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White students' racial attitudes and racial identity development in a liberal arts environment

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**White students' racial attitudes and racial identity development
in a liberal arts environment**

Glisan, Mary Hornback, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1992

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**WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES AND RACIAL
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN A LIBERAL
ARTS ENVIRONMENT**

**A Dissertation
Presented To
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

**In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education**

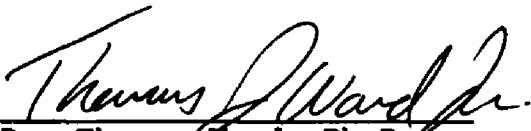
**by
Mary Hornback Glisan
July 1992**

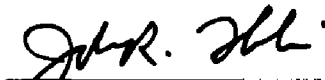
**WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES AND RACIAL
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN A LIBERAL
ARTS ENVIRONMENT**


by

Mary Hornback Glisan

Approved July 1992 by


Dr. Thomas Ward, Ph.D.
Chair of Doctoral Committee


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DEDICATION

To Chuck who has been there from start to finish,
and Shannon who has helped pull me through in her own
little way!

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WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES AND RACIAL
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN A LIBERAL ARTS ENVIRONMENT

ABSTRACT

Glisan, Mary Hornback, Ed.D. The College of William and Mary
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Chair: Dr. Thomas Ward

The purpose of this study was to document the racial attitudes and racial identity development scores of White students in a liberal arts environment. Of particular interest was gender differences, classification differences, and Greek/nonGreek affiliation differences. Furthermore, an effort was made to predict the racial attitude and racial identity development scores using self-report biographical variables.

The College of William and Mary, a public liberal arts university was the institution studied for this project. A stratified random sample was obtained of all White students attending the College. Participants completed the White Racial Identity Attitude Survey (WRIAS), the Racial Attitude and Opinion Scale (ATTW), and a personal data sheet.

It was hypothesized that there would be a significant difference in scores between those with a Greek affiliation and those without a Greek affiliation, males and females, and freshmen and seniors. More specifically, Greeks, males and freshmen would score higher on the ATTW and lower on the WRIAS than would nonGreeks, females, and seniors, respectively. This would signify more negative attitudes toward Blacks and a less healthy racial identity.

The results indicated five of the six hypothesis to be supported to a certain extent. Even though the total population reported positive racial attitudes, Greek males and freshmen may need to be provided with additional educational opportunities concerning race to bring them closer to the same level as the other groups.

It was also concluded that colleges need to address the issue of race and racism. High scores on the lowest stage of the racial identity development model indicated that respondents were naive about the topic of race in general.

**WHITE STUDENTS' RACIAL ATTITUDES AND RACIAL IDENTITY
DEVELOPMENT IN A LIBERAL ARTS ENVIRONMENT**

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders stated:

of the basic causes [for civil disorders], the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future. (cited in Sedlacek & Brooks, 1972)

Today, Americans continue to face a variety of issues and problems, several of which are racial differences, bigotry, and discrimination. Although some in society would argue that students on college campuses are, or should be, more enlightened and tolerant of differences in others than the rest of society, administrators are finding racial issues spilling over onto the college campus, as evidenced by an increase in verbal racial slurs, racist signs, leaflets, and bumper stickers. Thus, there has been a growing concern that these racial issues need to be addressed in some way on the college campus.

Incidents of racial unrest on American college campuses have increasingly made the headlines in recent years. Newspaper and journal articles bear witness to headings such as "Racist Incidents Seen Rising at Colleges Across the Country" (Kollars, 1989), "Racial, Ethnic Violence Hits US Campuses" (Reichmann, 1989), "2 Fraternities Suspended After Racial Incidents" (2 Fraternities, 1990), and "Why Tolerate Campus Bigots?" (Laney, 1990). Nearly thirty years after the Civil Rights Movement made improved race relations a top priority for institutions of higher learning, racial incidents continue to plague colleges and universities everywhere.

Many educators point to a racial brawl that erupted at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst after the 1986 World Series as the point at which the press -- and higher education -- began paying more attention to campus race relations (Magner, 1989). Since then, racial incidents at the Citadel, University of Michigan, Columbia, Dartmouth, Smith College, Northern Illinois, Tulane, Duke, Towson State, DePauw University, and Cabrini College in Pennsylvania have occurred. In fact, hundreds of institutions of all sizes have been affected. Some, like the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, have had outbreaks of racial fights. Others have been

affected in other ways, such as racist fliers, graffiti, and fraternity parties with ghetto themes.

It can be argued that those institutions that have worked the hardest administratively, and through campus policies, to promote diversity are often the campuses portrayed in the headlines as experiencing the most overt racial incidents. Several universities, such as the University of Massachusetts, which has been considered on the vanguard of administrative and faculty support for diversity and affirmative action, have had to deal with well publicized racial incidents. The more homogeneous campuses tend to report fewer problems, although the problems they experience may be easier to "sweep under the rug" due to the limited minority voice on those campuses. Does this mean that we should not concern ourselves with the homogeneous campuses? On the contrary, we need to look at all college campuses since the number of minority students attending colleges and universities is expected to increase substantially in the next few decades (Altbach, 1991). This means that the homogeneous colleges will most likely become more heterogeneous. Thus, the issue for all institutions becomes how to deal with racial issues once they occur, or maybe more importantly, what can be done that may help prevent some racial incidents from occurring in the first place.

Altbach (1991) argues that white fraternity members are often, although not always, reported to be perpetrators in racial incidents. He contends that many of the original incidents of racial intolerance that have stimulated campus crisis have been relatively "trivial", that is defacing a poster or making a racially biased remark. He states that the perpetrator, typically a white, male fraternity member, had little or no idea of the reaction the precipitating event would generate. What may seem like a simple little "prank" to the perpetrator may become an issue that is soon dealt with by the entire campus community. What he may not be aware of is the fact that, like it or not, colleges and universities are widely criticized for any racial incidents involving members of their campus community. They are considered responsible for helping shape the racial attitudes and development of students on their campuses.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study will be to document the racial attitudes and racial identity development scores of students in a liberal arts environment. Of particular interest will be gender differences, classification differences, and Greek/nonGreek affiliation differences. Furthermore, an effort will be made to predict racial

attitude scores and racial identity development scores by using self-report biographical variables.

NEED FOR THE STUDY

Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, there has been a continuing debate concerning whether and to what extent white Americans hold negative attitudes toward black Americans. Many believe there has been acceptance of blacks into most areas of life, and stereotypes have begun to fade (Karlins et al., 1969). Old fashioned racism or the segregationist, white supremacist view has all but disappeared (Jacobson, 1985). Very few Americans in prominent positions are willing to admit to blatant racist attitudes. However, McConahay, Hardee, and Batts (1981) argue that racial prejudice continues today but has taken a different form since the Civil Rights Movement. The concern of whites since the sixties has become fear of unfair competition from blacks and other minorities (Jacobson, 1985), as well as the fear of downward mobility (Jencks & Reisman, 1968). This "new racism" focuses on issues such as desegregation, affirmative action, and the rights of blacks to push themselves into situations where they are not wanted (McConahay et al 1981).

Many white students today complain that affirmative action programs, which may give special treatment to minorities, can deny them jobs and graduate school,

places they deserve on objective standards. Competition and misunderstandings increase due to difficult economic times. A strong sense of anxiety is prevalent in white males as they are faced with potentially losing an entitlement they thought would be theirs forever (Magner, 1989). Many observers fault colleges for failing to explain adequately the purpose of affirmative action programs, for making superficial efforts to enroll minority students and hire minority faculty, and for neglecting the issue of race in general.

After reviewing the literature, it was determined that little data was available concerning the racial attitudes and racial identity development of white students on a homogeneous campus. Janet Helms (1990), a leading scholar in the field of racial identity development, reports that the development of white identity in the United States is closely related with the development and progress of racism in this country. The more racism exists, the less possible it is to develop a positive white identity. This study attempted to expand the current literature on racial attitudes and racial identity development of white students.

Of particular interest in this study was the perceived differences in racial attitudes and racial identity development between individuals belonging to

predominantly white social fraternities and sororities, and those not belonging to such a group. Predominantly white social fraternities and sororities are often criticized as being racist organizations that reinforce and harbor negative racial attitudes. They often discriminate by their very nature, generally selecting members who are most like themselves. Although the literature review uncovered only one study on racial attitudes comparing individuals belonging to Greek organizations with those who do not, that study found members of Greek letter organizations to harbour more negative racial attitudes than their independent cohorts (Muir, 1991). However, one study hardly gives us sufficient evidence to make generalized statements about the Greek system.

There was also some interest in whether males and females developed racial identity differently or shared the same racial attitudes. Because some development theorists (Gilligan, 1982) suggest that males and females do develop differently, an attempt was made to examine any differences between the sexes.

An effort was also made to examine any differences between freshmen and seniors. Student development theorists argue that students develop and change throughout the college years. However, little research

has been conducted examining changes that may occur in racial attitudes and racial identity development.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Racism: any activity that systematically tends to treat human beings unjustly because of color, denying opportunities to one social group while perpetrating privilege to members of another group based solely on race.

Fraternity: Male members of Greek letter social organizations. Since this study focuses on social organizations, fraternities will not include Greek service or honor societies.

Sororities: Female members of Greek letter social organizations. Since this study focuses on social organizations, sororities will not include Greek service or honor societies.

Independents: Individuals who are not members of a Greek social fraternity or sorority.

Racial attitudes: A state of mind or feeling towards individuals of a different race as measured by self reports.

Racial identity development: The development of 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 (Helms, 1990).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the racial attitudes of white students at a liberal arts institution?
2. Where are white students at a liberal arts institution developmentally on a racial identity development scale?
3. Is there a significant difference between Greeks and non-Greeks in regard to their racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution?
4. Is there a significant difference between Greeks and non-Greeks in regard to their racial identity development at a liberal arts institution?
5. Is there a significant difference between white males and white females in regard to their racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution?
6. Is there a significant difference between white males and white females in regard to their racial identity development at a liberal arts institution?
7. Is there a significant difference between Freshmen and Seniors in regard to their racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution?
8. Is there a significant difference between Freshmen and Seniors in regard to their racial identity development at a liberal arts institution?

9. What biographical variables can be used to predict racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution?

10. What biographical variables can be used to predict racial identity development scores at a liberal arts institution?

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following limitations must be considered when interpreting the results of the study:

1. The sample represented is only one public residential liberal arts institution in one region of the country. Thus external validity may be questionable.

2. All students in the original sample had the option to choose not to participate in the study.

3. Despite the careful design used in this study to insure confidentiality and anonymity, the emotional nature of race related questions may have caused some participants to distort responses; thereby, affecting reliability and validity.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

ATTITUDES

Although most individuals are aware of and often use the word "attitude", for the past half-century there has been a struggle among social psychologists to develop a scientific definition for the term. Basically, an attitude is a predisposition to evaluate a person, object, event, or issue in a positive or negative way (Penrod, 1986).

Attitudes are often broken down into three components: affective, cognitive, and behavioral. Based on this tricomponent model, an attitude can be defined as an affective feeling of liking or disliking based on beliefs (cognitions) about an object which leads to readiness to behave in a certain way (Forsyth, 1987). Allport stated in his classic work on attitudes, that an attitude is a "preparation or readiness for response. . . . It is not behavior but the precondition of behavior" (1935, p. 805). However, although the three components of affect, cognition, and behavior are related, they are not always consistent with one another. For example, an individual may dislike studying and study very little,

yet truly believe studying will lead to a higher grade on the next exam.

GENERAL ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT

Attitudes are learned from the experiences we have. Research has consistently shown that our attitudes are influenced by the people who play significant roles in our lives. Thus, in early childhood parents are the primary socializing agents, and therefore, the attitudes they communicate, both verbally and nonverbally, have a profound and often lasting effect. For many, the influence of schooling and behavior of friends gradually replace the family as the primary influence on attitude formation when children enter school. During adolescence, peer group influences become a primary source of attitudes. In fact, research has confirmed that when young people go to college, their attitudes often change significantly as a result of new peer group pressures (Eddy, 1964; Bullock, 1977).

Another source of influence on attitudes is the culture in which a child grows up. Major life and world events, as well as the portrayal of people and events by the media, often have an impact on attitudes. In fact, television is mentioned as the most important source of

information for children up to age 10 (Baum, Fisher, & Singer, 1985).

STUDIES IN RACIAL ATTITUDES

Emory S. Bogardus, in 1925, was the first to publish findings in attitude research concerning the racial and nationality preferences of specific groups of people. He developed a "social distance" scale for indicating the degree of social intimacy to which subjects would be willing to admit various racial and ethnic groups. The classifications were ordered by increasing degrees of social distance, from "To close kinship by marriage" to "Would exclude from my country". Bogardus was interested in finding out why Americans, presumed White, distanced themselves from those of Asian and African descent. His conclusion was as follows:

Where a person feels that his status or the status of anything that he values is furthered by race connections, there racial good will is likely to be engendered. But where a person's status or the status of anything that he values is endangered by the members of some race, then race prejudice flares up and burns long after the "invasion" has ceased.
(Bogardus, 1928, p.28)

In 1928, L.L. Thurstone made the first scientific measurement of attitudes in his experimental study of nationality preferences. Results for both Bogardus' and Thurstone's studies showed remarkable similarity in view of the difference in location of subjects, California versus Illinois. Both results showed that Blacks were at or near the bottom of the list based on degree of acceptance by Whites.

Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly, in 1933, investigated the stereotype as a factor in group prejudice. They had 100 Princeton males select traits they believed were characteristic of ten groups: Americans, Chinese, English, Germans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Negroes, and Turks. The Negroes emerged as superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, ignorant, and musical, while the Americans (presumed White) were seen as industrious, intelligent, materialistic, ambitious, and progressive. When the Katz and Braly questionnaire was administered to Black college students a few years later, their racial stereotyping differed little from that of the White male students (Jones, 1972). Thus, Katz and Braly argued that these characteristics did not reflect students' own private judgement of the different racial and ethnic groups, but their understanding of the

cultural patterns which are so prevalent and therefore publicly affirmed in our society.

In 1944, one of the classic works on racism in American society, An American Dilemma, was written by a Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal. In it he documented the character and consequences of race relations in America with extraordinary depth. The focus of the book was the contradiction between the American creed of equality and opportunity for all, and the general exclusion of Black people from its benefits. This study affected many individuals by helping them identify irrational stereotypes within themselves.

The use of the Katz-Braly stereotype questionnaire continued throughout the 1940s. It was often used because it was easy to administer and there were a series of studies with which a researcher could compare data. However, it was criticized by some for its ambiguity in instructions. In 1972, Brigham tested students using the Katz and Braly measurement and four different sets of instructions. He found no significant difference in the use of the traditional instructions, the personal endorsement instructions, or the facilitative instructions. He did, however, find that when students were asked to stereotype individuals the way "others"

might view them, he found significant differences existed.

Brigham (1972) found that White college students perceived the views of other Americans at this time to be considerably more negative toward Blacks than were their own views. This reinforced the point that even though these students did not consciously accept negative trait attributes toward Blacks, they were well aware of them. Brigham concluded that this awareness may in turn provide these individuals with ammunition in times of anger or frustration, or when a Black may appear to possess these negative attributes.

A 1969 study conducted by Karlins, Coffman and Walters using the Katz-Braly scale showed a trend in the social attitudes of Princeton men away from racial stereotyping, although negative stereotypes were still found for Blacks (lazy-26%, ignorant-11%). In addition, the Princeton men in 1969 increasingly were reluctant to make widespread generalizations about racial, religious, and ethnic groups. This led some to believe that Americans were becoming more tolerant of individuals different from themselves.

A 1982 study undertaken by Gordon (1986) using the Katz-Braly survey, reinforced the fact that there was a decline of hostile traits attributed to Blacks from 1932 to 1969. In 1982, however, 18 percent of the respondents still selected lazy as an attribute for Blacks and 9 percent selected ignorant. In addition, new highly ranked negative traits also appeared for Blacks: sly (15%), aggressive (13%), loud (11%) and arrogant (10%). Thus, there were more negative perceptions of Blacks in the 1982 study than there were in the 1969 study conducted by Karlins and his associates. Gordon argues that the intergroup climate in the early 1980s was more problematic than was the climate in the late 1960s. He explains that this may be the reason there were more overt interracial conflicts occurring in the late 1980s than had occurred in the 1970s (Gordon, 1991).

Several studies on racial attitudes have been conducted at the University of Maryland at College Park, by Sedlacek and his associates (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1972; Johnson & Sedlacek, 1979; Rodgers & Sedlacek, 1979; Martinez & Sedlacek, 1982; Carter, White, & Sedlacek, 1985) using the Situational Attitude Scale (SAS). The situations represent instances where race might influence reactions to a given situation. Two forms of the SAS were developed, each containing the same situations,

scales, and instructions, except that the word "Black" was inserted into each situation in the second form. For example, on Form A the situation "A new person joins your social group." would appear as "A new Black person joins your social group." on Form B. Respondents were asked to describe how they felt about a particular situation by selecting a rating on semantic-differential scales (i.e. sad--happy, superior--inferior).

