothesis #3: Specific variables of college enrollment will be related to the level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the WRIAS/SAS for White males attending both the predominantly Black and predominantly White university (e.g., age, military service, racial composition of high school/background). A linear regression analysis was conducted to determine those variables related to level of comfort and tolerance for each sample.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The data collected for this research study are reported and analyzed in this chapter. The data collection and analysis was organized around the three hypotheses which were formulated to address specific questions regarding the difference in racial tolerance and White Racial Identity of White males attending urban universities. Included in this chapter are the following topics: (a) descriptive data profile of the respondents, (b) statistical data analyses, (c) summary.

Descriptive Data Profile of Respondents

A total of 182 completed surveys were returned and analyzed. Of this total, 85 were from the PWU and 97 from the HBU.

As a group, the respondents at the HBU were older than those at the PWU. The average age for those attending the PWU was 25.8; and 29.8 for those attending the HBU. As summarized in Table 4, the distribution by classification placed most of the respondents in the Junior or Senior class. At the PWU, 6 percent of respondents were freshmen, 18 percent sophomores, 35 percent were juniors, and 41 percent were seniors. The respondents at the HBU were 12 percent freshmen, 9 percent sophomores, 23 percent juniors and 32 percent seniors. A difference in respondents was noted in the "other" category which reflected those students

who were not classified due to their status as non-degree seeking students. The HBU respondents included 29 percent who were seeking recertification or retraining, versus only one percent in the same category at the PWU.

The majority of respondents at both institutions reported attending a predominantly White high school, 72 percent at the HBU and 71 percent at the HBU. Only 4 percent of those attending the PWU attended a predominantly Black high school, while 39 percent of those at the HBU attended a predominantly Black high school. There was only a small difference in the percent of those who attended an integrated high school at both institutions. At the PWU, 22 percent attended an integrated high school, and at the HBU 18 percent attended an integrated high school.

There was a larger percentage of the sample who had served in the military at the HBU where 35 percent had served while only 24 percent served in the military at the PWU.

A large percentage of respondents at both institutions, 82 percent at the PWU, and 78 percent at the HBU, received financial aid reflecting the general importance of financial aid for students.

The majority of respondents at both universities live off campus, 86 percent at the PWU and 97 percent at the HBU. Of the PWU respondents, 12 percent came from a rural background, 21 percent from a small city, 33 percent from suburban background and 34 percent from an urban background.

In the case of the HBU respondents, 35 percent were from rural areas, 39 percent were from small cities, 17 percent from suburban settings and 8 percent from urban backgrounds. A complete summary of these findings is presented in Table 4.

Table 4

General Descriptive Data Profile of Respondents

	<u>SCHOOL</u>	
	<u>PWU</u>	<u>HBU</u>
Variable		
Average Age	25.8	29.8
% Military Service	24%	35%
% Freshmen	6%	12%
% Sophomores	18%	9%
% Juniors	35%	23%
% Seniors	41%	32%
% Other	1%	29%
Pred. White H.S.	72%	71%
Pred. Black H.S.	4%	39%
Integrated H.S.	22%	18%
Have Fin. Aid	82%	78%
Live on Campus	14%	3%
Live off Campus	86%	97%
Rural Background	12%	35%
Small City	21%	39%
Suburban	33%	17%
Urban	34%	8%

Statistical Data Analysis

In order to address the goals of this research, appropriate statistical tests were employed in analyzing the data collected. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were employed in the data analysis.

Tests of Independence for Samples

Key to understanding the results of this study and evaluating the hypotheses, is an initial evaluation of respondent characteristics at each school. Distribution of students by school across dichotomous variables were evaluated to determine if substantive differences in student characteristics existed. T-tests were conducted to evaluate continuous variables by school.

In order to test for the independence of the dichotomous background variables in the present study, a Chi-Square value was calculated for each.

Military Service

As reported in Table 5, 35.0 percent of the HBU respondents had served in the military compared to 23.5 percent of those at the PWU. A Chi-square value of 1.98, with 1 degree of freedom, a probability of 0.159, and a Pearson's r of .104, indicates that the samples did not differ significantly on military service.

Table 5

Subject Characteristics-Military Service

<u>SCHOOL</u>					
<u>Military Service</u>	<u>PWU</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>HBU</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	20	23.5	32	33.0	52
No	65	76.5	65	67.0	130
Total	85	100.0	97	100.0	182

Chi-square = 1.99. p= 0.159 df=1; Pearson r=.104 p=.073

University Life

Table 6 summarizes the distribution of living arrangements of respondents at each institution. Of the 85 respondents from the PWU, 15 percent lived on campus and 85 percent lived off campus. Only 3 percent of respondents lived on campus at the HBU, while 94 percent lived off campus. The Chi-Square value was 8.41, with a probability of .004, 1 degree of freedom, and a Pearson's r of -0.215. Because the probability of the Chi-Squared was less than 0.05, a larger proportion of students at the HBU lived off campus than those at the PWU.

Table 6

Subject Characteristics-University Life

	<u>SCHOOL</u>			
	<u>PWU</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>HBU</u>	<u>%</u>
Live on campus	13	15	3	3
Live off campus	72	85	94	97
Total	85	100	97	100

Chi-squared = 8.41, $p=.004$, $df=1$; Pearson $r=-0.215$

Father's Education

According to the percentage distributions, the fathers of respondents appeared to be more highly educated at the PWU than those at the HBU. As summarized in Table 7, of the 85 respondents at the PWU, 27 percent of their fathers were college graduates, while only 14 percent of the HBU respondents had fathers who had graduated from college. The Chi-Square value for Father's Education was 11.74, 6 degrees of freedom, a Pearson's r of -0.216 , and probability of .072. These results indicated no significant differences in the sample for father's education since the probability is greater than .05.

Table 7

Subject Characteristics-Father's Education

SCHOOL				
<u>Variables</u>	<u>PWU</u>		<u>HBU</u>	
	#	%	#	%
percent				
Dad's Educ-Grades 1-8	6	7	7	7
Dad's Educ-High School	23	27	44	46
Dad's Educ-Some College	16	19	21	22
Dad's Educ-College Grad	23	27	14	14
Dad's Educ-Post-Grad	16	19	9	9
Dad's Educ-Don't Know	1	1	2	2
Totals	85	100	97	100

Chi-square = 11.74, $p=.072$, $df=6$; Pearson $r=-0.216$

Mother's Education

As summarized in Table 8, the percentage of respondents with mothers who were college graduates was similar in the two samples. In the PWU sample, 19 percent of the mothers graduated from college, in the HBU sample the percent of mothers with a college degree was 15 percent. The results of the Chi-Square were 7.858, with a probability of .164, 5 degrees of freedom, and a Pearson's r of -0.112. The

variables were determined to be independent since the probability was greater than .05.

Table 8

Subject Characteristics-Mother's Education

<u>Variables</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>			
	<u>PWU</u>		<u>HBU</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Mom's Educ-Grades 1-8	4	5	1	1
Mom's Educ-High School	33	39	53	55
Mom's Educ-Some College	25	29	24	25
Mom's Educ-College Grad	16	19	15	15
Mom's Educ-Post-Grad	5	6	4	4
Mom's Educ-Don't Know	2	2	0	0
Totals	85	100	97	100

Chi-square = 7.858, p=0.164, df=5; Pearson r=-0.112, p=.073

Financial Aid

As summarized in Table 9, respondents indicated whether or not they were receiving financial aid and identified which types. The frequencies for these selections was calculated and a distribution reported. At the PWU, 70 percent were receiving financial aid. Of that number, 20 percent had Grants, 19 percent had Scholarships, 59 percent

had loans, 25 percent had Work-study and 19 percent had veteran's benefits.

Of the 78 percent receiving financial aid at the HBU, 28 percent received Grants, 20 percent had Scholarships, 26 percent had loans, 24 percent had Work-Study and 20 percent had Veterans Benefits. The result for the Pearson Chi-Square value was .457 the probability was .498 with one degree of freedom.

A Chi-Square value for each type of financial aid was calculated. The Pearson Chi Square value for scholarships was .017, the probability .896 with one degree of freedom. For Work-Study recipients the Pearson Chi-Square value was .692 and the probability was .405, with one degree of freedom. For loans, the Pearson Chi-Square value was 20.425 with a probability of .0001, with one degree of freedom. The significance was attributed to a lower percentage of loans for the students at the HBU. For Grants the Pearson Chi-Square value was 1.517, the probability .218 with one degree of freedom. The Pearson Chi-Square value for veterans benefits was .642 with a probability of .422 with one degree of freedom. These data are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9

Subject Characteristics-Financial Aid

<u>Variables</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>				<u>Pearson</u>	
	<u>PWU</u>		<u>HBU</u>		<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>		
Have \$ Aid	70	82	76	78	.457	.498
*Grant	17	20	27	28	1.517	.218
*Scholarship	16	19	19	20	.017	.896
*Loan	50	59	25	26	20.420	.00001
Work-Study	21	25	23	24	.692	.405
*Veteran's Benefits	16	19	19	20	.642	.422

* respondents selected all that applied

Background

As summarized in Table 10, respondents reported their background by selecting from a list of choices based on population guidelines. In the PWU sample, 11 percent were from rural backgrounds. Twenty-one percent were from small cities, with a population of 2,500 to 50,000. The distribution reflected 33 percent who were from suburban areas, with a population of 50,000 to 100,000. There were 35 percent from urban backgrounds with a population of 100,000 or more.

The HBU sample was distributed with 34 percent from rural backgrounds, 39 percent from small cities, 19 percent from suburban backgrounds and 8 percent from urban backgrounds.

The Chi-Square value for background was 35.129, probability was .001, and 3 degrees of freedom. This was significant since the probability was less than .05. The results reflect a larger percentage of respondents from urban backgrounds who attended the PWU and a larger percentage of respondents from the HBU from rural areas and small cities.

Table 10

Subject Characteristics-Background

<u>Variables</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>			
	<u>PWU</u>		<u>HBU</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Rural background	9	11	33	34
Small city background				
2,500-50,000	18	21	38	39
Suburban background				
50,000-100,000	28	33	18	19
Urban background				
<100,000	30	35	8	8
Total	85	100	97	100

Chi-square = 35.129, p=.001, df=3; Pearson r=-0.432, p=.063

High School Racial Composition

As described in Table 11, the distribution of the respondents by the racial composition of their high schools was similar. The PWU enrolled 70 percent of the sample from predominantly White high schools, 5 percent from predominantly Black high schools and 25 percent from integrated high schools. The HBU enrolled 71 percent from predominantly white high schools, 10 percent from predominantly Black high schools and 19 percent from integrated high schools.

The Chi-Square value was 2.650, with a probability of .266, 2 degrees of freedom, a Pearson r of -0.041 and probability of .074. High school racial composition was not significant since the probability was greater than .05.

Table 11

Subject Characteristics-High School Racial Composition

<u>Variables</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>			
	<u>PWU</u>		<u>HBU</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Predominantly White High School	60	70	69	71
Predominantly Black High School	4	5	10	10
Other (eg., Integrated High School)	21	25	18	19
Totals	85	100	97	100

Chi Square= 2.650, $p=.266$, $df=2$; Pearson $r=-0.041$, $p=.074$

Class

The distribution of the respondents by academic class is reported in Table 12. Class was found to be significant since there was a difference in distribution between the PWU and the HBU. There were twice as many freshmen in the HBU sample and more seniors in the PWU sample. There were more nonclassified students at the HBU. The results of the Chi-Square for class was 30.53, the probability was .001, 4 degrees of freedom, and a Pearson r of .170 with a probability of .072.

Table 12

Subject Characteristics-Class

<u>Variable</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>			
	<u>PWU</u>		<u>HBU</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Freshmen	5	6	12	12
Sophomores	15	18	8	8
Juniors	29	34	20	21
Seniors	35	41	30	31
*Other	1	1	27	28
Totals	85	100	97	100

* unclassified returning students seeking certifications, etc.

Chi-square = 30.53, p=.001, df=4; Pearson r=.170, p=.072

Age and Years Enrolled

Table 13 summarizes the results of a t-Test of independent means calculated for the continuous variables of age and years enrolled in each institution. The mean age for the PWU sample was 25.87 and 30.22 for the HBU. The mean for years of enrollment at the PWU was 2.9, while the mean for the HBU was 2.63. The PWU t value for age was -3.20 and .57 for years enrolled. The t value for age at the HBU was -3.17 and .57 for years enrolled. Age was significant at the .05 level.

Table 13

Results of t-Test of Continuous Independent Variables

<u>AGE</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>t Value</u>	<u>p</u>
PWU	25.87	8.50	0.922	-3.20	.016
HBU	30.22	9.85	1.000	-3.17	.001
<u>YEARS ENROLLED</u>					
PWU	2.93	3.41	0.369	0.57	.565
HBU	2.63	3.72	0.378	0.5717	.568
<u>MEAN HIGH SAS</u>					
PWU	4.164	1.11	0.120	-3.56	.0008
HBU	4.628	0.60	0.060	-3.56	.0005

* significant at $p < .05$

Distribution of Responses to Social Attitudes
Scales(WRIAS/SAS)

Table 14 summarizes the frequency distribution of the number of respondents who scored in each category of the Social Attitudes Scale. The Social Attitudes Scale, (WRIAS/SAS) subscales were scored from 1 (low) to 5 (high), and was coded based on which scale was the highest for each respondent. In this calculation of the frequency distribution, 124 of respondents scored in the mid-range (3) of the Contact scale.

Table 14

Distribution of Subject Responses by Social Attitudes
(WRIAS/SAS)

SAS Subscales (scale low 1 > 5 high)

1=0-1.99 2=2.0-2.99 3 =3.0-3.99 4=4.0-4.99 5=5.0

n= number of students in this category

Contact

	1	2	3	4	5
PWU	n=0	n=10	n=60	n=15	n=0
HBU	n=0	n=7	n=64	n=26	n=0
Totals	0	17	124	41	0

Disintegration

	1	2	3	4	5
PWU	n=1	n=30	n=41	n=13	n=0
HBU	n=9	n=59	n=28	n= 1	n=0
Totals	10	89	67	14	0

Continued

Reintegration

	1	2	3	4	5
PWU	n=0	n=31	n=40	n=12	n=2
HBU	n=7	n=57	n=31	n= 2	n=0
Totals	7	89	71	14	2

Pseudoindependence

	1	2	3	4	5
PWU	n=2	n=2	n=42	n=36	n=3
HBU	n=0	n=1	n=25	n=66	n=5
Totals	2	3	67	96	8

Autonomy

	1	2	3	4	5
PWU	n=0	n=2	n=30	n=51	n=2
HBU	n=0	n=0	n=21	n=65	n=11
Totals	0	2	51	116	13

Tests of Statistical Significance for Hypotheses

Hypothesis #1

Results for the first hypothesis are summarized in Table 15. To address Hypothesis 1, a t-Test of independent means was calculated to determine if a difference existed between the White males attending the PWU and those attending the HBU on the Situational Attitude Scale (SitAtt), a measure of their degree of comfort with Blacks. Using SPSS, the PWU mean was calculated at 2.2, with a Standard deviation of .495 and Standard Error of .054. The mean for the HBU was 2.5, with a Standard Deviation of .401 and Standard Error of .041. The F value was .772. There was a difference between the PWU and the HBU sample on the measure of tolerance which was statistically significant at $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 1 was supported for this study. Results for this hypothesis are summarized in table 15.