Sedlacek and his associates concluded that Whites continue to hold basically negative attitudes towards Blacks and the pattern has remained the same for a decade. He found that attitudes seem to depend upon the relationship of the Blacks to the White subjects. In closer personal situations (a friend's engagement to a Black person), attitudes were more negative. In distant, service-type relationships (a Black policeman), attitudes were more positive toward Blacks than toward persons of unspecified race (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1972; Johnson & Sedlacek, 1979; Rodgers & Sedlacek, 1979; Martinez & Sedlacek, 1982; Carter, et al, 1985).

MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES

Attitudes are hypothetical constructs, and are thus typically not directly observable. Thus, they have frequently been measured by self-report attitude scales.

Researchers choose open-ended or fixed response questions and ask respondents to best describe their personal viewpoint. There are several self-report measurement scales that have been developed to quantify attitudinal differences.

L.L. Thurstone (1928) was the first to demonstrate that attitudes could be measured using scaling techniques. He asked individuals to select from a list of statements, representing different points of view, choosing those with which he or she was in agreement. Each item was given a point value between 1 and 11. These values were determined by averaging the values of the items assigned by a number of "judges". An individual's attitude score is the average point value of all the statements checked by that individual.

Likert scales are perhaps the most common type of attitude scales constructed. Developed in 1932 by Rensis Likert, these scales ask individuals to respond to a series of statements by indicating whether they strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement (Likert, 1970). Each response is given a point value (1-5) and an individual's score is determined by summing the point values for each statement. A high point value on a positively stated

item would indicate a positive attitude and a high total score on the instrument would indicate a positive attitude toward the attitude issue.

Guttman's sociogram, developed in 1950, also asks individuals to agree or disagree with a number of statements. A Guttman scale, however, tries to determine whether an attitude is unidimensional, that is, if it produces a cumulative scale. In a cumulative scale, an individual who agrees with a given statement also agrees with all related preceding statements (Gay, 1987).

A semantic-differential scale asks individuals to give a quantitative rating of an attitude object on a variety of bipolar adjectives, such as good-bad, fair-unfair, and positive-negative. The respondent indicates the point on the continuum between the extremes that represents his or her attitudes. Each position on the continuum has an associated score value (eg. -3 to +3). By totaling the score values, it can be determined whether an individual has a positive or negative attitude toward the attitude issue (Gay, 1987).

Using the above measurements, the respondent is usually aware that his/her attitudes are being assessed. No attempt is made to conceal the purpose of the

measurement. There are some criticisms associated with using self-report measures, however. Results may be blurred by peer group pressures, the desire to please, ambivalence, and a lack of self awareness (Henerson, Morris, & Fitz-Gibbon, 1978). Critics argue that respondents know which answers are socially desirable. Because they do not wish to appear deviant, they hide their true feelings and bend their answers to conform to a model of how they "ought" to respond. An argument can be made to dismiss these charges of bias by making the responses anonymous. This will increase the chances of receiving responses that genuinely represent a person's beliefs or feelings.

Most other attitude measurement procedures which have been developed make an explicit attempt to disguise the purpose of the measuring instrument. The underlying assumption is that when the purpose of the instrument is not apparent, respondents are less likely to "distort" their responses, and thus a more valid measure of attitude can be obtained. One example of such a technique is the bogus pipeline. Developed by Jones and Sigall, respondents are convinced a machine can precisely measure attitudinal direction and intensity. Thus, they are more likely to give genuine answers since they

believe the researcher can "catch" false ones (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

To address some of the disadvantages to using self-report measures, some researchers have turned to behavioral and physiological means for assessing people's attitudes. Behavioral means may include recording whether an individual donates to a particular organization, how close individuals stand to one another, or how much someone will do for someone else. Physiological means include galvanic skin response, which measures emotional arousal; pupillary dilation, which measures whether an individual likes or dislikes something; and measuring contractions of major facial muscles, which can be linked to different emotions (Baum, et al, 1985). However, there has not been enough convincing evidence to support the use of physiological means to measure attitudes.

ATTITUDES-BEHAVIOR RELATIONSHIP

LaPiere (1934) conducted one of the most famous studies that showed that the attitude-behavior relationship was more of a problem than was first thought. During the early 1930s, LaPiere traveled extensively throughout the United States with a Chinese couple. This was a time when many Americans voiced

negative attitudes toward Orientals and therefore, LaPiere expected to have a difficult time finding hotel and restaurant accommodations. However, this was not the case and LaPiere had no trouble at all.

Six months after the trip, LaPiere mailed questionnaires to all the hotels and restaurants he and the Chinese couple had frequented, and asked them if they would consider accepting a Chinese couple as guests in their establishment. More than 90% of the individuals who filled out the questionnaire said they would not accept a Chinese couple. He thus concluded that the attitudes that show up on questionnaires are too general, abstract, and removed from actual experience to serve as reliable predictors of behavior (LaPiere, 1934).

In 1969, Wicker published a review of a number of studies comparing the relationship between attitudes and behavior that had been performed since LaPiere's study. He concluded that rarely did attitudes and overt behaviors show a correlation coefficient of more than .30, and often the correlation was near zero.

Wicker pointed out that specific attitudes do not exist in isolation from other attitudes or from environmental variables. In actual situations, the

stimuli that evoke attitudes are both more specific and more concrete than the verbal stimuli that elicit attitudes in questionnaires. Also, unforeseen factors may intervene to cause a person to behave in ways that are inconsistent with attitudes, or there may be inconsistencies due to a person's fear of punishment or hope of reward.

Despite the lack of correlation between attitudes and behavior found by LaPiere and Wicker, a number of more recent studies have shown positive correlations between attitude and behavior in studies concerning race relations.

DeFleur and Westie (1958) found that over 75% of subjects who scored either relatively high or low on a measure of racial prejudice showed a high degree of attitude-behavior consistency when asked to commit themselves to posing for an interracial photograph to be used for various purposes.

Brannon and his associates (1973) surveyed attitudes toward laws prohibiting racial discrimination in housing. Respondents were asked to choose between a law in which homeowners retained the right to sell their homes to anyone they wanted, and a law that prevented them from

refusing someone on the basis of race. Three months later, the respondents were asked to sign petitions that were either consistent or inconsistent with the position they had previously taken. The behavior of the respondents in either signing or refusing to sign the petitions was highly consistent with the positions they had taken earlier.

Two social psychologists, Martin Fishbein and Icak Ajzen (1975), have developed a model of behavioral intentions based upon the authors' theory of reasoned action. A key principle of this model is that an expressed attitude can be an appropriate basis for predicting behavior only if it corresponds to the behavior being predicted. Their three related principles are:

1. General attitudes predict general behaviors.
2. Specific attitudes predict specific behaviors.
3. The less time that elapses between attitude measurement and behavior, the more consistent the relationship between attitude and behavior will be.

Thus, the relationship between attitudes and behavior is a complex one. It may depend on whether the attitude is formed by direct or indirect experiences, how deeply it is ingrained in the individual's personality, and how an individual is expected to behave in a given

situation. Both our attitudes and our behaviors are influenced by those people and groups that play significant roles in our lives. Attitudes are translated into behavior in the context of a particular situation. Thus, the nature of the situation will influence the particular attitudes that will be important and lead to a particular behavior.

RACIAL ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT

As stated earlier, parents are the most influential people in the formation of children's attitudes. This applies to all attitudes including racial attitudes. Allport (1954) has suggested that early negative attitudes may be "caught, rather than taught", and once caught may be difficult to change. There are several factors that may be involved in the development of racial attitudes (Baum, et al, 1985):

1. Learning theory - Individuals are not born to hate, rather they acquire negative attitudes through socialization. This may occur as a result of direct negative experiences with members of a particular group or by modeling the responses of significant others to a particular group.

2. Cognitive perspective - Individuals typically try to organize and reduce the vast amount of information that they possess to manageable units. This often leads to classifying people and objects into categories based on similarities and differences. The most frequent categories of people are "us" and "them" -- those who are "like us" and those who are "not like us". When things are classified into groups, individuals tend to overestimate the similarity of elements within a group and overestimate the degree of dissimilarity between groups.

3. Historical conflicts - Negative racial attitudes can result when one group dominates or competes with another and conflicts of interest between the groups prevail. Such conditions breed dislike.

4. Social and cultural factors - If members of a minority group are portrayed negatively in textbooks and on television, children may assume that they are innately inferior. Pressure to conform may be another social factor. Even if an individual does not hold negative racial attitudes, being "forced" to discriminate by the pressure to conform can cause them to develop negative racial attitudes.

5. Authoritarian personality - Adorno and his colleagues (1950) developed a theory that parental harshness, dominance, and status consciousness result in high authoritarians. These people reject those in groups other than their own, blame them for the problems faced by society, and are highly submissive to authority.

6. Contact -- Whether or not an individual has the opportunity to interact with racially dissimilar others in school or at home can be an important determinant of his/her attitudes. Evidence suggests that amount of contact per se leads to greater intensity of attitudes. However, contact does not produce favorableness of attitudes unless accompanied by enjoyment of the contact, as well as the perceived voluntariness of the contact (Weissbach, 1976).

RACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The age at which children begin to acquire a racial identity has been a question of continuing interest. Available evidence suggests by age 3 or 4 many children make differential responses to skin color and other racial cues (Katz, 1981). Thus, it appears that racial awareness begins at about age three, increases rapidly for the next several years, and is pretty well

established by the time a child enters first grade (Proshansky, 1966).

The development of ethnic attitudes is related to the establishment of a child's self-identity. It is assumed that a child must learn about which group he/she does and does not belong to as part of the self discovery process. At about this time, positive and negative feelings come to be associated with various groups. Racial cues, however, appear to be less important than gender (Katz & Zalk, 1984), cleanliness (Epstein, Krupat, & Obudho, 1976), or physical attractiveness (Langlois & Stephen, 1977).

Between the ages of four and eight, children have learned many of the concepts and terms used to describe members of other ethnic groups, but the full meaning of such terms and concepts remains obscure. Children at this stage have not yet learned to generalize these ethnic concepts to all members of the ethnic group (Brigham & Weissbach, 1972).

By age eight, however, children have developed a "true racial attitude". That is, beliefs become salient and a full picture of verbal and behavioral rejection, hostility, and stereotyping may manifest itself in the

prejudiced child (Brigham & Weissbach, 1972). It is at this time that individuals begin to develop a racial identity.

Racial identity refers to a person identifying or not identifying with the racial group with which he or she is generally assumed to share racial heritage. Thus, White identity theories attempt to explain the various ways in which Whites can identify with other Whites and/or evolve or avoid evolving a nonoppressive White identity (Helms, 1990).

One's adjustment to his or her racial group has been hypothesized to result from a combination of self-identity, reference group orientation and ascribed identity (Erikson, 1968). Self-identity is defined as one's feelings and attitudes about oneself. Reference group orientation is the extent to which one uses particular racial groups to guide one's feelings, thoughts and behaviors. This may be reflected in such things as value systems, organizational memberships, and ideologies. Ascribed identity refers to the individual's deliberate affiliation or commitment to a particular racial group. Thus, an individual may commit to one of four categories: Blacks primarily, Whites primarily, neither, or both.

RACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT THEORY

Various researchers (Katz & Ivey, 1977; Terry, 1981) have discussed the defense mechanisms by which Whites pretend that they are not White. White people rarely have to come to terms with their identity as White people because our culture is so geared to White norms. In fact, when White individuals are asked what they are racially, they are more likely to answer "Italian", "English", "Catholic", or "Jewish" (Katz & Ivey, 1977) than "White". Thus as a consequence of not having a strong White identity, Whites may feel threatened by the presence of racial consciousness in non-White groups (Helms, 1990).

Helms' theory of racial identity development is based on a stage model. However, it has been suggested (Parham & Helms, 1985) that racial identity development be viewed as a continuous variable similar to an attitude rather than discreet stages as originally proposed. Thus, every White person may hold values and beliefs associated with various stages simultaneously, and the amount of each attitude may range from none to a maximum level. The degree to which an individual experiences various racial identity attitudes depends on the type of interactions with and exposure to Whites and non-Whites.

An individual, therefore, does not necessarily progress through all the stages.

One comes to understand a person's present behavioral disposition by analyzing his or her identity at the present time. However, present identity may or may not have long term implications for the person's future characteristics, and may depend on environmental factors, individual attributes, and personal life experiences.

Helms suggests that the evolution of a positive White racial identity consists of two processes, the abandonment of racism and the development of a non-racist White identity. Thus White racial identity development contains parallel beliefs and attitudes about Whites as well as Blacks.

Her White Racial Identity Development Scale includes five stages (Helms, 1990):

1. Contact - When an individual encounters Black people, he or she has entered the Contact stage of development. Individuals at this stage evaluate Blacks according to White criteria (i.e. physical appearance, test scores, etc.), and do so without awareness that other criteria are possible. They have limited interracial contact with Blacks either socially or

occupationally and use societal stereotypes of Blacks as the standard against which a Black person is evaluated. They will most likely be the ones making comments such as "You don't act like a Black person" or "I don't notice what race a person is".

2. Disintegration - When an individual enters this stage, he or she has conscious, yet conflicting acknowledgement of one's "Whiteness". It is during this stage that the person comes to realize that despite evidence to the contrary, Blacks and Whites are not considered equals and negative consequences can come of Whites who do not respect the inequalities. A person in this stage may come to realize that his or her position amongst Whites depends upon his or her ability to play both sides of the coin. Individuals may deal with this dissonance by avoiding contact with Blacks, attempting to convince others that Blacks are not inferior, or seeking information that racism does not really exist.

3. Reintegration - In this stage, the person consciously acknowledges a White identity and accepts the beliefs in White racial superiority and Black inferiority. Persons in this stage may believe that White people have somehow "earned" certain rights and privileges. They may either avoid Black people entirely

or involve themselves in acts of violence designed to protect the White privilege.

4. Pseudo-Independent - This is the first stage in redefining a positive White identity. A person in this stage may question the position that Blacks are innately inferior to Whites. He or she begins to acknowledge the responsibility of Whites for racism and tries to redefine his/her White identity. This usually occurs through intellectual acceptance and curiosity about Blacks. Although a person at this stage may seek greater interaction with Blacks, much of the interaction will be in helping Blacks to be more like Whites. He or she will seek to solve racism by changing Black cultural "dysfunctionalities". A person at this stage no longer has a negative White identity, but neither does he or she have a positive one.

5. Autonomy - A person at this stage no longer feels a need to oppress, idealize, or denigrate people on the basis of group membership. He or she actively seeks opportunities to learn from other cultural groups. He or she may become increasingly aware of how other forms of oppression are related to racism and act to eliminate them as well.

GREEK MEMBERS VERSUS INDEPENDENTS IN DEVELOPMENT AND ATTITUDES

Much research has been conducted comparing Greek members and independents on a variety of issues. Studies have found members of Greek letter organizations typically come from a higher socioeconomic background than independents (Dollar, 1966; Miller, 1973; Schmidt, 1971; Willingham, 1962). They are also more conservative, more dependent on family and peers, less aware and concerned about social issues, and more involved in extracurricular activities (Baier & Whipple, 1990; Eddy, 1990; Miller, 1973).

Greeks typically have more self-confidence and are more self-assertive than independents (Dollar, 1966). However, this self-confidence does not extend to motives for autonomy in interpersonal relationships. In fact, the literature affirms the consensus that Greek students value autonomy less than their non-Greek counterparts (Miller, 1973; Wilder, Hoyt, Doren, Hauck, & Zettle, 1978; Wilder, Hoyt, Surbeck, Wilder, & Carney, 1986). In addition, Greeks often feel less in control of their lives than do non-Greeks.

There has been much debate as to the impact of Greek membership on the values and attitudes of their members.

Supporters of the Greek system cite studies that have found Greek affiliation positively promotes feelings of security, belonging, and intellectual self-esteem (Astin, 1977), high levels of social orientation (Baird, 1969), leadership (Astin, 1977, Dollar, 1966), and moral development (Kershner, 1969).

Longino and Kart (1973) conclude that no systematic data supports the view that Greek organizations play an alienating role within the total campus culture. A more recent study (Winston & Saunders, 1987) concluded that although there is little evidence to support the view that Greek membership promotes the development of students' independence and autonomy, there is also little evidence to suggest that Greek membership constitutes major obstacles to such changes. Other supporters of the Greek system argue that even if fraternities and sororities do not have a significant impact on student attitudes and values, their existence can scarcely be regarded as insignificant. The fact that the fraternity is over 200 years old and has become an intimate part of higher education means it is a force that must be reckoned with.

Critics of the Greek system, on the other hand, argue that fraternities and sororities may be promoting

values, attitudes and behaviors inconsistent with the mission of the university. Marlowe and Auvenshine (1982) found that Greek organizations appear to promote superficial interpersonal relationships, attitudes of social elitism, and excessive alcohol consumption among their members. Other studies (Hughes & Winston, 1987; Schmidt, 1971) have found that fraternities and sororities have only a marginal impact on the development of interpersonal values when compared to independents. Knox (cited in Merton, 1985) found that fraternity men significantly exceeded non-fraternity men in exhibition and dominance needs.