Table 15

Hypothesis 1- White male undergraduate university students attending a historically Black university will score above White males attending a predominantly White university on a measure (SitAtt) of their comfort with Black individuals.

Results of t-Test of Situational Attitude by School

N=182

	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>p</u>
PWU	2.20	.495	.054	.001*
HBU	2.50	.401	.041	.001*

$t = -4.6$, $df = 180$, * was significant at least at $p < .001$

Hypothesis #2

To address Hypothesis 2, a t-Test of independent means was calculated on those respondents in the sample who scored at a stage four, pseudoindependence, or above on the measure of White Racial Identity, the WRIAS/SAS. Individuals not meeting this criterion were factored out of the total sample and totalled 160. There were 67 at the PWU and 93 at the HBU included in the test for Hypothesis two. The mean for the PWU sample was 2.31 and 2.53 for the HBU. The t value for both samples was -3.37. A $p = .001$ was used to determine significance in sample means.

There is a difference in the results of the t-Test between the PWU and the HBU which is statistically significant at the .05 level. Hypothesis two is supported for this study and results are summarized in Table 16.

Table 16

Hypothesis 2-White male undergraduate university students who attend a historically Black university who are at stage four or above, Pseudoindependence, will have a higher level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the SitAtt, than their counterparts attending a predominantly White university.

Results of a t-Test of SitAtt by school for respondents who scored at a Stage 4, Pseudoindependence or Stage 5, Autonomy.

	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>t Value</u>	<u>p</u>
PWU	67	2.31	.418	.064	-3.37	.001*
HBU	93	2.53	.386	.064	-3.37	.001*

df=158, $p < .001^*$, significant at least at $p < .001$

Hypothesis #3

A summary of the results of data analysis for Hypothesis 3 are summarized in Table 17. A linear regression analysis was calculated to determine the relationship of

specific independent variables to the level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the SitAtt.

The only two independent variables which were significant were school and WRIAS/SAS at least at the .05 level. These findings did not support the hypothesis which was formulated to reflect prior research which placed specific criteria, military service, parent's education and background as having a relationship to tolerance.

To further refine the analysis, a second linear regression was prepared eliminating school and WRIAS/SAS and thus more carefully isolating the potential effects of background variables. This analysis showed that age and financial aid had the highest relationship to tolerance but neither was at the .05 level. The results of the second linear regression are summarized in Table 18.

Table 17

Hypothesis 3- Specific variables of university enrollment will be related to the level of comfort with Blacks as measured by the SitAtt for White males attending both the predominantly Black and predominantly White university. (e.g., age, military service, high school racial composition)

Results of Regression Analysis of Independent Variables

$r^2=.2104$, F value= 3.752

<u>Variable</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Parameter Estimate</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T for HO</u>	<u>Prob>T</u>
school	1	.257	.076	3.370	.0009 *
age	1	.005	.004	1.200	.2302
milserv	1	.071	.083	0.863	.3893
finaid	1	-.098	.084	-1.170	.2433
yrsernld	1	.008	.009	0.845	.3990
class	1	-.020	.030	-0.667	.5058
momsed	1	-.029	.039	-0.754	.4519
dadsed	1	.012	.032	0.384	.7018
livarr	1	.072	.122	0.592	.5544
hsracial	1	.035	.040	0.862	.3902
bckgrnd	1	.032	.035	0.920	.3588
highsas	1	.144	.037	3.795	.0002*

N=182, * variable was significant at least at 0.05 level

Table 18

Results of Regression Analysis # 2 of Independent Variables

r2=.0607, F value=1.104

<u>Variable</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Parameter Estimate</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>T for HO</u>	<u>Prob>T</u>
age	1	.007	.004	1.580	.1156
milserv	1	.020	.089	0.225	.8223
finaid	1	-.013	.090	-1.510	.1310
yrsenrld	1	.003	.010	0.292	.7705
class	1	-.004	.033	-0.123	.9020
momsed	1	-.009	.042	-0.213	.8319
dadsed	1	-.014	.034	0.408	.6837
livarr	1	-.060	.130	-0.463	.6640
hsracial	1	.035	.040	0.862	.3902
bckgrnd	1	-.023	.035	0.660	.5101

N=182, * variable was significant at least at 0.05 level

Validity Test of Instrumentation

The use of the SitAtt with the WRIAS/SAS added a validity component to the study to address issues of the reliability of the WRIAS/SAS. Concerns about the reliability of the WRIAS/SAS were alleviated by a high correlation, (n=182, Pearson R value= .3429, p=<.001) between the degree of tolerance as measured by the SitAtt and the stage of White racial development as measured by the WRIAS/SAS.

Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the statistical analyses of the data gathered from the three instruments used in this study. Descriptive data were compiled and frequencies calculated.

The hypotheses addressed the difference in tolerance and White Racial Identity of White males attending two institutions of higher learning, one in which they were in the majority, the other in which they were in the minority.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported by the findings of this study. The third hypothesis was not supported without the independent variables of school and WRIAS/SAS score. Prior research would have been confirmed had other variables, such as military service or background proved significant.

In the following chapter conclusions and recommendations for future research are discussed.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This study was basic, exploratory research on the "White" minority experience focusing on White males. The purpose of the study was to examine the difference in stage of White Racial Identity and tolerance for Blacks between two populations of White male undergraduates, one enrolled in a predominantly White urban university, the second in a predominantly Black urban university. This chapter will examine findings, review implications of the study, and make recommendations for further research.

Findings

The findings of this study supported the hypothesis that White males who attend a Historically Black University were at higher stages of White Racial Identity development and held more tolerant attitudes toward Blacks than their counterparts at a predominantly White university. Using survey instruments designed to measure the stage of White Racial Identity and level of tolerance, the statistical results indicated significance between the two groups. Thus, it would appear that, for this sample, the White males who were in the minority had reached a higher level of development than their peers who were in the majority.

The size of the sample lends itself to conjecture as to whether there was sampling bias. Those who were less tolerant, or were in the earlier stages of Racial Identity

development could choose to ignore the survey. The results of the distribution of subject responses to the WRIAS/SAS revealed a total of 124 students scoring in the mid-range of the Contact scale, the earliest stage of racial identity development. The distribution of respondees in this category was almost equal between the PWU and the HBU which could indicate that the sample did contain students who are at the earlier stages of Racial Identity development rather than a majority who had already reached the highest stage of Autonomy. Also, a frequency distribution of the SitAtt scores at the PWU revealed that 50 percent scored between 1 and 2.15 on a scale of 0-4 indicating the presence of students who had lower levels of tolerance. At the HBU 50 percent of the sample scored below 2.35 on the SitAtt also indicating the presence of students who had lower levels of tolerance. Thus, the samples did appear to have reflected a range of levels of tolerance and Racial Identity development which would be consistent with the overall population.

This study did not test statistically for the difference in overall WRIAS/SAS levels between the HBU and the PWU. An examination of the descriptive data indicates 68% of the HBU sample were at the highest stage, Autonomy, while 45% of the PWU were at the highest stage. Future studies will be needed to test this variable for statistical significance.

Background Variables

In an effort to identify specific variables which might relate to levels of tolerance, a Background Questionnaire was collected from participants and the data coded and analyzed. Despite prior research in Social Contact Theory, which identified parental educational levels, personal contact and racial composition of high school, the only two variables which were related to tolerance were the score on the White Racial Identity measure and the institution of enrollment. This finding suggests that for this sample, only the enrollment at the institution was related to the degree of tolerance for Blacks. Thus, the study provides a foundation for further questions, but does not validate earlier research asserting the importance of parents' educational levels, prior contact with Blacks in high school, or personal contact, such as living on campus, and length of enrollment, as having a relationship to tolerance.

Statistical tests of Independence and regression analyses between the two samples did reveal patterns which might have an impact on the results. Prior research connected racial tolerance with level of parental education. However, in this study this variable did not prove significant. Social contact research proposed that increased contact between the races would also produce increased tolerance, however, in the current study there was a larger number of students who were from an urban background

attending the PWU, while the larger percentage of those at the HBU were from rural areas and small cities. Thus, the findings of this study are not consistent with earlier research using these background variables.

The question raised by this finding is whether there are additional background variables, not identified in earlier studies, which have an impact on tolerance for this population. This study did not address issues of social climate, extracurricular activities, athletic involvement or academic major. Prior research has focused on quantifiable variables such as age, socioeconomic status and exposure to Blacks in earlier educational settings. With changes in social and political environments it is within reason to consider qualitative factors as contributors to degree of tolerance.

A major finding of the current study was the lack of significance of military service. Extensive research has been done on the efforts to facilitate integration and intergroup tolerance in the military since World War II. Extensive studies on repeated interventions involving servicemen proposed the impact of military service as a factor in higher levels of development and higher tolerance. Despite both institutions being situated in locations with military installations, the number of respondents who had served in the military was smaller than those who had not. Further, the findings did not support the significance of military service for either sample.

Another independent variable that was proposed to have an impact on enrollment was financial aid. Research in higher education studies of enrollment and retention have emphasized the importance of financial aid in the selection of an institution. Stevens (1976) reported that fifty percent of the White students attending the Black college in her study gave cost as the reason for selecting that institution. In the current study, both samples had a high percentage of students receiving financial aid. The major difference was in the area of loans, with 59 percent of the students at the PWU having loans compared to 25 percent at the HBU. The actual tuition for each institution was not reported, however, this data indicate the possibility that costs were covered by means other than loans for those attending the HBU, and may reflect a different socioeconomic status than those at the PWU. Withdrawing school and WRIAS/SAS score, in the second linear regression, financial aid was a predictor of tolerance, but not at a .05 significance level. For this sample then, it was only the actual enrollment in the institution and the stage of development that were statistically related to the degree of tolerance.

The results of this study did indicate a higher level of Racial Identity development, on the WRIAS/SAS, for those students in the sample who attended the HBU. The sample from the HBU was older than their counterparts at the PWU which is consistent with profiles of White students at HBCUs in

earlier studies (Brown and Stein, 1972). Given the developmental nature of the WRIAS/SAS, those who are older could, based on more life experience and exposure, be expected to be at higher stages of development on this measure. When school and WRIAS/SAS score were withdrawn from the second linear regression, age was a predictor of tolerance, but not at a .05 significance level, and thus could not be cited as a predictor for this sample. Larger sample sizes could have resulted in a significant result on this variable.

Also consistent with prior research for the HBU sample was the large percentage, 94 percent, who live off-campus. However, the same finding was also true for the PWU sample, where 85 percent lived off campus. This variable warrants further examination, since those students living off-campus in an urban setting may come in contact with Blacks in the larger community, thus expanding the amount and quality of their social contact and contributing to their level of Racial Identity development.

Prior research samples using the WRIAS/SAS have consisted of White men and women. Recent studies (Davis, Strube and Cheng, 1995) suggest that White males may be more sensitive to the demographic and social impact of changes in their status, even suggesting that racial conflict might be male phenomenon. However, the general lack of significant sample sizes or studies targeting White males indicates a need for caution in the generalization of these findings.

Indeed, Carter (1990) and Curtis (1993) reported findings that contradicted the assertion of differences between men and women on measures of their White Racial Identity.

Claney and Parker (1989) found the same curvilinear relationship for White students as Helms (1987) found with Black students on measures of tolerance. Those with limited or extensive contact with Blacks or Whites were more tolerant than those with a moderate amount of contact. In the current study, there was no data on the amount of contact, however it was assumed that those at the HBU had a greater amount of contact with Blacks given their minority status. The current findings did not reinforce the curvilinear relationships found by either Helms (1987) or Claney and Parker (1989). The HBU sample was higher in both level of tolerance (SitAtt) and stage of White racial Identity development (WRIAS/SAS).

The findings in this study were interpreted purely quantitatively. There were no qualitative components. Given the sensitive nature of the subject, the methodology selected gave priority to promoting candid, uncensored responses from the participants, which precluded follow up by direct contact. However, in light of these exploratory findings, additional research now has a point of beginning and there are may be new questions to address.

Implications

The impetus for the current study was the continued resurgence of racial strife between diverse groups in higher

education settings. Despite years of school integration, the goals of that intervention appear to have eluded the educators charged with the task of preparing young people to function effectively with diverse groups. With the technological advances bringing countries and cultures into closer and more immediate contact, it appears that the more basic need, to constructively address intergroup tension, has yet to be strategically and effectively resolved. The onset of the new millennium has heightened attention to the future of economies, societies, and the planet, yet the path to that new era is laden with vestiges of past fears, divisions and confusion as to how we will teach tolerance for others.

In the design and development of interventions and programming, it is prudent to consider the role of faculty and Student Personnel staff in higher education. Charged with facilitating growth and challenging students to move outside of their comfort zones, new strategies must be entertained. The current study simply identifies the difference in level of tolerance between two samples of White male students. The question to be answered is, "are there ways to expose students attending predominantly White institutions to a more diverse environment in an effort to increase the possibility of heightening their tolerance?" Can we offer more inter-campus exchanges between White students to allow for candid and supportive interactions? Would the exchange of faculty and staff between

predominantly White institutions and historically Black institutions create the "disequilibrium" that would foster growth and tolerance? Can we, as leaders in the field of education begin to see these different environments as fertile learning opportunities rather than as competitors for students? The implications for application to the field of higher education may only become accepted as the demographic shifts are more evident.

The study of Human Development has produced stage theories through which the progress of individuals can be observed and nurtured. The theoretical foundation of this study was the premise that individuals can grow and change and that conditions in the environment can be structured to facilitate that change in a healthy progression. The major question of this study was, are there environmental conditions in which White males who are in the minority can feel comfortable and interact effectively with a Black majority population? The few settings where this condition could be observed required a review of parallel studies involving Blacks as the minority. The Historically Black University was selected as a suitable beginning point for this research.

The major implication of this study is the need for expanded research on Whites as the minority. The demographic projections for the United States through 2030 place Whites as being only 53 percent of the population and White males the numerical minority overall. This phenomenon represents a

drastic change in the general perception of the population as well as a challenge to the traditional view of the American populace. Beyond the political ramifications, the factual reality that White men, long held as the major power and influence in this country, will gradually diminish in numbers, appears to be painfully disequilibrating for many now in this category. Recent events reflect the discomfort with which certain groups are responding to this change. It is imperative that educators take a proactive stance in addressing this issue. To ignore the matter of this "identity/status" switch portends dissonance and strife, which has historical precedence, as groups struggle with one another for power and position. There must be a better way. It is for those in the positions of influence, as educators, to accept and constructively explore means and methods for identifying underlying causes of intergroup tension and begin to teach alternatives.