Other critics of the Greek system feel that with all their rituals, fraternities are among the most tribal subcultures we have. Horowitz (1987) argues that there are certain elements that remain identified with the fraternity system: violence, underage drinking, hazing, cheating, and sexual abuse. While their members are considered legal adults, they seldom have the experience, the maturity, the historical perspective, or the skills to run such a complex human organization. In addition, they are exclusionary by practice, sexist in nature, and gender specific by design.

Furthermore, critics argue that the Greek system today continues to provide a highly visible framework for discrimination (Horowitz, 1987). Many critics feel that the system reinforces, without reexamining, the values that their members possess upon entering (Maisel, 1988).

Although there have been numerous studies comparing Greek members and independents, few have dealt with racial attitudes. One study by Forbes, Johri, and Montague (cited in Longino & Kart, 1973) found an overwhelming majority of Greeks and independent males favoring the rights of fraternities to restrict membership to men of their own choice. However, when race and religion were introduced as a determining factor of restriction, views changed. Independent males were divided over the issue, while fraternity males tended to favor racial and religious restrictions.

Muir (1991) undertook a study at the University of Alabama measuring White students social distance in regard to Black students. Using a modified Bogardus scale, he found that members of White Greek organizations were significantly less accepting of Blacks in every interactional area investigated. Within the Greek system, sorority members were more accepting of casual "sociable" interaction with Blacks, while fraternity

members were more willing to engage in more "intimate" social interaction. He also found that the Greek system maintained relative, but lessening, prejudice throughout the college years. He concluded that racism was maintained by recruiting relatively prejudiced students, who were then reinforced by a Greek system "approving discrimination at levels significantly higher than the general campus" (p. 98).

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDE AND DEVELOPMENT

Gender differences have emerged as a new dimension in the student development literature in recent years. Many earlier research studies, conducted with all male research samples, ignored the women's perspective except to compare women's deviance from the male "norm". In fact, Holmes and Jorgensen (1971) pointed out that approximately two-thirds of subjects in published psychological journals prior to 1971 were male.

There is some evidence that males and females develop differently. Recent theorists (Gilligan, 1982) argue that men and women have different world views that are due primarily to different gender socialization. Girls tend to mature physically earlier than boys, yet boys tend to display more aggression than girls (Munroe, Munroe, & Whiting, 1981). Boys tend to exhibit more

egoistic dominance, girls more prosocial dominance or responsible social behavior (Munroe, et al, 1981). These patterns suggest that girls are more oriented toward adults and behave in ways that are more socially acceptable, while boys seem to be more oriented toward peers and behave more selfishly. However, because there has been little research conducted to test whether gender differences influence racial identity development, we can conclude only that gender has been a relative factor in other theories of development (Buczynski, 1991; Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982).

Some studies have concluded that White females have more negative attitudes towards Blacks than do White males (Bogardus, 1959). Other studies have indicated that White females have a more positive attitude towards Blacks than do White males (cited in Rodgers & Sedlacek, 1979), and still others found no significant differences between the sexes (Bogardus, 1959). Sedlacek and his associates (Johnson & Sedlacek, 1979; Rodgers & Sedlacek, 1979; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1972) found that males and females differ in their racial attitudes, with females reacting more negatively in situations in which potential fear of physical or sexual harm was involved.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CLASSES IN ATTITUDES AND DEVELOPMENT

Student development theorists argue that students develop and change throughout the college years. Erikson (1968) describes freshmen of traditional college age (i.e. 18-22 years of age) as going through a stage of identity versus role confusion. He sees seniors, on the other hand, as dealing with a different stage -- intimacy versus isolation.

Chickering (1969) also argues that freshmen and seniors are dealing with different issues. His theory provides that freshmen are attempting to resolve three "vectors": competence, managing emotions, and developing autonomy. Seniors are resolving four different "vectors": establishing identity, freeing interpersonal relationships, developing purpose, and establishing integrity. Thus, it would appear that as students progress through the college years they may be at different stages in the developmental process.

Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) conclude that recent research has consistently shown that attitudes, values and behaviors become increasingly open during the college years with the rights of others being more quickly supported. They further suggest that changes occur in attitudes related to racism with shifts toward racial

tolerance. Little research, however, has been conducted examining changes that may occur in racial attitudes and racial identity development. One study conducted by Molla and Westbrook (1990) found that regardless of classification, White students' attitudes toward Blacks were negative. They concluded that part of the negative thinking relates precisely to what White students bring to campus from their homes and communities. However, more exploration needs to be performed in this area before any conclusions are drawn.

A comparative study examining any of the above groups cannot be made in a vacuum. Thus, it will be of value for the reader to have some basic knowledge about the institution in which the present study was conducted. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will focus on the history, background information, and subcultures existing at the College of William and Mary.

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

The College of William and Mary, chartered in 1693, is a public university supported by the Commonwealth of Virginia and supervised by a Board of Visitors appointed by the Governor. It is a residential university located in Williamsburg, Virginia, a Southern city rich in history and tradition.

The College of William and Mary, with its many traditions, boasts of many "firsts", including the first student secret society, the Flat Hat Club, a forerunner of the American fraternity system; and Phi Beta Kappa, the first American Greek letter fraternity. On the other hand, the College has also been slow to break tradition and initiate some changes. For example, the first women were not admitted until 1918 (Vital Facts, 1987), the first Black graduate student was not admitted until 1951 (After 258 Years, 1951), and the first Black undergraduates were not admitted until 1967 (DiVincenzo, 1989).

Even before Blacks were admitted to William and Mary, the subject of race was a concern for some, as made evident by a 1945 editorial in the William and Mary student newspaper, The Flat Hat:

...work must be done in educating ourselves away from the idea of white supremacy for this belief is as groundless as Hitler's Nordic supremacy nonsense. ...Negroes should attend William and Mary...go to classes...join the same clubs and be our roommates...and marry among us. (Kaemmerle, 1945)

These comments were tempered with the realization that:

This cannot and should not be done today, or tomorrow, but perhaps the next day. Neither they nor we are ready for it yet. (Kaemmerle, 1945)

This editorial caused a major scandal concerning the issue of race relations and freedom of the press. The William and Mary Board of Visitors responded by registering their "thorough disapproval" of the editorial (Kaemmerle, 1986). They requested that the administration and faculty take whatever "corrective and disciplinary action as may be necessary", and further declared that the views of the editorial in no way represented the views of the College, the administration, or the student body (W&M Faculty, 1945).

The editor was forced to resign her position. Ironically, only three years after the editorial appeared (1948), the President's Commission on Civil Rights issued its report. The legislation that followed made the goal of racial equality the law of the land.

Since the College of William and Mary started admitting Black undergraduates in 1967, the admissions office has worked hard to eradicate the college's "lily-

white" image, and as a result they have attracted more Blacks to campus (DiVincenzo, 1989). This increase has boosted the Black student population from 2.6% in 1978 to just over 5% today (D.P. Henry, Institutional Research, personal communication, February 11, 1992). The retention rate of Black students attending William and Mary is 87%. This is twice the national average for Black students attending predominantly White 4-year institutions of higher education (Kale, 1988).

Despite the increase in numbers, however, Black students at William and Mary are sometimes faced with White students who tend to misunderstand their presence on campus. According to a recent article in the local paper (DiVincenzo, 1989), many White students believe Blacks are at William and Mary due to some affirmative action program. They also feel that Blacks meet lower academic standards than do Whites. One student was quoted as saying:

When I pass a Black student on campus, I can't help thinking about my friend who applied here but couldn't get in. She is so smart and was very active in high school. She wanted to come here since she was 12 years old (p. D4).

William and Mary's Admissions Office uses a number of criteria to evaluate undergraduate applicants including SAT or ACT scores, extracurricular activities, outside employment and class rank. In addition, several other factors enter into the equation including whether the individual's parents attended William and Mary; whether he or she is a recruited athlete, a minority or international student, or a first generation college student; and whether the potential student comes from several specific counties within Virginia (V.A. Carey, Director of Admissions, personal communication, June 24, 1992). The Director of Admissions at William and Mary responded to the above student's comment by saying:

The College values diversity and is supportive of affirmative action programs. However, no student is admitted to William and Mary without the skills to succeed and ultimately graduate. There are a number of factors that go into making final decisions about who will be accepted, not all of them are academic. It is unfortunate that we have to turn some equally capable people away. (V.A. Carey, Director of Admissions, personal communication, June 24, 1992)

Although there have been no cross burnings or race riots at William and Mary, there have been a couple of recent racist incidents. In 1990, racist letters were received by the Minority Affairs Office attacking the Black Student Leadership Development Conference held at the College each year. More recently, a White supremacist group posted "stereotypical" flyers around campus. Even though the Campus Police Department (J. Coleman, Campus Police, personal communication, March 18, 1992) removed the flyers and eventually caught the person responsible, negative stereotypes concerning Blacks can still be found in this small liberal arts environment. The stereotypes are evident in that some White students still think all Blacks can sing, play basketball, eat fried chicken and watermelon, and speak for "all Black people" (DiVincenzo, 1989).

SUBCULTURES AT WILLIAM AND MARY

Using the student culture typology by Clark and Trow (1966), William and Mary's student population can best be described as consisting of both an Academic subculture and a Collegiate subculture.

The Academic subculture has students with a strong attachment to the institution which supports intellectual values and opportunities for learning. The College of

William and Mary is an academically strong institution that recruits students oriented in this direction. Many students are aspiring to attend graduate and professional schools, and identify themselves with the faculty.

The Collegiate subculture also generates strong loyalties and attachments to the institution. These students, however, are indifferent and resistant to serious demands from the faculty in the involvement with ideas and issues over and above what is required to gain a diploma. College life in this subculture revolves around fraternities and sororities, dates, cars, drinking and campus fun (Clark & Trow, 1966). Many students at William and Mary would agree that the social life of the campus revolves around weekend parties at the fraternity houses.

Even though the fraternities may be the source of social "nirvana" for many undergraduates at William and Mary, most would agree that making high grades is top priority. Horowitz (1987) would categorize a large proportion of William and Mary students as New Outsiders. These students, who often come from relatively affluent families, fear downward mobility. They study hard in hopes of "making the grade" so that they may have the opportunity to enter graduate or professional school.

These New Outsiders can be found not only in the nonGreek population, but in the Greek population as well.

SUMMARY

This chapter focused on how attitudes develop and how they can be measured. The attitude-behavior relationship was also addressed, with the conclusion that this relationship is often determined by the nature of a particular situation. Racial attitude development and racial identity development, as well as the theories that surround them, were also reviewed.

Studies highlighting similarities and differences in Greeks and independents, males and females, and freshmen and seniors were investigated to gain a foundation for looking at similarities and differences in racial attitudes and racial identity development. It was determined that too few studies have been undertaken documenting similarities and differences in racial attitudes and racial identity development to compare the above groups.

Lastly, the College of William and Mary was described to give the reader an idea of the history and student subcultures that exist in this particular campus environment.

CHAPTER III: PROCEDURES

RESEARCH METHODS

The population being studied consisted of White students in a liberal arts environment. The sample population consisted of White students at the College of William and Mary, in Williamsburg, Virginia. The College of William and Mary is a four year residential university with a full time enrollment of approximately 5300 undergraduate students. The College has a total minority population of 15.5%, with Blacks making up 6.26% of the total. Thirty-six percent of the males at William and Mary belong to Greek letter social fraternities (D.P. Henry, Institutional Research, personal communication, February 11, 1992). The College recognizes 14 social fraternities with 13 consisting of predominantly White members. All but one of the predominantly White fraternities have a separate house or living area on the main campus. The living quarters accommodate 24-37 members, with sophomores, juniors and seniors having almost equal representation. There are a total of 11 Black males in predominantly White fraternities, with seven of the predominantly White fraternities having at

least one Black member (L.T. Williams, Student Activities personal communication, February 17, 1992).

Forty percent of the females at William and Mary belong to Greek letter social sororities (D.P. Henry, Institutional Research personal communication, February 11, 1992). The college recognizes 13 social sororities with ten consisting of predominantly White members. All but one of the predominantly White sororities have a separate house on the main campus. The living quarters for the sorority houses accommodate 16-19 members, with seniors making up the majority. There are a total of 12 Black females in predominantly White sororities, with six of the predominantly White sororities having at least one Black member (L.T. Williams, personal communication, February 17, 1992).

To obtain the sample of White students, a list of all White undergraduate students at William and Mary and a list of all White undergraduate students in social fraternities and sororities at William and Mary, were obtained from the Associate Vice President of Student Affairs for Student Activities. Consecutive numbers were assigned to the names on both lists. Since the researcher was interested in comparing certain subgroups, a stratified sample was obtained to fill 16 cells. A

table of random numbers was then used to identify the sample, yielding 30 subjects per cell for a total of 480 subjects.

DATA GATHERING METHODS

During the Spring of 1992, the residence hall staff at William and Mary was asked to help in the distribution and collection of surveys to on-campus students. A meeting took place to discuss the purpose of the study and the procedures to be followed in the collection of surveys. During a two week time frame in April of 1992, letters to individuals selected to participate in the study, along with a personal data sheet, the Racial Attitude and Opinion Scale (ATTW) and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) were distributed and collected by the residence hall staff (Appendix A). Anonymity was guaranteed. Those wishing to receive information concerning the results of the study returned a postcard separate from their survey instruments.

Off-campus students selected to participate in the study were mailed the same information given to on-campus students. In addition, they were given a self-addressed stamped envelope in which to return the survey instruments. Both groups of students were mailed reminder notices after the two week deadline reminding

them to return their surveys. The researcher's name, address and phone number were given on the cover letter and the reminder notice so that participants could call and ask questions concerning the survey.

INSTRUMENTATION

RACIAL ATTITUDE AND OPINION SCALE (ATTW)

Two different instruments were used in this study. The first, the Racial Attitude and Opinion Scale, or ATTW, (Brigham, 1991) is a 20-item racial attitude scale. It is a revised version of the Multifactor Racial Attitudes Inventory (MRAI) developed in 1966 by Woodmansee and Cook. These researchers found that White college students' racial attitudes are multidimensional and organized along content lines rather than in terms of affective, cognitive, and conative components. Their inventory was composed of ten 10-item subscales which were undisguised measures of different aspects of attitude towards Blacks: Integration-Segregation Policy, Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Black Inferiority, Ease in Interracial Contacts, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, Local Autonomy, Private Rights, Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships, and Gradualism. The tenth subscale, Negro Superiority was included as a potential measure of the tendency to appear falsely egalitarian (Woodmansee and Cook, 1966).

Brigham in 1976 argued that "if an empirically derived measure of attitudes is to be as comprehensive as possible, continuous attention should be given to the domain of statements about the attitude object from which subgroups of statements (dimensions) have been derived. Periodic examination and revision may identify new dimensions representing aspects which had been overlooked, had not existed previously, or had not been directed relevant to the attitude object." Thus, he revised the MRAI in 1976 to include items on Interracial Marriage and Approaches to Racial Identity. Brigham has recently updated the instrument again deriving results from factor-analytic work with samples of White college students (Brigham, 1991).

The Racial Attitude and Opinion Scale (ATTW) consists of 20-items measuring racial attitudes along four dimensions:

1. Social distance - "If I had a chance to introduce Black visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would do so." (9 items);
2. Affective Reactions - "I think that Black people look more similar to each other than White people do." (10 items);

3. Governmental Policy - "The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustices Blacks suffer at the hands of local authorities." (11 items); and

4. Worry about Reverse Discrimination - "Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights." (2 items).

Because several of the questions are able to measure two or more dimensions, the number of items in each dimension is greater than the actual number on the test instrument (i.e. "It would not bother me if my new roommate was Black." measures both social distance and affective reactions).

Since the ATTW is a new instrument, only a limited amount of validity information is available. In examining the content validity of the instrument, it is apparent that the subscales measure areas defined by recent authors as newer issues surrounding prejudice, that is governmental policies, affirmative action, fear of reverse discrimination, and personal intimacy (Davis, 1980; Jacobsen, 1985; McHonahay et al, 1981).

Construct validity was found by examining the interassociations among clusters of variables. It is assumed that those that cluster together tap a similar underlying construct. Factor analyzing the 20 items resulted in the four previously mentioned clusters emerging. Criterion validity of this instrument was found by examining the correlation between this instrument and the Multifactor Racial Attitudes Inventory (MRAI) described earlier. The correlation between the two instruments was .80. The reliability for the total instrument is estimated to be .70 (J.C. Brigham, personal communication, February 13, 1992).

A seven-point Likert scale (strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree) was used to score the instrument. The items were either forward or reversed scored, according to the type of response elicited. Each subscale was scored with a higher score reflecting more negative attitudes towards Blacks concerning the particular dimension in question. The potential scoring range for the entire instrument was 0 - 120, with a high score reflecting more negative racial attitudes towards Blacks. A sample of the survey instrument is included (Appendix A).

THE WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE SCALE (WRIAS)

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale, or WRIAS, (Helms, 1990) is a 50-item scale that measures attitudes about Whites, Whiteness, and White culture, as well as attitudes about Blacks, Blackness, and Black culture (Helms, 1990). The scale is comprised of five 10-item subscales measuring attitudes hypothesized to derive from membership in one of the following five stages:

- 1) Contact -- obliviousness to racial/cultural issues.
- 2) Disintegration -- awareness of the social implications of race on a personal level.
- 3) Reintegration -- idealization of everything perceived to be White and denigration of everything perceived to be Black.
- 4) Pseudo-Independence -- internalization of Whiteness and capacity to recognize personal responsibility to improve the consequences of racism.
- 5) Autonomy -- bicultural or racially transcendent world view. (Helms,1990)

A five-point Likert-scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = uncertain, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree) was used to score the survey. Scores are calculated by adding the point values of the responses for each of the subscales. Zero values are assigned if a person chooses not to answer a particular question.

These zero values are included in the total scores because, according to the theory, until the person has reached the relevant stage of development, some items may appear to be meaningless (Helms, 1990). The higher the score, the more descriptive of the person is the subscale.

The WRAIS is also a relatively new scale and thus limited validity information is available. The instrument, in considering content validity, contains items identified by other authors as being important components of White racial identity development (Carney & Kahn, 1984; Jones, 1972; Terry, 1970). Construct validity of the instrument was found by examining the interrelationships or correlations among the WRAIS subscales. Factor analyzing the 50 items was undertaken and it was found that with only one exception ("I seek out new experiences even if I know a large number of Blacks will be involved in them."), every item loaded significantly on at least one factor. In assessing the criterion validity, each of the subscales was correlated with measures of other personality constructs (Helms, 1990).

Each scale has been found to have reliabilities ranging from .55 to .82. Thus, Helms argues that the

measure seems to have adequate reliability to warrant further experimental use (Helms, 1990). A sample of the instrument is included (Appendix A).

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

The personal data sheet used in the study requested information such as gender, year in college, affiliation with a social fraternity or sorority, parents' income, parents' education, race-related experiences, and social affiliations. In addition, it also requested that individuals provide information as to whether or not they had ever attended a racial awareness/sensitivity workshop and whether they felt that racial issues were a problem at the College of William and Mary.

SPECIFIC RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

1. Greeks will score higher on the racial attitudes scale than will non-Greeks, thus signifying a more negative attitude toward Blacks.
2. Greeks will score lower on the racial identity development scale than will non-Greeks, thus indicating a less healthy White racial identity.

3. White males will score higher on the racial attitudes scale than will White females, thus signifying a more negative attitude towards Blacks.
4. White males will score lower on the racial identity development scale than will White females, thus indicating a less healthy White racial identity.
5. Freshmen will score higher on the racial attitudes scale than will seniors, thus signifying a more negative attitude towards Blacks.
6. Freshmen will score lower on the racial identity development scale than will seniors, thus indicating a less healthy White racial identity.

SUMMARY OF PROCEDURES

Two instruments, the White Racial Attitude and Opinion Scale (ATTW) and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) were administered to White students to measure racial attitudes and racial identity development in a liberal arts environment.

It was hypothesized that there would be a significant difference in scores between those with a Greek affiliation and those without a Greek affiliation, males and females, and freshmen and seniors. More specifically Greeks, males, and freshmen would score higher on the ATTW and lower on the WRIAS than would nonGreeks, females, and seniors, respectively.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS OF ANALYSIS

The purpose of this study was to document the racial attitudes and racial identity development of White students in a liberal arts environment. Gender differences, classification differences, and Greek/nonGreek affiliation differences were of particular interest. An effort was also made to predict racial attitudes and racial identity development scores by using self-report biographical variables. This chapter will present the findings and statistical analysis of the data.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

A total of 265 White students completed the required instruments (55% return rate). The sample was comprised of 135 females (52%) and 130 males (48%). There were nearly an equal number of freshmen (64), sophomores (65), juniors (65), and seniors (71). Nearly half of the respondents belonged to a fraternity or sorority (49%), with just over half (51%) having no Greek affiliation. Of those respondents not belonging to a Greek organization, 28% indicated they had an interest in joining such a group.

Those who returned the survey instruments compared favorably to the overall sample population. Of the 480 surveys distributed, an equal number were given to males and females (240 or 50%), Greeks and nonGreeks (240 or 50%), and freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors (120 or 25%). The returned survey results also compared quite favorably with the general population at the College of William and Mary. Roughly 38% of the students are members of Greek letter social organizations, just over half are female (53.7%), and there is a fairly equal number of freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors (D.P. Henry, Institutional Research, personal communication, June 10, 1992). Of the surveys returned, eight could not be used due to lack of information and another 12 were returned blank.

Sixty-one percent of the respondents categorized themselves as belonging to the upper middle class, with their parents' income exceeding \$60,000 annually. Less than 4% of the sample described themselves as working or lower class, and less than 3% indicated their parents' annual income fell below \$20,000.

Family backgrounds of the participants indicated that the parents of these students, as a group, were well educated. Nearly 90% of the students reported that their

mothers had at least attended college, with less than one percent having less than a high school diploma. Results of the background information for father's education produced similar findings with 85% of the fathers being college graduates and less than 2% not having completed high school.

Forty percent of the sample identified their political views as middle of the road, while 29% described themselves as liberal and another 26% as conservative. Less than 3% described themselves as holding either radical or strong conservative political views. The majority of the students (95%) responded that neither they nor their parents belonged to an all white, racially identifiable group.

Twenty-six percent of the sample recalled hearing more negative than positive or neutral statements during childhood about Blacks from their parents, while 32% recalled hearing more positive than negative or neutral statements. In addition, 17% of the students hear more negative than positive or neutral statements about Blacks from their current peer group, while 40% hear more positive than negative or neutral statements.

Over 70% of the participants reported having at least one or two Black individuals that they frequently socialize with (i.e. lunch, movies, etc.), while almost 30% reported that they do not frequently socialize with any Black friends. Only 26% of the sample had ever attended a racial awareness/sensitivity workshop, and the sample was nearly split as to whether racial issues were a problem at the College of William and Mary (51%-yes, 49%-no).

RESEARCH QUESTION #1

The first research question addressed was:

What are the racial attitudes of White students at a liberal arts institution?

The Racial Attitude and Opinion Scale (ATTW) was administered and scored according to Brigham (1991). Table 1 presents the cell means and standard deviations for each of the subscores and the total score of the ATTW for the sample.

The scoring range for the entire ATTW was 0-120, with a higher score indicating a more negative attitude towards Blacks. The results from Table 1 show that the White student sample scored relatively low on the scale

TABLE 1**MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR ATTW AND WRIAS SCORES
(N=265)**

VARIABLE	M	SD
SOCIAL DISTANCE	11.16	8.54
AFFECTIVE REACTIONS	19.85	9.96
GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES	12.29	9.36
REVERSE DISCRIMINATION	4.6	2.73
TOTAL ATTW	32.48	16.8
CONTACT ATTITUDES	31.7	3.81
DISINTEGRATION ATTITUDES	21.57	5.04
REINTEGRATION ATTITUDES	20.24	4.95
PSUEDO-INDEPENDENT ATTITUDES	36.52	3.96
AUTONOMY ATTITUDES	38.25	3.77

(M=32.48). This implies that these students, overall, have a favorable attitude toward Blacks.

In addition, the means and standard deviations for the separate subscales of the ATTW revealed that the sample scored relatively low on each of them as well. A mean of 11.16 was scored on the Social Distance subscale, with a scoring range of 0-60; a mean of 19.85 was scored on the Affective Reactions subscale, with a scoring range of 0-60; a mean of 12.29 was scored on the Governmental Policies subscale, with a scoring range of 0-66; and a mean of 4.60 was scored on the Reverse Discrimination subscale with a scoring range of 0-12.

With the exception of the Reverse Discrimination subscale, the mean score plus one standard deviation placed most respondents under the middle score on the subscales. This can be interpreted to mean that most of these students do not desire social distance from Blacks, do not feel negative toward Blacks, nor do they oppose governmental policies aiding Blacks.

The mean score plus one standard deviation for the Reverse Discrimination subscale placed some of the respondents over the median score on this subscale. This

could indicate that students have some concerns about being denied opportunities due to reverse discrimination.

RESEARCH QUESTION #2

The second research question addressed was:

Where are White students at a liberal arts institution developmentally on a racial identity development scale?

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) was administered and scored according to Helms (1990). Table 1 presents the cell means and standard deviations for each of the stages for the sample.

The scoring range for each of the subscales was 0-50. The higher the score on a subscale, the more descriptive of the person is the subscale. The results show that the White student population at William and Mary scored considerably higher on the Contact, Pseudo-Independent and Autonomy stages of development than they did on the Disintegration and Reintegration stages. As a whole, these findings appear to be consistent with Helms and Carter's (1990) preliminary means and standard deviations for the WRIAS.

However, the sample on average scored five points below the preliminary mean given by Helms and Carter for the Reintegration stage of development, and 4.5 points above the mean for the Autonomy stage. This would indicate that these students, in comparison to other White students attending predominantly White universities in the Eastern United States, are less likely to have feelings of anger or fear towards Blacks, and are more likely to engage in interactions with people from other cultures. (Helms & Carter, 1990).

The fact that the mean scores for the Contact stage, the lowest stage in Helms' model, is moderately high for this group, may indicate that many students choose to ignore the whole concept of race. That is, they are the ones most likely to make a comment such as "I don't notice what race a person is." These people generally have positive feelings about the "idea" of Blacks and fair treatment of Blacks, but become somewhat anxious when faced with actual interactions with them (Helms, 1990).

A Chi-square analysis was performed on the WRIAS scores to see how the sample placed on Helms' scale. Based on the premise that the highest subscale score indicates the stage a person is most likely to be in on

the WRIAS, the results show that 66.4% of the sample would place in the Autonomy stage, the highest stage in Helms' model (Table 2). However, when the Autonomy scores were looked at again, 86 people, or nearly 60% of the respondents were within one of being in another category. Therefore, although the scales are based on a model that proposes discrete stages of racial identity, Helms (1990) suggests that it may be best to use all five of a respondent's scores to form a profile rather than use only the single highest score to assign an individual to a single stage.

RESEARCH QUESTION #3 AND #5

The third and fifth research questions addressed were:

Is there a significant difference between Greeks and non-Greeks in regard to their racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution? and

Is there a significant difference between White males and White females in regard to their racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution?

A major comparison of interest in this study was between those students having a Greek affiliation and those students not having a Greek affiliation. Because

TABLE 2

RESULTS OF CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS FOR WRIAS

	N	%
	---	---
CONTACT	11	4.9
DISINTEGRATION	1	0.4
REINTEGRATION	3	1.3
PSUEDO-INDEPENDENT	61	27
AUTONOMY	150	66.4

NOTE: 86 PEOPLE OR NEARLY 60% OF THOSE IN THE AUTONOMY STAGE WERE WITHIN ONE OF BEING IN ANOTHER CATEGORY

previous research (Gilligan, 1982; Erikson, 1968) had demonstrated differing attitudes and development for upper and lower level students, as well as gender differences, class standing and sex were also considered. Therefore, a 2 X 4 X 2 (Sex X Class X Greek affiliation) between groups multivariate analysis (MANOVA) was performed, with ATTW subscores and the ATTW total score as the dependent variables (Table 3). Results of the multivariate analysis indicated significant main effects for sex, class, and Greek affiliation, and a significant interaction between Greek affiliation and sex. Univariate analysis indicated significant Greek affiliation by sex interactions for Social Distance, Affective Reactions, and Governmental Policies. In addition, univariate results indicated significant class main effects for the Affective Reactions and Reverse Discrimination subscales, as well as a significant sex main effect for the Reverse Discrimination subscale. Where the overall F-ratios were significant, Tukey's HSD test was used to perform follow-up tests.

Since the univariate analysis indicated a Greek by sex interaction for three of the four subscales of the ATTW, it is important to address the third and fifth research questions together. Results of the follow-up of the Greek by sex interaction for the Social Distance (SD)

TABLE 3

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY FOR THE ATTW SCORES

	MULTIVARIATE ANOVA		UNIVARIATE ANOVA				
	F		SD	AR	GP	RD	ATTWTOT
CLASS (1)	2.202**	F	1.457	3.479*	1.440	3.597*	---
SEX (2)	8.489***	F	10.944***	21.217***	24.718***	7.209**	----
GREEK (2)	3.823**	F	6.133*	8.938**	12.313***	1.654	---
GREEK X SEX (2)	4.029**	F	9.051**	13.570***	12.597***	2.305	-----
CLASS X GREEK (1)	1.043	F	2.197	1.603	1.606	2.647*	---
CLASS X SEX (1)	.401	F	.780	1.120	.922	.235	----
CLASS X SEX X GREEK (1)	.799	F	1.879	.874	1.201	.207	.63

* P < .05

** P < .01

*** P < .001

NOTE: SD=SOCIAL DISTANCE AR=AFFECTIVE REACTIONS GP=GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

RD=REVERSE DISCRIMINATION ATTWTOT=TOTAL SCORE OF ATTW

NOTE: (1) F[3,248] (2) F[1,248]

subscale showed the mean SD score of male members of Greek letter organizations (M=15.86) to be greater than the mean SD score of nonGreek males (M=10.15) and females (M=10.00), and also for Greek females (M=9.32). The mean scores of nonGreek males and females, and the mean scores of Greek females were equivalent. Table 4 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results indicate that male members of Greek letter social fraternities desire more social distance from Blacks than do females and nonGreek males (Figure 1).

Results of the follow-up of the Greek by sex interaction for the Affective Reactions (AR) subscale showed the mean AR score of male members of Greek letter organizations (M=26.48) to be greater than the AR score of nonGreek males (M=18.84) and females (M=18.03), and also for Greek females (M=17.13). The mean scores of nonGreek males and females, and the mean score of Greek females were equivalent. Table 4 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results indicate that male members of Greek letter social fraternities feel more negative toward Blacks than do females and nonGreek males (Figure 2).

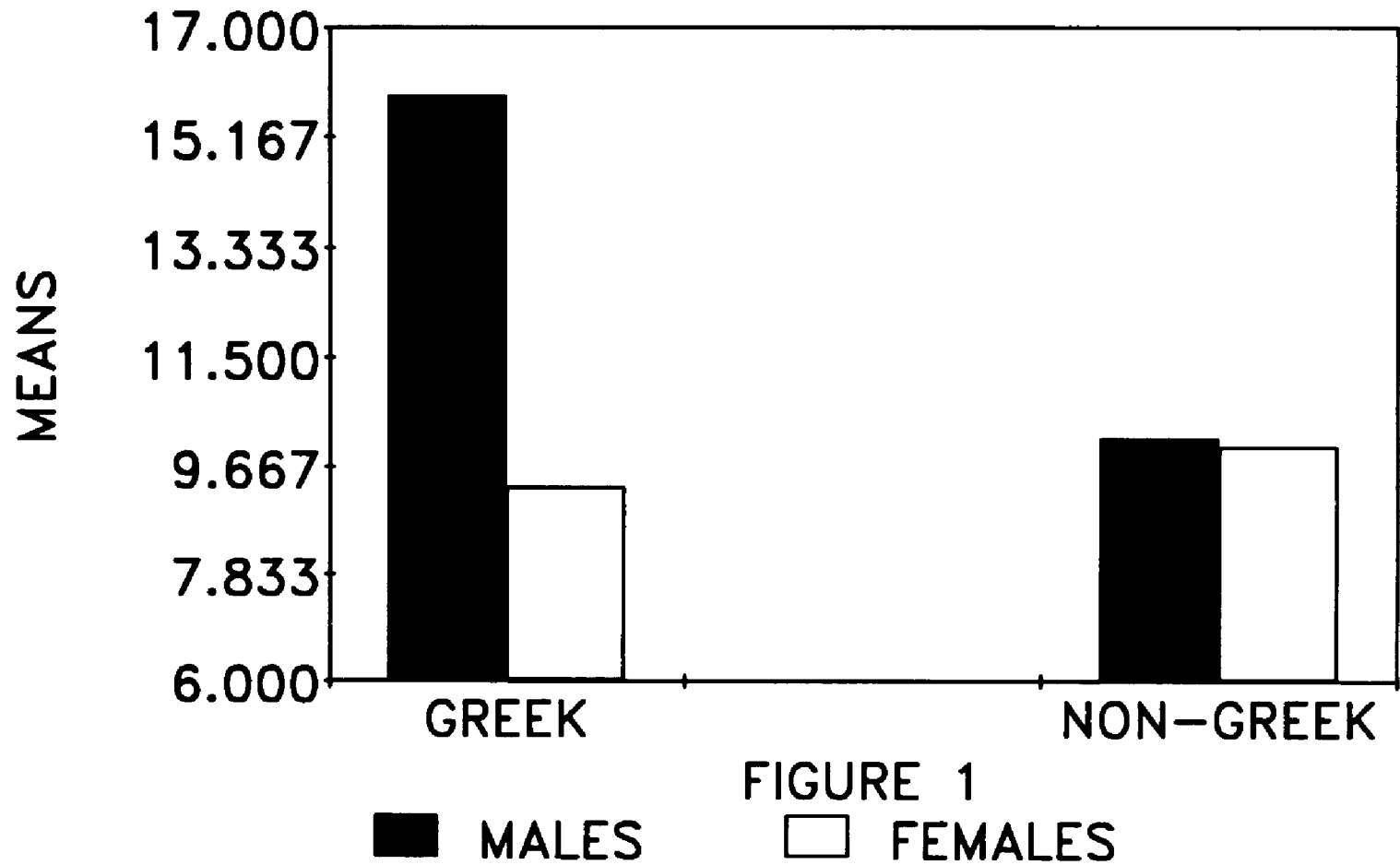
Results of the follow-up of the Greek by sex interaction for the Governmental Policies (GP) subscale

TABLE 4

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE ATTW: GREEK BY SEX

	GREEK				NON-GREEK			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N=59		N=71		N=68		N=67	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
SOCIAL DISTANCE (SD)	15.86	10.73	9.32	6.67	10.15	7.31	10.00	7.95
AFFECTIVE REACTIONS (AR)	26.48	10.90	17.13	9.41	18.84	8.45	18.03	8.88
GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES (GP)	19.14	11.18	9.62	8.65	11.37	7.28	10.04	7.18

SOCIAL DISTANCE
GREEK BY SEX



AFFECTIVE REACTIONS GREEK BY SEX



showed the mean GP score of male members of Greek letter organizations (M=19.14) to be greater than the GP score of nonGreek males (M=11.37) and females (M=10.04), and also for Greek females (M=9.62). The mean scores of nonGreek males and females, and the mean score of Greek females were equivalent. Table 4 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results indicate that male members of Greek letter social fraternities have more negative feelings about governmental policies aiding Blacks than do females and nonGreek males (Figure 3).