In a recent interview, the President of Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut (Campanella, 1997) stated that the only institutions left in the most inner cities are universities and hospitals. He was addressing the need for these institutions to take greater responsibility for their surrounding communities and to accept the impact on their survival of being located in "White islands" surrounded by Blacks and other people of color. President Dobelle alluded to the discomfort experienced by potential students and their families when faced with the racial makeup of the

community in which Trinity, a highly selective institution, is based. The implications of this reality have rarely been publicly acknowledged, but have a bearing on the viability of many such institutions. The urban university which is still a predominantly "White" university has a vested interest in learning how to teach its students to accept their minority status with aplomb rather than dread. The study of "Whites" as the minority has the potential to unearth positive interventions which can be implemented to the mutual benefit of the institutions and the community at large.

An additional implication of this research is the contribution to the current Presidential initiative to stimulate an open dialogue on race relations between diverse groups in this country. Past endeavors have focused almost exclusively on the acceptance and inclusion of African-Americans and other people of color. Rarely has any attention been paid to the "White" experience as a major variable in the process. This study may provide the basis for new questions to be posed in this dialogue, and identify an untapped resource, White males who are now in the minority, as the bridge between their peers and the increasing numbers of Brown and Black citizens of this country.

Recommendations for Further Research

The focus of this initial study focused exclusively on undergraduate White males. The study was limited to the use of survey instruments designed to measure White Racial Identity and degree of tolerance. The measures were self-reports and did not allow for any anecdotal comments. There was no observed behavior or corroborating evidence. There is no way to know how the respondents actual feel about these issues.

There is an implication for the reliability of the White Racial Identity Scale in this study. The instrument is designed to measure stages through which Whites may grow in their understanding of themselves as racial beings. The first stage, Contact, is described as one in which the individual is oblivious to his/her identity as a White person. The challenge is evident, it is unclear as to how to accurately assess a stage in which the individual has yet to be aware of themselves as even being a racial being. This construct may have to be revisited, and alternatives to a self-report designed.

Future research should address the issue of increasing participation in a manner that will not compromise the anonymity of the respondents. Generally, survey research involves collecting instruments in established classrooms, with a captive sample. Given that this research is specifically designed to poll White males, and maintain their right to confidentiality, the question of

how to balance that criteria in a classroom setting with a mixture of students requires additional attention.

The nature of attitudinal studies of sensitive subjects examining feelings about race would be best served through the use of qualitative methodologies. The instruments used in this study could not address a range of feelings or the conditions that contributed to them. Qualitative methodology would allow for the use of focus groups in which White males could express their feelings and concerns with honesty and candor, thus providing researchers with clarity on the selection of additional variables which were not examined in this study. In addition, prior quantitative research on racial identity and tolerance identified variables which were not found significant in this study. There appear to be other variables operating for White males who choose to attend a HBU rather than a PWU. Identifying these factors may only be possible by listening to White males themselves. Future research on the "White minority experience" might best be conducted by White males themselves, either as interviewers, or focus group leaders, to decrease the potential for sensitivity and censorship of honest feelings.

Future research could focus on the "White minority experience" at different stages. Longitudinal studies could be made of White alumni of Historically Black universities. Studies should be made of White males whose "minority" experience is an ongoing and daily reality, as with athletes and those in specific segments of the entertainment

industry. Parallel studies should be conducted on White males who are graduate students, or who are in specific academic majors.

Additional research should be conducted by those designing interventions for White students who are still in the majority. Specific interventions must be evaluated in light of concrete objectives. Prior research has found that the type and duration of programs can be the major factor in the increase or decrease of comfort with diverse groups. It is incumbent upon those designing programs intended to foster tolerance to recognize the most effective design, rather than produce the opposite effect. Many "racial tolerance " workshops on predominantly White campuses are received with other than enthusiasm by the target groups.

Future research should involve the faculty, administrators and student personnel staff of the Historically Black universities. What is it that they have learned about meeting the needs of their majority and minority populations that could be the basis for further research on Racial Identity and tolerance. We need to know how they make the White student feel a part of the community, or at least not an outsider. This information has the potential to be extremely beneficial in the training of future Student Personnel professionals.

The most compelling study yet to be done would involve White males who have demonstrated the growth through the White Racial Identity stages in a qualitative study of the

experiences that fostered that growth. Research that could provide educators with the framework for moving White people from anxiety and apprehension about being the minority, to a place of comfort and acceptance would be a major step forward in our human development.

These recommendations are only a sample of the broad range of studies possible on the "White minority experience." We stand at a crossroads in taking a proactive stance on the subject of intergroup relations. It is imperative that we, as educators, continue to move forward. The developmental process allows for new constructs to replace those that we have tried for years, and found wanting.

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APPENDIX A

**DISSERTATION ACCEPTANCE AND HUMAN SUBJECTS
APPROVAL FORM**

FORM I

DISSERTATION PROSPECTUS ACCEPTANCE

This is to certify that the Dissertation Prospectus entitled:

Variation In White Racial Consciousness and Perceived Comfort:

With Blacks of White Male College Students Attending An Urban

Black College presented by Cheryl L. Evans SS # 031-34-8063,

in the Higher Education Concentration, was accepted by the
student's Dissertation Committee on September 29, 1994
(date)

Approved by Human Subjects Committee: Yes No

Chairperson Human Subjects
Committee

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE:

Maurice R. Berube 9-29-94
Chair Date

Fred L. Adair 9-29-94
Member Date

Martina Smith Stange 9.29.94
Member Date

Member Date

APPROVED:

Concentration Area Director Date

Dean (Education only) Date

Return to Concentration Area Director with copy to Student
Records Office.

Form I 88/89

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF PERMISSION FOR USE OF SITUATIONAL ATTITUDES

SCALE



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

COUNSELING CENTER

May 3, 1996

Dr. Cheryl L. Evans
University of Evansville
School of Education
1800 Lincoln Avenue
Evansville, IN 47722

Dear Dr. Evans:

You have my permission to use the SAS in your study. Good luck.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William E. Sedlacek".

William E. Sedlacek
Professor of Education
Assistant Director,
Counseling Center

APPENDIX C

STATEMENT OF RESEARCH APPROVAL FROM HBU

December 1997

An official letter of approval from the specified
Historically Black University used in this study is on file
in the Office of Institutional Research at Old Dominion
University, Norfolk, Virginia and will be available for a
period of five years from the date of this study.

APPENDIX D

COVER LETTER TO DATA COLLECTION PACKET



OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

Office of University Planning and Institutional Research
218 New Administration Building, Norfolk, Virginia 23529-0031

(804) 683-3080, Phone
(804) 683-3004, Fax

February 1, 1996

Dear _____ Student:

I would like to enlist your help in a research study and provide you with the opportunity to be eligible for a **\$50.00** cash prize!

I am a Doctoral candidate at Old Dominion University, and with approval from Old Dominion, am conducting a study of the developmental stages of White male undergraduates.

Your participation in this study would be invaluable to our effort and to the design of appropriate programs in the future. All those who complete the enclosed questionnaires, which will require approximately 40 minutes of your time, will be entered into a lottery and be eligible to win \$50.00.