Besides the Greek by sex interaction discussed above for the ATTW, there was also a significant sex main effect for the Reverse Discrimination subscale.

Results of the follow-up for sex main effect for the Reverse Discrimination (RD) subscale showed the mean RD score for men (M=5.06) to be higher than for women (M=4.17). Table 5 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results suggest that males are more fearful of reverse discrimination than are females (Figure 4).

GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES GREEK BY SEX

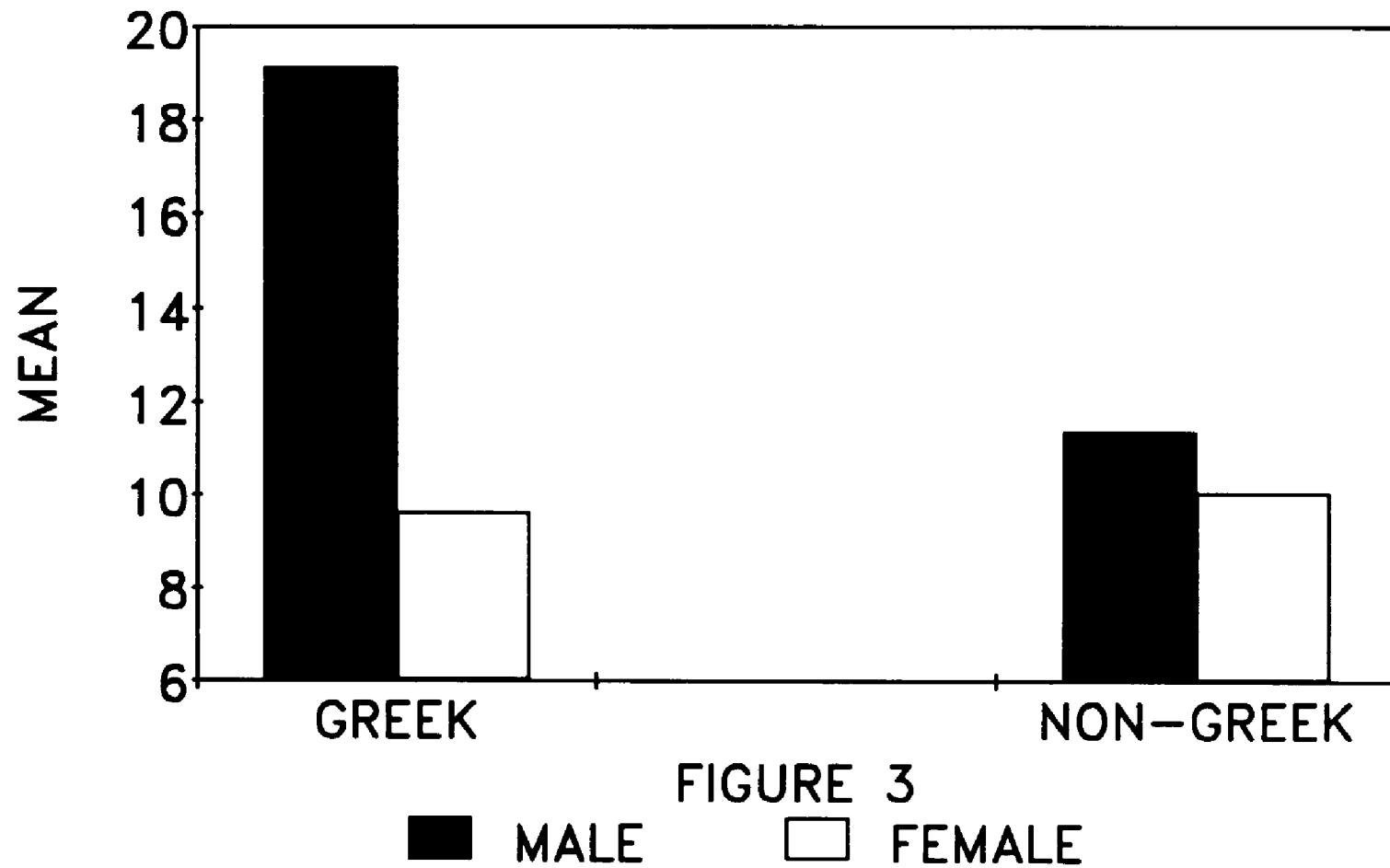


TABLE 5

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE REVERSE DISCRIMINATION (RD) SCALE: BY SEX

	M	SD
	---	---
MALE (N=127)	5.06	2.81
FEMALE (N=138)	4.17	2.58

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION SEX

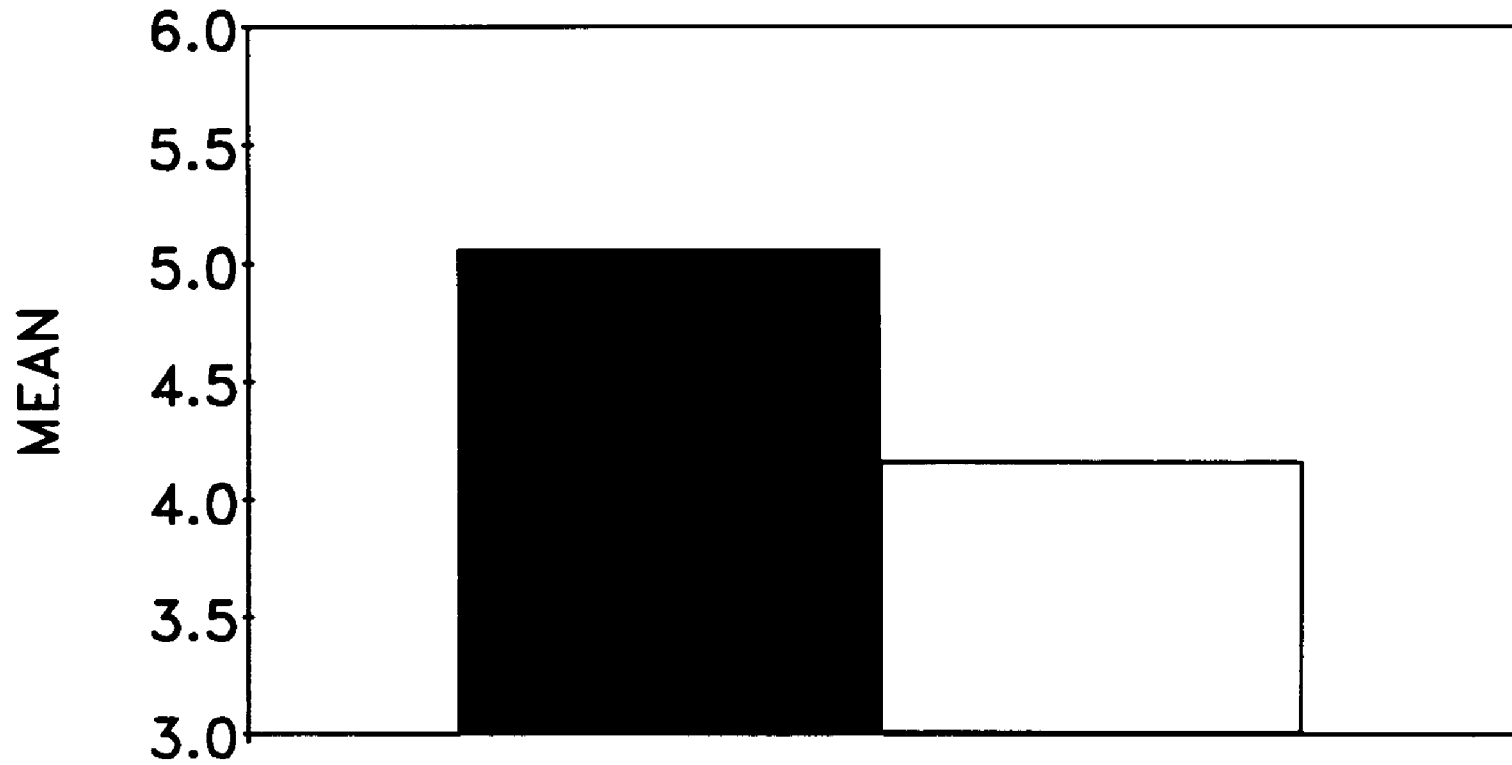


FIGURE 4

■ MALE

□ FEMALE

RESEARCH QUESTION #4 AND #6

The fourth and sixth research questions addressed were:

Is there a significant difference between Greeks and non-Greeks in regard to their racial identity development at a liberal arts institution? and

Is there a significant difference between White males and White females in regard to their racial identity development at a liberal arts institution?

A major comparison of interest was between those students having a Greek affiliation and those students not having a Greek affiliation. Because previous research (Gilligan, 1982; Erikson, 1968) had demonstrated differing attitudes and development for upper and lower level students, as well as gender differences, class standing and sex were also considered. Therefore, a 2 X 4 X 2 (Sex X Class X Greek affiliation) between groups multivariate analysis (MANOVA) was performed, with WRIAS subscores as the dependent variables (Table 6). Results of the multivariate analysis indicated significant main effects for sex and class, and a significant interaction between Greek affiliation and sex. Univariate analysis

TABLE 6
MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE SUMMARY FOR THE WRIAS STAGES

	<u>MULTIVARIATE ANOVA</u>		<u>UNIVARIATE ANOVA</u>				
	F		CA	DA	RA	PIA	AA
CLASS (1)	1.786*	F	1.237	2.259	1.505	1.410	.900
SEX (2)	3.812*	F	1.749	16.434***	12.615***	6.119*	3.515
GREEK (2)	1.612	F	4.645*	1.523	1.277	.033	1.946
GREEK X SEX (2)	3.077**	F	7.332**	3.770	8.183**	6.583*	6.943**
CLASS X GREEK (1)	1.135	F	.322	2.456	1.099	1.158	1.387
CLASS X SEX (1)	1.202	F	1.142	2.045	.888	.295	.368
CLASS X SEX X GREEK (1)	.908	F	.875	.931	.116	.687	2.011

* P < .05
 ** P < .01
 *** P < .001

NOTE : CA=CONTACT ATTITUDES DA=DISINTEGRATION ATTITUDES RA=REINTEGRATION ATTITUDES
 PIA=PSUEDO-INDEPENDENT ATTITUDES AA=AUTONOMY ATTITUDES
 NOTE : (1) F [3,248] (2) F [1,248]

indicated significant Greek by sex interactions for four of the five stage scores: Contact, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independent, and Autonomy. In addition, univariate results indicated a significant sex main effect for the Disintegration stage. Where the overall F-ratios were significant, Tukey's HSD test was used to perform follow-up tests.

Since the univariate analysis indicated a Greek by sex interaction for four of the five stage scores, it is important to address the fourth and sixth research questions together. Results of the follow-up of the Greek by sex interaction for the Contact Attitudes (CA) stage showed the mean CA score of male members of Greek letter organizations ($M=30.29$) to be lower than the mean CA score of nonGreek males ($M=32.46$) and Greek females ($M=32.17$). The mean CA score for nonGreek females ($M=31.69$) was found to be equivalent to males in fraternities. The mean scores of nonGreek males and females, and the mean score of Greek females were equivalent. Table 7 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results indicate that Greek males are more aware of racial and cultural issues than are nonGreek males and Greek females (Figure 5).

TABLE 7

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE WRIAS STAGES: GREEK BY SEX

	GREEK				NON-GREEK			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N=69		N=71		N=67		N=67	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
CONTACT ATTITUDES (CA)	30.29	4.38	32.17	3.59	32.46	3.36	31.69	3.65
REINTEGRATION ATTITUDES (RA)	22.54	5.76	18.80	4.75	20.21	4.76	19.78	3.84
PSEUDO-INDEPENDENT ATTITUDES (PIA)	35.31	3.70	37.55	4.02	36.57	3.96	36.45	3.89
AUTONOMY ATTITUDES (AA)	38.93	3.88	39.03	3.62	38.98	3.98	38.25	4.16

CONTACT ATTITUDES
GREEK BY SEX

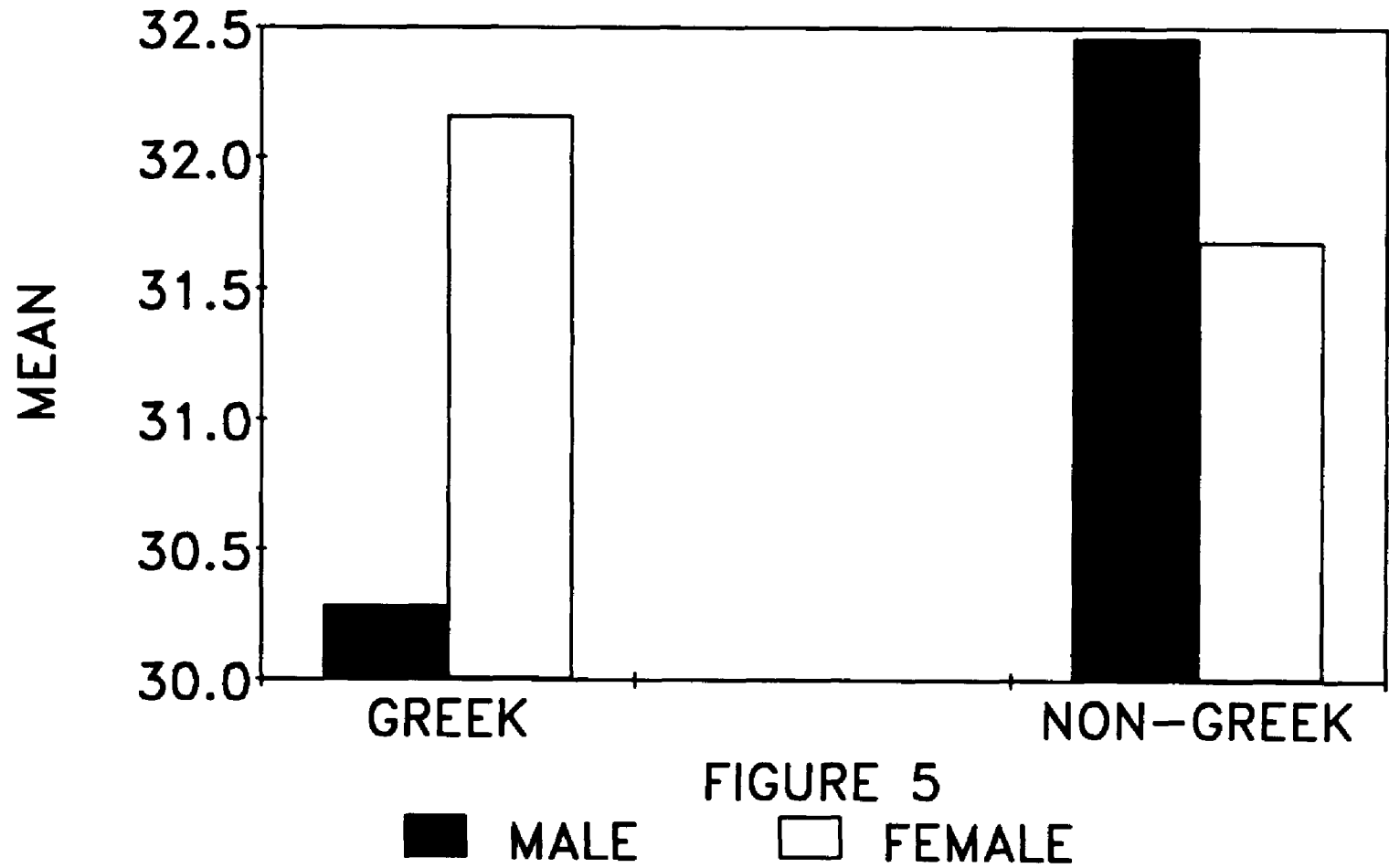
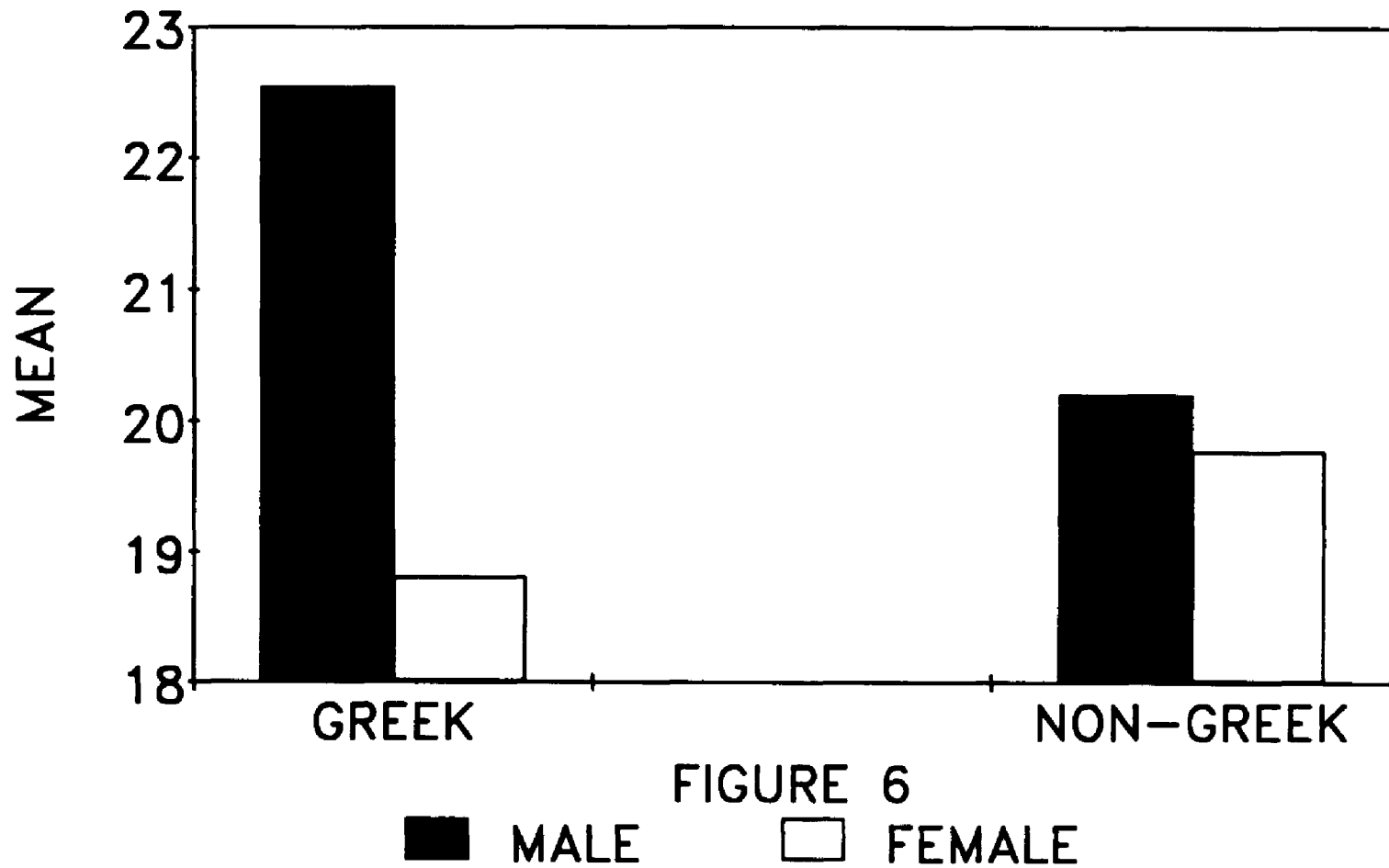