Please return your Lottery/Consent Form and your completed questionnaire in the enclosed return envelope. You will be notified by my office if you are one of our \$50 dollar winners.

Confidentiality is assured to all who participate. The researcher will receive only your completed questionnaires with a code for purposes of data analysis.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this important research.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Evans
Doctoral Candidate

Enclosures

Old Dominion University is an affirmative action, equal opportunity institution.

APPENDIX E

LOTTERY/CONSENT FORM AND INSTRUCTIONS

LOTTERY/CONSENT FORM

This consent form is to request your voluntary participation in a study which will be conducted in the Spring of 1996. Please read the following information and then sign the last section marked "informed and voluntary consent to participate" if you are willing to participate in the study.

Purpose of the Study

The study will collect data on stages of White Racial Identity Development and social and political attitudes about racial matters. The study will examine the relationship between comfort with a variety of real-life situations and the stage of development of the student.

Amount of Time Involved

You are asked to complete a background data sheet, and two questionnaires. Others who have completed the surveys report that it takes about 40 minutes.

Assurance of Confidentiality

All data collected in the study will be kept in confidence. Each respondent is assigned a number for research analysis and only the investigator will have access to this number. For purposes of analysis only group data will be utilized.

Assurance of Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. The right of the individual to decline to participate or to withdraw is guaranteed.

Questions and Availability of Results

Questions about this study may be directed to the investigator, Cheryl Evans (812-479-2381) or to Dr. Martha Sharpe (804-683-4046) Dissertation committee member. Results of this study may be obtained by writing the investigator:

Cheryl Evans
PO Box 514
Evansville, IN 47703

Informed and Voluntary Consent to participate

I have been informed and agree to participate in the study outlined above. My right to decline to participate or withdraw has been guaranteed.

Date _____ Participant _____

**BE SURE TO RETURN THIS FORM WITH YOUR COMPLETED
QUESTIONNAIRES - IT IS YOUR TICKET TO WIN \$50.00!!**

INSTRUCTIONS - PART TWO

There are two questionnaires to be completed. **Please circle your response directly on each questionnaire.**

Once you have answered all questions on both questionnaires, please put the:

**Lottery/Consent Form
Questionnaire Packet**

in the enclosed manila envelope and mail:

to be received by April 4, 1995 at 8PM.

AGAIN, THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION !

APPENDIX F

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS - PART ONE

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this research study. We ask that you set aside approximately forty minutes to complete the materials enclosed in this packet. Confidentiality is assured, so answer with complete honesty.

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

1. AGE _____

2. **MILITARY SERVICE** yes____ no____

if yes: length of service _____
are you currently serving in the military? ____

3. **FIRST ENROLLMENT**_____ **UNIVERSITY:**
month_____ year_____

4. **STUDENT CLASSIFICATION**

☐ Freshman ☐ Sophomore ☐ Junior ☐ Senior ☐ Other

5. **PARENTS' EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:**

a) **MOTHER-** highest level completed:

☐ Grades 1 - 8 ☐ High School ☐ Some college
☐ College Grad ☐ Post-grad ☐ Don't know

b) **FATHER-** highest level completed:

☐ Grades 1 - 8 ☐ High School ☐ Some college
☐ College Grad ☐ Post-grad ☐ Don't know

6. **TYPE OF FINANCIAL AID:** (please check all that apply)

☐ scholarships
☐ student employment/work study
☐ student loans (must be repaid)
☐ grants (not to be repaid)
☐ Veterans' Benefits_____

7. **LIVING ARRANGEMENTS:** ☐ off-campus ☐ on-campus

8. **RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HIGH SCHOOL:**

☐ predominantly white (over 70%)

☐ predominantly black (over 70%)

☐ other

9. **BACKGROUND/UPBRINGING:**

☐ small town/rural (less than 2,500)

☐ small city (2,500-50,000)

☐ suburban (50,000-100,000)

☐ urban (greater than 100,000)



APPENDIX G**SAMPLE QUESTIONS FROM
SOCIAL ATTITUDES SCALE (SAS)**

WRIAS/SAS SAMPLE QUESTIONS

1. I hardly think about what race I am.

11. I wish I had a Black friend.

21. For most of my life I did not think about racial issues.

27. I limit myself to White activities.

28. Society may have been unjust to Blacks, but it has also been unjust to Whites.

APPENDIX H

SITUATIONAL ATTITUDE SCALE (SITATT)

SITUATIONAL ATTITUDE SCALE

This questionnaire measures how people think and feel about a number of social and personal incidents and situations. It is not a test so there are no right or wrong answers.

Each item or situation is followed by ten (10) descriptive word scales. Your task is to select, for each descriptive scale, the rating which best describes YOUR feelings toward the item.

Sample Item: Going out to dinner

happy A B C D E sad

You would indicate the direction and extent for your feelings, e.g. "B". Please circle your response for each question.

Respond as honestly as possible without puzzling over individual items. Respond with your first impressions whenever possible.

I. A black family moves in next door to you.

- | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
| 1. good | A | B | C | D | E | bad |
| 2. safe | A | B | C | D | E | unsafe |
| 3. angry | A | B | C | D | E | not angry |
| 4. friendly | A | B | C | D | E | unfriendly |
| 5. sympathetic | A | B | C | D | E | not sympathetic |
| 6. nervous | A | B | C | D | E | calm |
| 7. happy | A | B | C | D | E | sad |
| 8. objectionable | A | B | C | D | E | acceptable |
| 9. desirable | A | B | C | D | E | undesirable |
| 10. suspicious | A | B | C | D | E | trusting |

II. You read in the paper that a black man has raped a white woman.

- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| 11. affection | A | B | C | D | E | disgust |
| 12. relishor | A | B | C | D | E | repulsion |
| 13. happy | A | B | C | D | E | sad |
| 14. friendly | A | B | C | D | E | hostile |
| 15. uninvolved | A | B | C | D | E | involved |
| 16. hope | A | B | C | D | E | hopelessness |
| 17. aloof | A | B | C | D | E | outraged |
| 18. injure | A | B | C | D | E | kill |
| 19. safe | A | B | C | D | E | fearful |
| 20. empathetic | A | B | C | D | E | can't understand |

III. It is evening and a black man appears at your door saying he is selling magazines.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| 21. relaxed | A | B | C | D | E | startled |
| 22. receptive | A | B | C | D | E | cautious |
| 23. excited | A | B | C | D | E | unexcited |
| 24. glad | A | B | C | D | E | angered |
| 25. pleased | A | B | C | D | E | annoyed |
| 26. indifferent | A | B | C | D | E | suspicious |
| 27. tolerable | A | B | C | D | E | intolerable |
| 28. afraid | A | B | C | D | E | secure |
| 29. friend | A | B | C | D | E | enemy |
| 30. unprotected | A | B | C | D | E | protected |

IV. You are walking down the street alone and must pass a corner where a group of five young black men are loitering.

- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 31. relaxed | A | B | C | D | E | tensed |
| 32. pleased | A | B | C | D | E | angered |
| 33. superior | A | B | C | D | E | inferior |
| 34. smarter | A | B | C | D | E | dumber |
| 35. whiter | A | B | C | D | E | blacker |
| 36. aggressive | A | B | C | D | E | passive |
| 37. safe | A | B | C | D | E | unsafe |
| 38. friendly | A | B | C | D | E | unfriendly |
| 39. excited | A | B | C | D | E | unexcited |
| 40. trivial | A | B | C | D | E | important |