FIGURE 5

Results of the follow-up analysis of the Greek by sex interaction for the Reintegration Attitudes (RA) subscale showed the mean RA score of male members of Greek letter organizations (M=22.54) to be greater than the mean RA score of nonGreek males (M=20.21) and females (M=19.78), and also for Greek females (M=18.80). The mean scores of nonGreek males and females, and the mean score of Greek females were equivalent. Table 7 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results suggest that males in fraternities are more positively biased toward their own racial group and as a result may become more hostile (overtly or covertly) towards Blacks than would females and nonGreek males (Figure 6).

Results of the follow-up analysis of the Greek by sex interaction for the Pseudo-Independent Attitudes (PIA) subscale showed the mean PIA score of males in Greek letter fraternities (M=35.31) to be lower than the mean PIA score of Greek females (M=37.55). The mean PIA scores for nonGreek males (M=36.57) and nonGreek females (M=36.45) were found to be equivalent to Greek males' PIA scores. PIA scores for nonGreek males and females were also found to be equivalent to Greek females PIA scores. Table 7 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results indicate that Greek

REINTEGRATION GREEK BY SEX



males take less of an interest in understanding racial and cultural differences than do Greek females (Figure 7).

Results of the follow-up analysis of the Greek by sex interaction for the Autonomy Attitudes (AA) subscale showed the mean AA score of males in Greek letter organizations ($M=36.93$) to be lower than the mean AA score of Greek females ($M=39.03$). The mean AA scores for nonGreek males ($M=38.58$) and nonGreek females ($M=38.25$) were found to be equivalent to Greek males AA scores. AA scores for nonGreek males and females were also found to be equivalent to Greek females AA scores. Table 7 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results suggest that Greek females are more secure in their own racial identity, thereby accepting, appreciating and respecting cultural differences more than Greek males (Figure 8).

Besides the Greek by sex interaction discussed above for the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, there was also a significant sex main effect on the Disintegration stage. Results of the follow-up analysis showed the mean DA score for men ($M=22.77$) to be higher than for women ($M=20.47$). Table 8 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results indicate

PSUEDO-INDEPENDENT
GREEK BY SEX

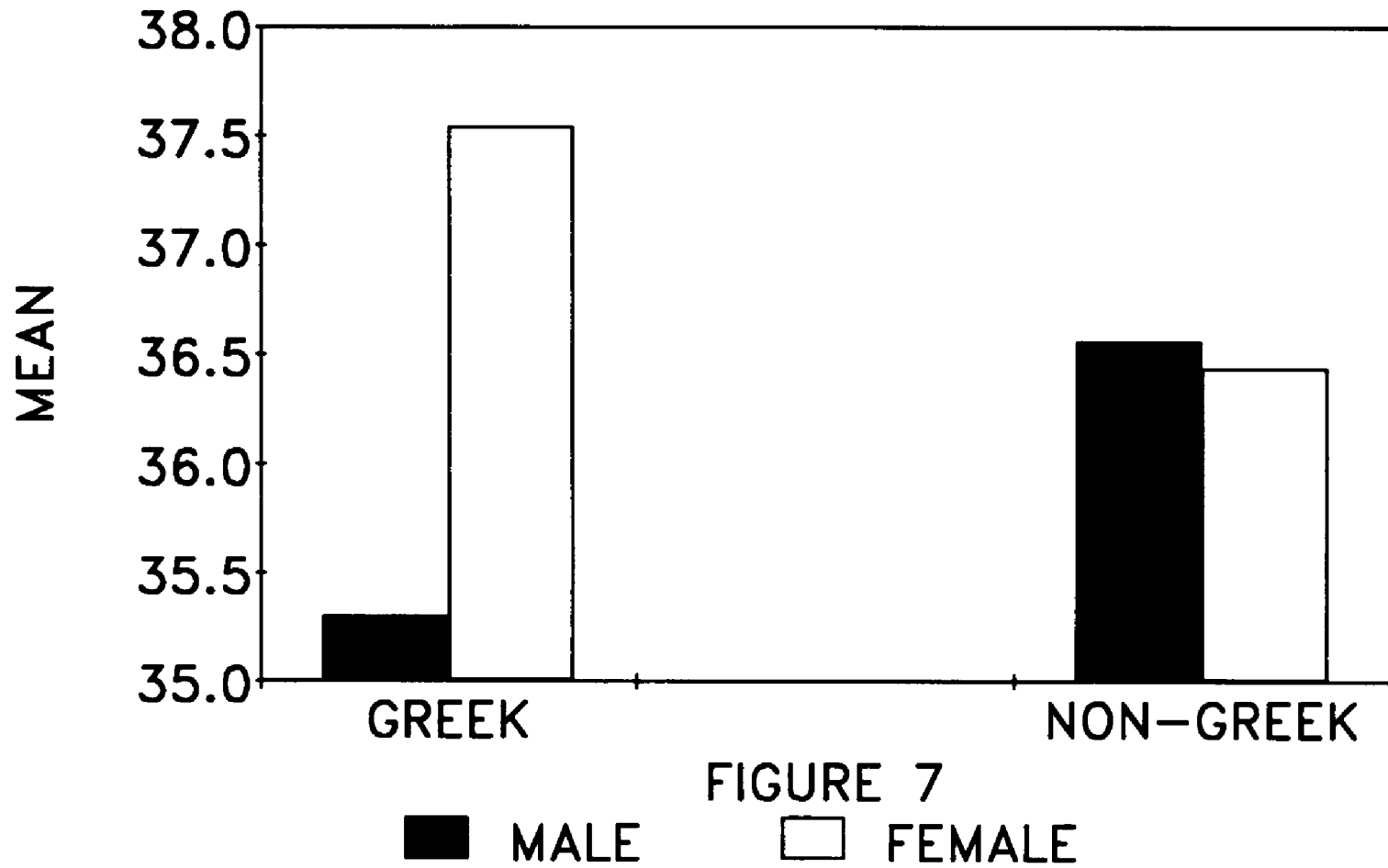


FIGURE 7

AUTONOMY
GREEK BY SEX

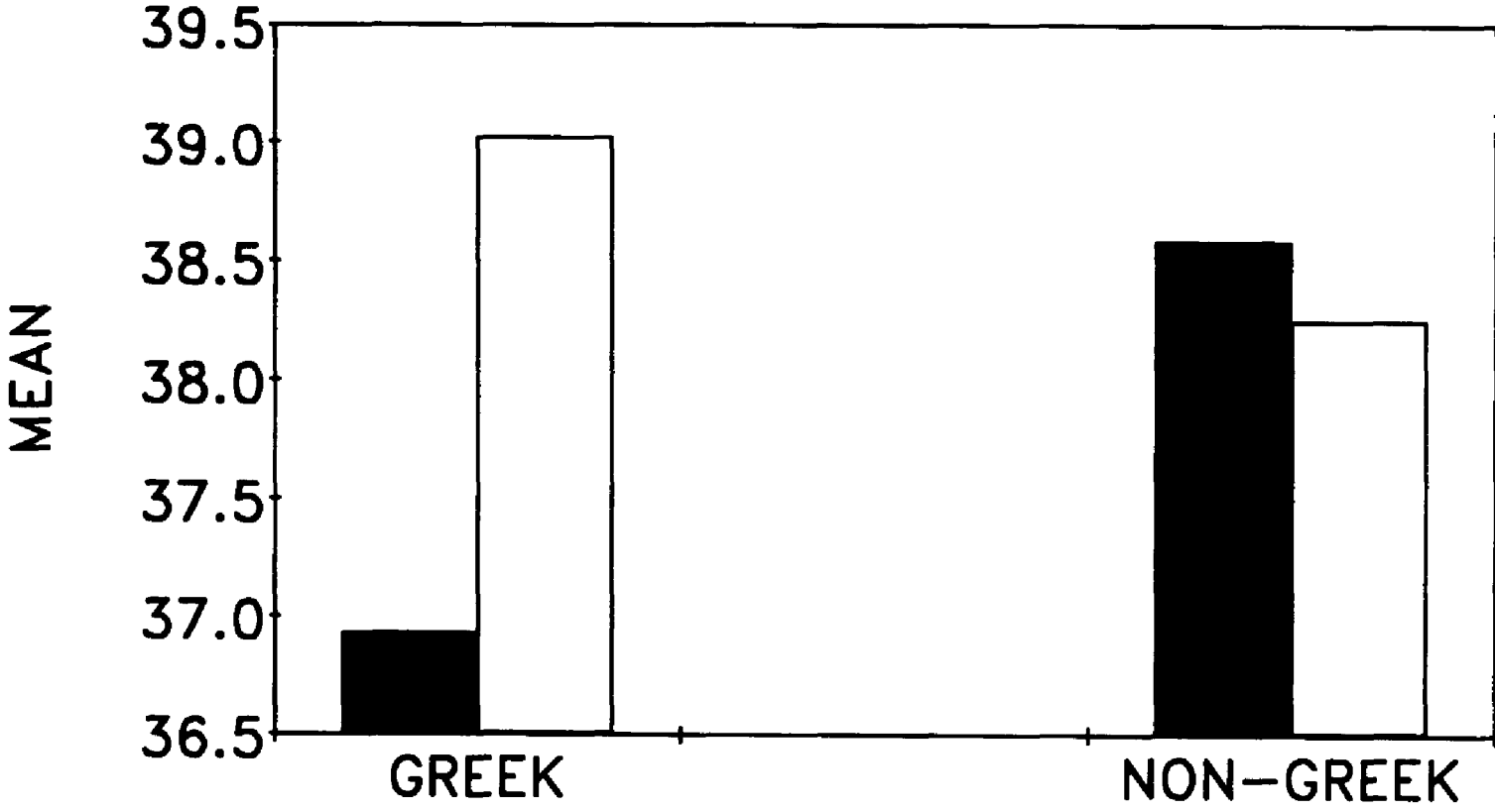


FIGURE 8

■ MALE □ FEMALE

TABLE 8

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE DISINTEGRATION(DA) STAGE BY SEX

		M ---	SD -----
MALE	(N=126)	22.77	5.12
FEMALE	(N=138)	20.47	4.73

that men are more likely than women to acknowledge that they are White and that prejudice and discrimination exist (Figure 9).

RESEARCH QUESTION #7

The seventh research question addressed was:

Is there a significant difference between freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors in regard to their racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution?

An analysis of variance revealed that there was a significant class main effect on two of the ATTW subscales, Affective Reactions and Reverse Discrimination.

Results of the follow-up analysis for class main effect for the Affective Reactions (AR) subscale showed the mean AR score for freshmen (M=22.48) to be equivalent to juniors (M=20.71). However, freshmen AR scores were significantly higher than senior (M=18.18) and sophomore (M=18.20) scores. Sophomore, junior and senior scores were all found to be equivalent. Table 9 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. The results suggest that freshman feel more negative

DISINTEGRATION
SEX

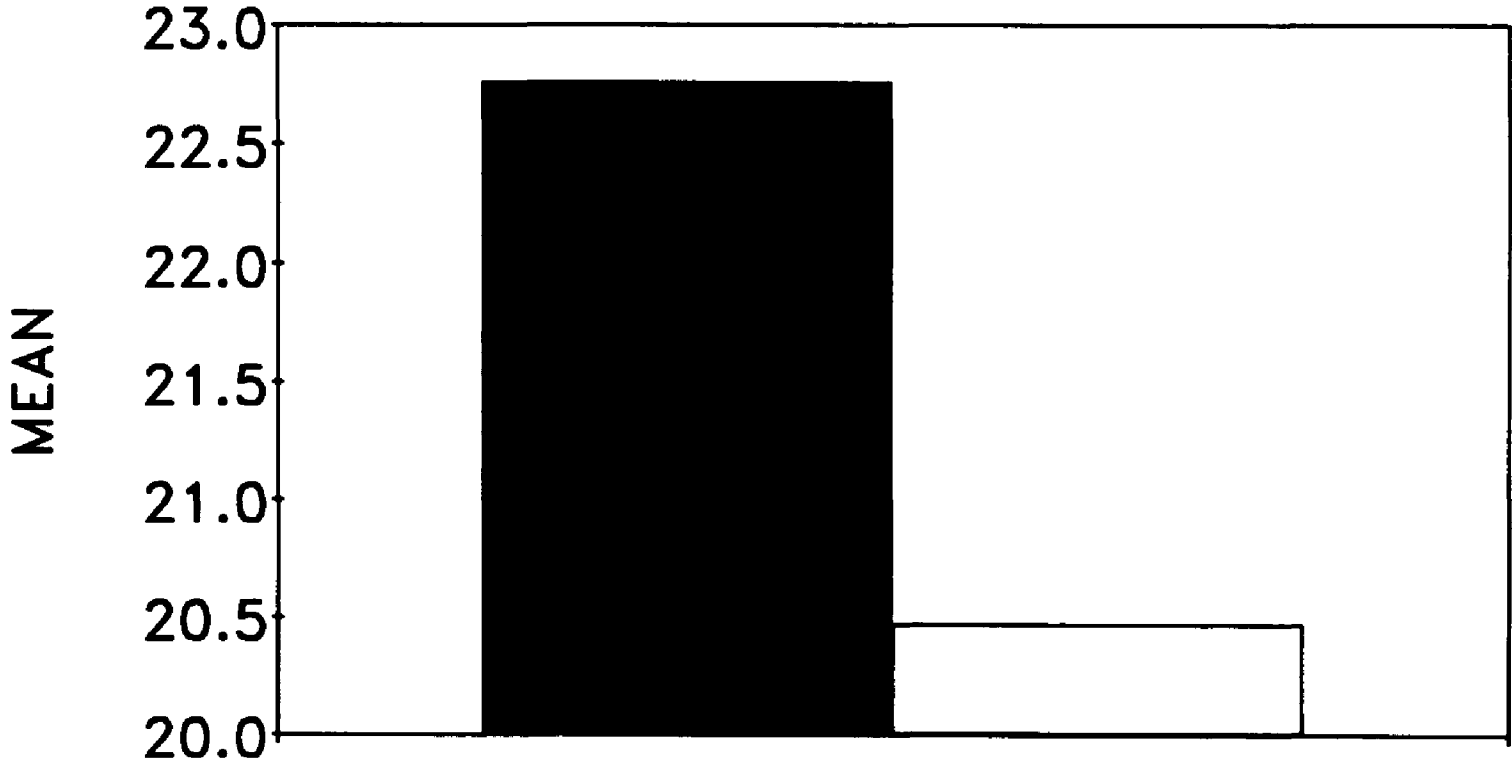


FIGURE 9

■ MALE □ FEMALE

TABLE 9
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR THE ATTW: CLASS

	AFFECTIVE REACTIONS		REVERSE DISCRIMINATION	
	M	SD	M	SD
FRESHMAN (N=64)	22.48	9.81	5.52	2.56
SOPHOMORE (N=64)	18.20	9.17	4.28	2.75
JUNIOR (N=65)	20.71	11.01	4.23	2.90
SENIOR (N=71)	18.18	9.35	4.39	2.54

toward Blacks in social situations than do seniors (Figure 10).

Results of the follow-up analysis for class main effect for the Reverse Discrimination (RD) subscale showed the mean RD score for freshmen (M=5.52) to be equivalent to the seniors (M=4.39). However, because the critical value (WSD=3.69) was so close to the calculated value (3.5), it may be worthwhile to look at these two as different. Freshmen RD scores were significantly higher than sophomore (M=4.27) and junior (M=4.23) scores. Sophomore, junior, and senior scores were all found to be equivalent. Table 9 presents the cell means and standard deviations for this analysis. These results may indicate that freshmen are more fearful of reverse discrimination than are the other classes (Figure 11).

RESEARCH QUESTION #8

The eighth research question addressed was:

Is there a significant difference between freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors in regard to their racial identity development at a liberal arts institution?

Although the multivariate analysis revealed that there was a significant class main effect for the

CLASSIFICATION AFFECTIVE REACTION

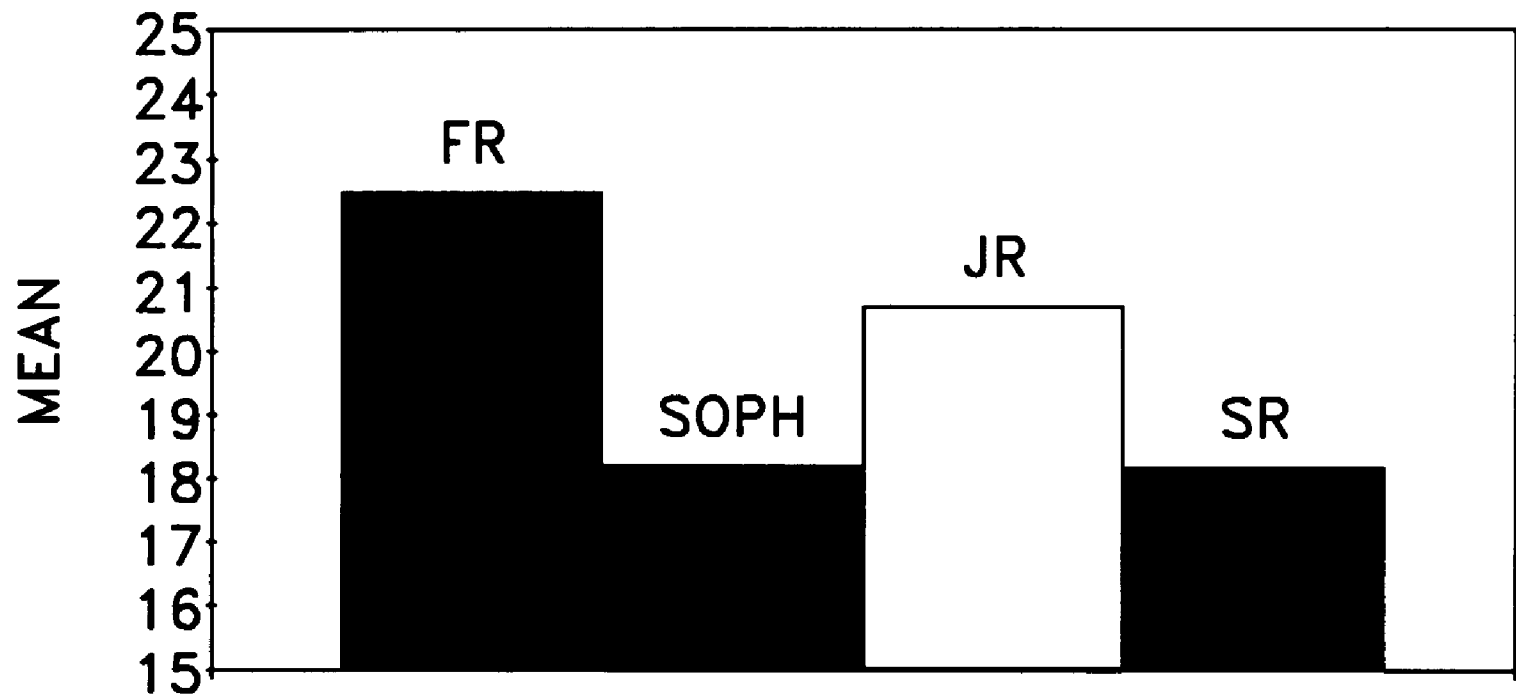


FIGURE 10

■ FRESHMAN	■ SOPHOMORE
□ JUNIOR	■ SENIOR

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION CLASSIFICATION

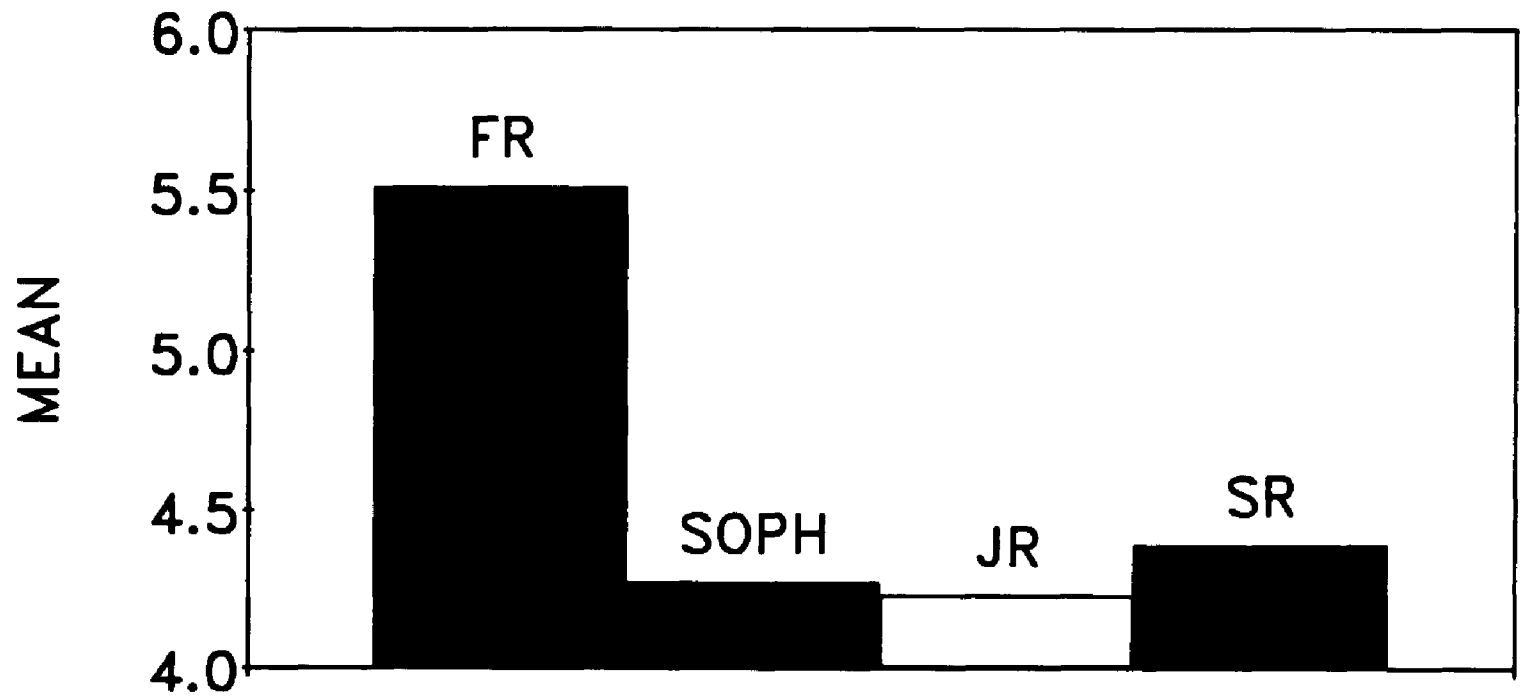


FIGURE 11

■ FRESHMAN	■ SOPHOMORE
□ JUNIOR	■ SENIOR

Disintegration stage of development, the univariate analysis failed to show any differences. Thus, we may conclude that there were no significant differences in the classes in regard to their racial identity development in this sample.

RESEARCH QUESTION #9

The ninth research question addressed was:

What biographical variables can be used to predict racial attitudes at a liberal arts institution?

To determine which variables from the personal data sheet predicted ATTW scores, a step-wise multiple regression was performed. Table 10 presents a synopsis of the step-wise regression. Results indicate a positive relationship between the total ATTW score and conservative political views, hearing more negative than positive statements during childhood about Blacks from parents, and feeling that racial issues are not a problem at the College of William and Mary. Negative relationships were indicated between ATTW scores and the number of Black friends one frequently socializes with, whether the respondent was female, and whether he/she was an independent (i.e. not a member of a Greek letter social organization).

TABLE 10

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR ATTW SCORES

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
POLITICAL VIEWS	.464	.215	7.641	.398	71.69
SEX OF RESPONDENT	.519	.269	-7.475	-.224	48.13
NUMBER OF BLACK FRIENDS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZE WITH	.550	.302	-3.879	-.166	37.56
IN A FRATERNITY OR SORORITY	.568	.323	-5.265	-.158	30.87
PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS DURING CHILDHOOD	.584	.341	3.359	.152	26.72
THINK RACIAL ISSUES A PROBLEM AT WILLIAM & MARY	.598	.357	4.439	.133	23.83

Although several variables from the personal data sheet were indicated as significant predictors of ATTW scores, the overall model accounted for roughly 36% of the total variance. This indicates a moderate prediction model, and other unmeasured characteristics may be able to explain more of the variance in the ATTW scores.

To determine which variables from the personal data sheet predict subscores of the ATTW, four multiple regressions were completed. Tables 11-14 present a summary of the results. Consistent predictors across all four subscales included a positive relationship between the subscale scores and conservative political views and a negative relationship between subscale scores and whether the respondent was female. With the exception of the Reverse Discrimination subscale, there was a positive relationship between each of the subscale scores and hearing more negative than positive statements during childhood about Blacks from parents, and hearing more negative than positive statements about Blacks from one's current peer group. Also, there was a negative relationship between each of the subscale scores and the number of Black friends one frequently socializes with. In addition, whether the respondent was independent (ie. not a member of a Greek letter organization), was a

TABLE 11

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR ATTW SOCIAL DISTANCE (SD) SUBSCORES

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
POLITICAL VIEWS	.432	.186	3.666	.374	60.01
NUMBER OF BLACK FRIENDS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZE WITH	.516	.267	-2.201	-.184	31.52
SEX OF RESPONDENT	.532	.283	-2.524	-.148	25.62
PEER ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS	.488	.235	1.413	.122	40.07
NON-GREEK YET INTERESTED IN JOINING FRATERNITY OR SORORITY	.543	.295	-1.103	-.119	21.62
PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS DURING CHILDHOOD	.554	.307	1.283	.114	18.99

TABLE 12

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR ATTW AFFECTIVE REACTIONS (AR) SUBSCORES

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
POLITICAL VIEWS	.435	.190	4.327	.378	61.31
SEX OF RESPONDENT	.490	.240	-4.267	-.214	41.19
NUMBER OF BLACK FRIENDS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZE WITH	.527	.276	-2.376	-.170	33.29
IN A FRATERNITY OR SORORITY	.561	.315	-2.867	-.144	23.75
PEER ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS	.546	.296	1.484	.110	27.47
PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS DURING CHILDHOOD	.573	.326	1.580	.120	20.93

TABLE 13

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR ATTW GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES (GP) SUBSCORES

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
POLITICAL VIEWS	.430	.185	3.708	.349	59.50
SEX OF RESPONDENT	.499	.249	-3.992	-.216	43.28
IN A FRATERNITY OR SORORITY	.547	.299	-3.107	-.168	27.59
THINK THAT RACIAL ISSUES ARE A PROBLEM AT WILLIAM & MARY	.580	.337	2.867	.155	21.76
NUMBER OF BLACK FRIENDS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZES WITH	.564	.319	-1.716	-.132	24.13
PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS DURING CHILDHOOD	.580	.349	1.399	.115	19.57
PEER ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS	.526	.277	1.236	.099	33.21

TABLE 14

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR ATTW REVERSE DISCRIMINATION (RD) SUBSCORES

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
POLITICAL VIEWS	.376	.142	1.130	.365	43.26
SEX OF RESPONDENT	.402	.162	-.796	-.148	25.21
CLASS RANK	.421	.177	-.294	-.123	18.65

negative predictor for two of the scales, the Governmental Policies and Affective Reactions subscales.

Six factors were indicated as significant predictors of both the Social Distance subscale and the Affective Reactions subscale, and seven factors were significant predictors of the Governmental Policies subscale. These factors accounted for approximately 30%, 33%, and 35%, respectively, of the total variance for each subscale, thus making them moderate predictors. The Reverse Discrimination subscale, on the other hand, had three significant predictors accounting for only 18% of the variance. This would indicate a low prediction model and would make it necessary to use other unmeasured predictors to help account for more of the variance.

RESEARCH QUESTION #10

The tenth research question addressed was:

What biographical variables can be used to predict racial identity development scores at a liberal arts institution?

To determine which variables from the personal data sheet predicted the subscales on the WRIAS, a step-wise multiple regression was performed on each stage with the following results:

Contact attitudes (CA): Negative relationship between CA and hearing more negative than positive statements during childhood about Blacks from parents. This factor accounted for just over 3% of the variance (Table 15).

Disintegration attitudes (DA): Positive relationship between DA and conservative political views and hearing more negative than positive things about Blacks from one's peer group. Negative relationship between DA and number of Black friends one frequently socializes with, gender (i.e. female), class rank, and feeling that racial issues were not a problem at William and Mary. These six factors accounted for 25% of the variance (Table 16).

Reintegration attitudes (RA): Positive relationship between RA and conservative political views, hearing more negative than positive statements about Blacks from one's peer group, and hearing more negative than positive statements during childhood about Blacks from parents. Negative relationship between RA and number of Black friends one frequently socializes with and gender (i.e. female). These five significant factors accounted for 28% of the variance (Table 17).

TABLE 15

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR WRIAS CONTACT ATTITUDES (CA) STAGE

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS DURING CHILDHOOD	.186	.034	-.932	-.186	9.35

NOTE: NONE OF THE OTHER VARIABLES WERE FOUND TO CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY.

TABLE 16

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR WRIAS DISINTEGRATION ATTITUDES (DA) STAGE

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
POLITICAL VIEWS	.314	.099	1.653	.282	28.69
SEX OF RESPONDENT	.465	.219	-2.106	-.209	18.12
NUMBER OF BLACKS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZE WITH	.435	.189	-1.387	-.195	20.22
PEER ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS	.401	.161	1.240	.181	25.02
CLASS RANK	.482	.233	-.627	-.140	15.64
THINK THAT RACIAL ISSUES ARE A PROBLEM AT WILLIAM & MARY	.496	.246	-1.221	-.121	13.96

TABLE 17

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION FOR WRIAS REINTEGRATION ATTITUDES (RA) STAGE

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
POLITICAL VIEWS	.429	.184	2.179	.378	59.04
SEX OF RESPONDENT	.492	.242	-1.626	-.164	27.62
NUMBER OF BLACK FRIENDS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZE WITH	.511	.261	-.940	-.134	22.92
PARENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD BLACKS DURING CHILDHOOD	.527	.276	.980	.134	19.85
PEER ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS	.471	.222	.710	.105	37.16

Pseudo-independent attitudes (PIA): Positive relationship between PIA and the number of Black friends one frequently socializes with. Negative relationship between PIA and conservative political views and hearing more negative than positive statements about Blacks from one's peer group. These three significant variables accounted for almost 19% of the variance (Table 18).