V. Your best friend has just become engaged to a black person.

- | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| 41. aggressive | A | B | C | D | E | passive |
| 42. happy | A | B | C | D | E | sad |
| 43. tolerable | A | B | C | D | E | intolerable |
| 44. complimented | A | B | C | D | E | insulted |
| 45. angered | A | B | C | D | E | overjoyed |
| 46. secure | A | B | C | D | E | fearful |
| 47. hopeful | A | B | C | D | E | hopeless |
| 48. excited | A | B | C | D | E | unexcited |
| 49. right | A | B | C | D | E | wrong |
| 50. disgusting | A | B | C | D | E | pleasing |

VI. You are stopped for speeding by a black policeman.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| 51. calm | A | B | C | D | E | nervous |
| 52. trusting | A | B | C | D | E | suspicious |
| 53. afraid | A | B | C | D | E | safe |
| 54. friendly | A | B | C | D | E | unfriendly |
| 55. tolerant | A | B | C | D | E | intolerant |
| 56. bitter | A | B | C | D | E | pleasant |
| 57. cooperative | A | B | C | D | E | uncooperative |
| 58. acceptive | A | B | C | D | E | belligerent |
| 59. inferior | A | B | C | D | E | superior |
| 60. smarter | A | B | C | D | E | dumber |

VII. A new black person joins your social group.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| 61. warm | A | B | C | D | E | cold |
| 62. sad | A | B | C | D | E | happy |
| 63. superior | A | B | C | D | E | inferior |
| 64. threatened | A | B | C | D | E | neutral |
| 65. pleased | A | B | C | D | E | displeased |
| 66. understanding | A | B | C | D | E | indifferent |
| 67. suspicious | A | B | C | D | E | trusting |
| 68. disappointed | A | B | C | D | E | elated |
| 69. favorable | A | B | C | D | E | unfavorable |
| 70. uncomfortable | A | B | C | D | E | comfortable |

VIII. You see a black youngster steal something in a dime store.

71. surprising	A	B	C	D	E	not surprising
72. sad	A	B	C	D	E	happy
73. disinterested	A	B	C	D	E	interested
74. close	A	B	C	D	E	distant
75. understandable	A	B	C	D	E	baffling
76. responsible	A	B	C	D	E	not responsible
77. concerned	A	B	C	D	E	unconcerned
78. sympathy	A	B	C	D	E	indifference
79. expected	A	B	C	D	E	unexpected
80. hopeful	A	B	C	D	E	hopeless

IX. Some black students on campus stage a demonstration.

81. bad	A	B	C	D	E	good
82. understanding	A	B	C	D	E	indifferent
83. suspicious	A	B	C	D	E	trusting
84. safe	A	B	C	D	E	unsafe
85. disturbed	A	B	C	D	E	undisturbed
86. justified	A	B	C	D	E	unjustified
87. tense	A	B	C	D	E	calm
88. hate	A	B	C	D	E	love
89. wrong	A	B	C	D	E	right
90. humorous	A	B	C	D	E	serious

X. You get on a bus that has all black people aboard and you are the only person who has to stand.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| 91. fearful | A | B | C | D | E | secure |
| 92. tolerable | A | B | C | D | E | intolerable |
| 93. hostile | A | B | C | D | E | indifferent |
| 94. important | A | B | C | D | E | trivial |
| 95. conspicuous | A | B | C | D | E | inconspicuous |
| 96. calm | A | B | C | D | E | anxious |
| 97. indignant | A | B | C | D | E | understanding |
| 98. comfortable | A | B | C | D | E | uncomfortable |
| 99. hate | A | B | C | D | E | love |
| 100. not resentful | A | B | C | D | E | resentful |

(used by permission)

Thank you for your participation!!
Please return questionnaires in the postage paid envelope.

APPENDIX I**SITUATIONAL ATTITUDE NORM TABLE**

Means, Standard Deviations and *t* Tests for Forms A and B*
for 365 white University of Maryland Students†

Item No.	Situations† Bipolar adjective dimension	Form A (N=180)		Form B (N=185)		††
		M	SD	M	SD	
I. New family next door						
1	good-bad	1.14	0.94			
2	safe-unsafe	1.02	0.92	1.85	1.07	6.68
3	angry-not angry	3.41	0.98	1.32	1.12	2.71
4	friendly-unfriendly	0.78	0.87	3.05	1.17	3.25
5	sympathetic-not sympathetic	1.55	1.12	1.11	1.06	3.29
6	nervous-calm	2.99	1.07	1.83	1.27	2.24
7	happy-sad	1.27	0.86	2.71	1.20	2.35
8	objectionable-acceptable	3.18	0.95	1.85	1.08	5.73
9	desirable-undesirable	1.27	0.95	2.75	1.33	3.55
10	suspicious-trusting	2.77	0.92	1.86	1.22	5.15
				2.49	1.12	2.54
II. Man raped woman						
11	affection-disgust	3.43	0.85			
12	relish-repulsion	3.31	0.85	3.56	0.78	1.51
13	happy-sad	3.33	0.85	3.49	0.79	2.16
14	friendly-hostile	3.12	0.88	3.59	0.73	3.07
15	uninvolved-involved	1.87	1.34	3.16	0.91	0.43
16	hope-hopelessness	2.06	1.07	2.06	1.36	1.32
17	aloof-outraged	2.55	0.95	2.23	1.05	1.54
18	injure-kill	1.52	1.14	2.64	1.03	0.84
19	safe-fearful	2.10	1.29	1.48	1.22	0.33
20	empathetic-can't understand	2.02	1.22	2.25	1.20	1.14
				2.34	1.23	2.52
III. Man selling magazines						
21	relaxed-startled	1.80	1.16			
22	receptive-cautious	2.86	1.03	1.90	1.29	0.80
23	excited-unexcited	2.98	1.01	2.50	1.35	2.83
24	glad-angered	2.45	0.76	2.41	1.13	5.04
25	pleased-annoyed	2.94	0.83	2.15	0.67	3.99
26	indifferent-suspicious	2.18	1.36	2.61	0.83	3.82
27	tolerable-intolerable	1.70	1.04	1.81	1.37	2.56
28	afraid-secure	2.41	1.06	1.36	1.15	2.97
29	friend-enemy	2.05	0.70	2.19	1.14	1.88
30	unprotected-protected	2.49	1.01	1.75	0.75	3.92
				2.38	1.09	1.06
IV. Corner of loitering men						
31	relaxed-tensed	2.84	1.05			
32	pleased-angered	2.26	0.58	3.02	1.12	1.51
33	superior-inferior	1.88	0.91	2.32	0.75	0.90
34	smarter-dumber	1.33	0.83	1.90	0.75	0.29
35	whiter-blacker	1.69	0.72	1.55	0.79	2.58
36	aggressive-passive	2.26	1.09	1.17	0.95	5.95
37	safe-unsafe	2.61	0.94	2.58	0.98	3.00
38	friendly-unfriendly	2.31	0.98	2.72	1.02	1.10
39	excited-unexcited	1.76	0.89	2.05	1.07	2.34
40	trivial-important	1.72	1.06	1.82	1.17	0.56
				1.96	1.11	2.11
V. Friend becomes engaged						
41	aggressive-passive	1.72	1.23			
42	happy-sad	0.53	0.86	2.27	1.27	4.19
43	tolerable-intolerable	0.47	0.85	1.85	1.38	10.87
44	complimented-insulted	0.88	0.93	1.21	1.34	6.29
45	angered-overjoyed	3.25	0.78	1.89	1.10	9.42
46	secure-fearful	1.00	1.07	1.99	1.05	12.96
47	hopeful-hopeless	0.67	0.85	1.45	1.25	3.67
48	excited-unexcited	0.80	0.98	1.39	1.36	6.06
49	right-wrong	0.82	0.99	1.68	1.15	7.78
50	disgusting-pleasing	3.50	0.78	1.88	1.40	8.25
				2.13	1.27	12.31

(Continued next page)

* Scale A to E (numerical equivalent, 0 to 4).

† Sample is 2/3 male and 1/3 female; 40% freshmen; 30% sophomores; 12% juniors; 12% seniors and 6% graduate students. The sample was diverse on college of enrollment and data were gathered in 1969.

‡ See Table 1 for complete situation.

†† All *t* values larger than 1.97 are significant beyond .05 (2-tailed test).

for 365 white University of Maryland Students†
(Continued)

Item No.	Situations† Bipolar adjective dimension	Form A (N=180)		Form B (N=185)		t†
		M	SD	M	SD	
VI. Stopped by policeman						
51	calm-nervous	2.96	1.21			
52	trusting-suspicious			2.41	1.54	3.77
53	afraid-safe	1.98	1.22	1.00	1.08	8.10
54	friendly-unfriendly	1.72	1.32	2.76	1.34	7.43
55	tolerant-intolerant	1.41	1.19	0.89	1.03	4.40
56	bitter-pleasant	1.28	1.18	0.62	0.88	6.03
57	cooperative-uncooperative	2.09	1.24	2.74	1.18	5.16
58	acceptive-belligerent	0.53	0.87	0.40	0.79	1.46
59	inferior-superior	0.94	1.12	0.65	0.85	2.84
60	smarter-dumber	1.82	1.03	1.85	0.71	0.34
		1.72	0.99	1.90	0.64	2.12
VII. Person joins social group						
61	warm-cold	1.01	0.93			
62	sad-happy	2.91	0.82	1.01	1.01	0.00
63	superior-inferior	1.65	0.63	2.61	1.11	2.91
64	threatened-neutral	3.28	0.99	1.85	0.52	3.28
65	pleased-displeased	1.04	0.84	3.35	1.06	0.63
66	understanding-indifferent	1.05	1.01	1.42	1.19	3.48
67	suspicious-trusting	2.80	0.92	1.18	1.26	1.07
68	disappointed-elated	2.56	0.71	2.91	1.12	1.01
69	favorable-unfavorable	0.97	0.85	2.34	1.02	2.39
70	uncomfortable-comfortable	2.91	0.99	1.22	1.24	2.19
				2.75	1.25	1.35
VIII. Youngster steals						
71	surprising-not surprising	2.49	1.43			
72	sad-happy	0.93	0.95	2.58	1.21	0.60
73	disinterested-interested	2.77	1.22	0.76	0.85	1.86
74	close-distant	1.83	1.20	2.65	1.15	0.99
75	understandable-baffling	1.42	1.27	1.97	1.19	1.11
76	responsible-not responsible	2.21	1.28	1.23	0.98	1.55
77	concerned-unconcerned	1.11	1.20	2.29	1.23	0.66
78	sympathy-indifference	1.66	1.20	1.25	1.22	1.13
79	expected-unexpected	1.85	1.08	1.63	1.17	0.19
80	hopeful-hopeless	1.75	1.04	1.82	1.05	0.25
				1.74	1.03	0.14
IX. Campus demonstration						
81	bad-good	2.09	1.12			
82	understanding-indifferent	1.60	1.13	1.77	1.34	2.44
83	suspicious-trusting	1.61	1.01	1.70	1.31	0.76
84	safe-unsafe	1.67	1.18	1.77	1.14	1.38
85	disturbed-undisturbed	1.80	1.20	1.83	1.31	1.22
86	justified-unjustified	1.77	0.98	1.70	1.33	0.77
87	tense-calm	2.16	1.21	1.77	1.23	0.04
88	hate-love	2.08	0.79	1.98	1.24	1.33
89	wrong-right	2.06	0.97	1.93	0.83	1.74
90	humorous-serious	2.44	1.19	2.01	1.17	0.45
				3.03	0.95	5.18
X. Only person standing						
91	fearful-secure	2.73	1.10			
92	tolerable-intolerable	0.98	1.03	2.11	1.30	4.93
93	hostile-indifferent	3.10	1.09	1.09	1.09	0.97
94	important-trivial	3.27	1.00	2.88	1.07	1.93
95	conspicuous-inconspicuous	1.73	1.32	2.83	1.22	3.81
96	calm-anxious	1.26	1.24	0.97	1.17	5.79
97	indignant-understanding	2.99	1.11	1.90	1.37	4.71
98	comfortable-uncomfortable	2.17	1.37	2.74	1.04	2.25
99	hate-love	2.12	0.73	2.39	1.35	1.56
100	not resentful-resentful	0.98	1.19	2.02	0.71	1.26
				1.08	1.14	0.80

* Scale A to E (numerical equivalent, 0 to 4).

† Sample is 2/3 male and 1/3 female; 40% freshmen; 30% sophomores; 12% juniors; 12% seniors and 6% graduate students. The sample was diverse on college of enrollment and data were gathered in 1969.
See Table 1 for complete situation.

‡ All t values larger than 1.97 are significant beyond .05 (2-tailed test).

APPENDIX J

DATA REDUCTION ENCODING KEY

DATA REDUCTION ENCODING KEY

VARIABLE	NUMERICAL CODE
School-PWU	1
School-HBU	2
Military Service-yes	1
Military Service-no	2
Yrs Enrolled	actual years
Class-Freshmen	1
Class-Sophomore	2
Class-Junior	3
Class-Senior	4
Class-other	5
Age	actual age
H.S. Racial-Pred. White	1
H.S. Racial-Pred. Black	2
H.S. Racial-Other	3
Background-rural	1
Background-small city	2
Background-suburban	3
Background-urban	4
Live on campus	1
Live off campus	2

Continued

Parent's Educ- grades 1-8	1
Parents' Ed-H.S.	2
Parents' Ed-some college	3
Parents' Ed- college grad	4
Parents' Ed-post grad	5
Parent's Ed-don't know	6
Finan Aid-yes	1
Finan Aid-no	0
Finan Aid by Type-yes	1
Finan Aid by type-no	0

VITA

Cheryl Lorraine Evans
PO BOX 6069
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EDUCATION

1997-Ph.D. Urban Education/Higher Education
Old Dominion University
Norfolk, VA

1982-M.A. Mass Communication
Emerson College
Boston, MA

1968-B.S. Human Development
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Certified Teacher: Massachusetts, K-8; New Jersey; Nursery

Multicultural/Diversity Educator: (1968-1997) extensive work
as facilitator and instructor; conference presenter;
workshop leader

University faculty: (1991-1997) Old Dominion University
College of Education; University of Evansville, School of
Education

Community College faculty: (1986-1991) North Shore Community
College, Division of Human Services

Early Childhood/Educational Consultant: (1971-1977)

University Student Personnel: (1968-1971) University of
Massachusetts; Rutgers University, Newark, NJ

Management Development Trainer: (1980-1986) New Environments
for Women Inc, Boston, MA

Media Host/Producer: (1978-1988) WXKS-AM/FM, Medford
Community Cable, Medford, MA

AWARDS

1997 Favorite Instructor; Class of 1997
University of Evansville, Evansville, IN

1989 Teacher Innovation Award
North Shore Community College, Lynn, MA