Autonomy attitudes (AA): Positive relationship between AA and the number of Black friends one frequently socializes with. Negative relationship between AA and conservative political views and hearing more negative than positive statements during childhood about Blacks from parents. These three factors accounted for only 12% of the variance (Table 19).

As is evident by the results above, consistent predictors for four of the five stages were found in political views and the number of Black friends one frequently socializes with. Consistent predictors for three of the five stages were parents' attitudes towards Blacks during childhood and current peer group attitudes toward Blacks. Because the amount of variance accounted for in each of the subscales ranged from insignificant (3%) to moderately low (28%), it would be

TABLE 18

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION FOR WRIAS PSEUDO-INDEPENDENT ATTITUDE (PIA) STAGE

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
PEER ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS	.321	.103	-1.385	-.259	30.18
NUMBER OF BLACK FRIENDS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZE WITH	.405	.164	1.409	.253	25.86
POLITICAL VIEWS	.431	.186	-.696	-.149	19.79

TABLE 19

RESULTS OF STEP-WISE REGRESSION FOR WRIAS AUTONOMY ATTITUDES (AA) STAGE

VARIABLE -----	MULTIPLE R -----	R2 -----	B VALUE -----	BETA -----	F -----
NUMBER OF BLACK FRIENDS FREQUENTLY SOCIALIZE WITH	.236	.056	1.169	.220	15.50
POLITICAL VIEWS	.317	.100	-.809	-.185	14.53
PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS DURING CHILDHOOD	.351	.123	-.772	-.155	12.19

helpful to look for other unmeasured variables to help predict scores for the WRIAS.

CORRELATION BETWEEN WRIAS AND ATTW

Although not specifically addressed in the research questions, Pearson product moment correlations were run between all pairs of the WRIAS and ATTW measures. Table 20 presents the results for this analysis. All scores significantly correlated with each other with only two exceptions: Contact and Reverse Discrimination Scores ($p > .29$), and Contact and Disintegration scores ($p > .89$).

There were several scores with strong positive correlations amongst the ATTW total and subscores (r ranging from .84 to .95). In fact, the lowest correlation on this scale was found between the Social Distance subscore and Reverse Discrimination subscore ($r = .49$). Although this was low in comparison to several of the correlations, it was still considered a moderate correlation accounting for roughly 24% of the variance.

As could be expected, all scores from the ATTW were negatively correlated with the Pseudo-Independent and Autonomy stages of Helms' model. Individuals possessing attitudes reflective of these two stages are the most

TABLE 20

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR THE ATTW AND WRIAS

		SD	AR	GP	RD	ATTWTOT	CA	DA	RA	PIA
SD	r	1.00								
	p	-----								
AR	r	.8980	1.00							
	p	.000*	-----							
GP	r	.8634	.8474	1.00						
	p	.000*	.000*	-----						
RD	r	.4877	.6286	.6168	1.00					
	p	.000*	.000*	.000*	-----					
ATTWTOT	r	.8293	.8543	.8400	.8743	1.00				
	p	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	-----				
CA	r	-.2533	-.2118	-.2889	-.0646	-.2487	1.00			
	p	.000*	.001*	.000*	.298	.000*	-----			
DA	r	.8414	.8717	.8880	.4238	.8854	.0081	1.00		
	p	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.886	-----		
RA	r	.7084	.7263	.7289	.5483	.7679	-.1807	.7081	1.00	
	p	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000**	.000*	-----	
PIA	r	-.5287	-.4488	-.4188	-.2214	-.4578	-.1838	-.5070	-.4754	1.00
	p	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.008**	.000*	.000*	-----
AA	r	-.5039	-.3872	-.4522	-.3150	-.4623	.2347	-.4131	-.4864	.5586
	p	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*

NOTE: SD=SOCIAL DISTANCE AR=AFFECTIVE REACTIONS GP=GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES RD=REVERSE DISCRIMINATION
 ATTWTOT=TOTAL OF ATTW SCORES CA=CONTACT STAGE DA=DISINTEGRATION STAGE RA=REINTEGRATION STAGE
 PIA=PSUEDO-INDEPENDENT STAGE AA=AUTONOMY STAGE

* p < .001
 ** p < .010

aware and conscious of race and racism. However, the ATTW scores were also negatively correlated with the Contact stage. Although this finding may appear puzzling at first, it begins to make sense after closer examination. Individuals in the Contact stage of racial identity development are often unaware of themselves as racial beings. Helms (1990) describes them as being the least sensitive to race and racism. They tend to ignore differences or regard differences as unimportant. Thus, they would probably score lower on the ATTW where differences are highlighted.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

This study was undertaken to document the racial attitudes and racial identity development of White students at a predominantly White liberal arts institution using two different measures, the White Racial Attitude and Opinion Scale (ATTW) and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS). Of particular interest were gender, class rank, and Greek/non-Greek affiliation differences. This chapter will discuss the significant differences in scores between the groups and the implications this study has for higher education.

DISCUSSION

The ten research questions concerned both the nature of White college students' attitudes toward Blacks and Whites, and biographical variables related to their attitudes. Although this study focused exclusively on Black/White attitudes, several studies (Chesler, 1965) have shown that intolerance toward one minority group is usually accompanied by intolerance toward other minority groups. Besides the obvious minority groups of Blacks, Asians, Hispanics, and American Indians, minority groups may also include older students, homosexuals, and the physically disabled.

Since both instruments used in this study were relatively new, the first two research questions were designed to provide descriptive data to the field of higher education in the area of racial attitudes and racial identity development. Therefore, means and standard deviations were recorded to be used in comparing other White students to those at a liberal arts institution.

The data surrounding the third and fourth research questions found male fraternity members to desire more social distance from Blacks, feel more negative toward Blacks, and be less in favor of governmental policies aiding Blacks than were non-Greek males, non-Greek females, and Greek females. In addition, male fraternity members were more likely to favor White superiority. This was evident in that fraternity males scored significantly higher on the Reintegration stage of Helms' model than did females and non-Greek males. Individuals having high scores in this stage tend to minimize cross-racial similarities, while perceiving as negative those characteristics on which they view Blacks as differing.

Male fraternity members were also found to have lower scores on three of the WRIAS stages: Contact, Pseudo-Independent, and Autonomy. This means that

fraternity males are less likely to score high on the two highest stages of Helms' model -- the Pseudo-Independent stage and the Autonomy stage. The result may be that fraternity males are more likely to see racial differences as deficits and racial similarities as enhancers. This means that Greek males, as a group, are less sensitive to the issue of racism than are Greek females and independents. This is supported by the information above.

The fact that fraternity males tend to score significantly lower on the Contact stage, the lowest stage in Helms' model, appears to be contrary to prediction. However, this can be interpreted to mean that male fraternity members are more aware of differences in race than are nonGreek males and Greek females. This finding would support the belief of many critics of the fraternity system, that is fraternities pick members most like themselves, thus discriminating against those who may be different.

The above results support the hypotheses, and Muir's study (1991), that those with a Greek affiliation are more negative toward Blacks and are more likely to be at a lower stage of racial identity development than are non-Greeks. However, these hypotheses are only supported

for males. Females with a Greek affiliation were not significantly different than nonGreeks.

Differences in scores between the sexes were evident on all of the racial attitudes subscales, thus supporting the hypothesis that males have a more negative attitude towards Blacks than do females. However, with the exception of the Reverse Discrimination subscale, sex also interacted with whether one was a member of a Greek letter organization. Thus, it was not just a matter of whether one was male or female, but whether one was male or female and whether one was Greek or non-Greek.

However, sex did not interact with Greek/nonGreek affiliation on scores from the Reverse Discrimination subscale. Sex alone was a significant factor, with males significantly more fearful of reverse discrimination than females. This can be interpreted to mean that males reported being more afraid of not getting hired or not getting into graduate school due to preferential treatment of minority group members. Females scored lower on this scale because they may be more likely to identify with minority group members since "female" is often considered a minority group.

The fourth hypothesis, that men would score lower than women on the racial identity development scale, was supported to a certain extent. However, it may be more important to know that sex interacted with Greek/nonGreek affiliation for four of the five scales. Thus, once again, it was not just a matter of whether one was male or female, but whether one was male or female and whether he or she was a member of a Greek letter organization. The results of the Greek by sex interactions for the racial identity development scale were discussed above.

Gender alone, however, was a significant factor for the Disintegration stage of the WRIAS. Males were more likely to score higher in this stage of development than were females. Westbrook (cited in Helms, 1990) found that higher Disintegration attitudes were related to the beliefs that "government and the news media respect Blacks too much" and "Blacks need extra help to graduate". Helms suggests that individuals in this stage will try and remove themselves from interracial environments due to the feelings of guilt and helplessness they feel about Blacks. The differences in gender on the Disintegration scale did not support a study (Helms, 1990) that found no significant differences between the sexes on any of the subscales. With regard to the seventh and eighth research questions, class rank

had a significant effect on two of the four subscores for the racial attitudes scale. Freshmen were found to have more negative feelings about Blacks than seniors, and may also fear reverse discrimination more than seniors.

Given these results, we may conclude that college has an impact on racial attitudes. However, it would be difficult to conclude that college has a positive impact without using longitudinal data, rather than cross-sectional data. Thus, the hypothesis that freshman would score higher than seniors on the racial attitudes scale was supported, while the hypothesis that freshman would score lower in racial identity development was not clearly supported.

Trying to find biographical variables to predict racial attitudes was addressed in the data surrounding the ninth research question. There were several factors that were significant predictors of the ATTW subscores. Political views and sex were significant on all scales, with the number of Black friends one frequently socializes with, parents' attitudes toward Blacks during childhood, and peer attitudes of Blacks being significant on three of the four scales. Other factors which were found to be significant on at least one of the scales were: whether the respondent was in a fraternity or

sorority, whether the respondent had ever wanted to join a fraternity or sorority, whether the respondent thought racial issues were a problem at the College of William and Mary, and the class rank of the respondent. The prediction model for the entire scale was moderate (36%), and other unmeasured characteristics may be able to explain more of the variance in the ATTW scores.

With regards to the tenth research question, political views and sex were significant predictor variables on four of the five stages of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Number of Black friends one frequently socializes with, parents' attitudes toward Blacks during childhood, peer attitudes toward Blacks, class rank, and whether the respondent thought that racial issues were a problem at William and Mary were all significant factors on at least one of the stages of development. The amount of variance accounted for in each of the stages ranged from a low of 3% for the Contact stage to a high of 28% for the Reintegration stage. Thus, it may be best to look at other unmeasured variables to better predict racial identity attitude scores.

Several factors from the personal data sheet were found to be insignificant when used to predict scores on

either of the two measures. These included: parents' annual income, social class, mother and father's educational levels, affiliation with a racially identifiable group, parents' affiliation with a racially identifiable group, and attendance at a racial awareness or sensitivity workshop. These may not have been predictors due to the uniform scores across the surveys.

REACTIONS TO THE SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

Long before the results of the surveys were tabulated, it became apparent that the topic of race, addressed in the surveys, was a sensitive one. The survey instruments elicited a wide variety of responses including phone calls, letters, and comments added to the survey instruments themselves. Some individuals were concerned about how they had been chosen, others about whether the instruments could be traced back to them, while others simply felt a need to justify or explain the answers they had given.

The question that by far resulted in the most comments was one found on Helms' scale: I wish I had a Black friend. Many individuals felt it necessary to comment that they already had one, several, or many Black friends. Others responded that their "best friend" or boyfriend was Black, while a couple of people simply

marked out the question entirely and refused to answer. The most interesting response compared this question to asking someone if he or she has stopped abusing the children,:

You are presupposing something previously 'bad' about a person -- this is an awful test question.

Judging from the comments and the different ways this question was interpreted and answered, it may be necessary to revise this question in the future.

Some of the respondents commented over and over again that they did not notice what race a person was, nor did they think about racial issues. In fact, a few individuals were so adamant about the "people are people" concept, that they simply marked out the word Black in every question. These were clear statements from individuals in the Contact stage of Helms' model. Other respondents felt that Blacks already have equal rights, while some felt that Blacks were not as smart as Whites due to the "cultural factor". Still others felt that the survey questions needed to be qualified with "educated Blacks" or "uneducated Blacks" before they could properly answer the questions. As one individual responded: "I feel very comfortable with Blacks at the

College, but not the Black locals." Others felt it was more of a question of socioeconomic status.

Overall, there were several angry responses to the surveys. Some of them included:

I hardly think this survey measures anything of merit.

I hope you aren't counting on getting any real results from this survey and only intended to bother busy people, because you won't and you did.

You should take the thought that people are people into account with this survey -- I found it EXTREMELY loaded.

If I answer the survey entirely your way, I'll end up looking like an ignorant bigot. I refuse!

I believe the results could easily be skewed due to the manner in which the questions were posed and I resent this as part of the survey.

This is an extremely racist questionnaire! I disagree with several of the questions in it.

The above comments are typical statements made by individuals in the lower stages of Helms' model (i.e. Contact and Disintegration). The respondents simply want to avoid racial identity issues, convinced that skin color is no longer a concern of people living in today's society. These individuals have such a fear of being labeled a "racist" that they will go to great lengths to avoid the issue or blame those who are "making too big of a deal out of our differences".

IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The findings in this study suggest implications both for research and student affairs practice. The results of the study show that, as a whole, White individuals attending a predominantly White liberal arts institution hold positive attitudes towards Blacks and policies set up to aid Blacks. However, these students also fear that they will personally "lose out" on opportunities due to policies aiding minorities, thus experiencing reverse discrimination.

The results suggests that, as a whole, White students in a liberal arts environment score high on a development scale measuring racial identity. However, there was also some indication that many of these students scored high on the lowest stage of the

development scale, thus indicating a naivety about minorities and an unwillingness to discuss the concept of "race". Thus, it may be necessary for students not only to discuss the issue of affirmative action in order to alleviate some fears and misconceptions, but also the concept of race in general.

Of the separate groups looked at within the White student population, White male fraternity members were found to possess more negative attitudes and desire more social distance from Blacks than the other groups. Thus, these individuals may need to be educated in a variety of areas including racial stereotypes, affirmative action and positive aspects of one's own and others' cultures to bring them up to the same level as the other groups. Although their scores were not extremely high for any of the subscales, the high scores they received on the Affective Reactions subscale give a strong indication that Greek males tend to feel negative toward Blacks in general.

One easily observed measure of how White students view minorities on college campuses is the consistent absence of Blacks in predominantly White fraternities and sororities. Boyer (1987) argues that institutions committed to liberal learning and human dignity cannot

permit arrangements on campus that even indirectly perpetrate prejudice. Thus, administrators may need to impose or guide the Greek organizations to instill changes in their goals or by-laws. It would take much longer to persuade each individual in a Greek organization to change than to get the organization itself to change. Most individuals tend to go along with things the way they are when they join an organization, thus as new pledges come into the organization they would be required to play by the new "rules".

Considering the outcome of this study, fraternities may want to examine the programs and goals of the sorority system. Although predominantly White sororities as a group are as exclusionary as predominantly White fraternities, they tended to reflect more positive racial attitudes than their fraternity brothers.

University administrators may also want to provide programming opportunities dealing with racial issues for all students starting with freshmen orientation. It is estimated by the year 2000, 30% of the total U.S. population will consist of minorities (Altbach, 1991). Harold Hodgkinson (cited in Siggelkow, 1990) predicts that "the growth of minorities in the youth population will change the [education] system faster than anything

except nuclear war". Thus, by providing 'intentional' interventions to meet specific developmental needs, students may enter the "real world" with a sense of awareness of who they are and an understanding of those they interact with.

Allport (1954), in his classic study on prejudice stated that the remedy for prejudice is not suppression, but rather the free flowing exchange and counteraction by unprejudiced opinion. Rarely are students today asked by professors, parents, or other significant adults to reflect on their racial attitudes. There appears to be an unwritten rule that the issue of race is one too sensitive to discuss. Although some colleges have made an effort to address this issue, most have chosen to continue to ignore race and racism as an issue.

It must be recognized, however, that understanding, empathy, and sensitivity cannot be required, imposed, or taught. Campus leaders, starting from the top, must be prepared to set an example, motivate, inspire, encourage and reward the efforts of individuals and groups making a difference in this area. Having administrators and faculty attending workshops and participating in a healthy dialogue about racial issues would send a strong

message to students that these issues are important and must be of concern to everyone.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Recommendations for further research are as follows:

1. Other ways of measuring racial attitudes and racial identity development need to be developed. Because students often feel uncomfortable or anxious when reporting racial issues for fear they may be labeled a "racist", combining indirect measures of racial attitudes or qualitative techniques to identify both positive and negative racial attitudes could be incorporated.
2. This study needs to be replicated in other settings besides a public four-year liberal arts institution to see if the results can be generalized to other institutions.

Many people fault colleges and universities for failing to explain adequately the purposes of affirmative action programs, for making superficial efforts to enroll minority students and hire minority professors, and for neglecting the issue of race in general. It is time colleges and universities today not only acknowledge the

existence of racism in the history of the United States,
but declare that race issues are significant today as
well.

APPENDIX A: TEST INSTRUMENTS

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Please take a few minutes to complete this background information before completing the surveys. THANK YOU!!

1. Sex: Male Female
2. What is your current classification?
 Freshman Junior
 Sophomore Senior
3. Are you currently in a social fraternity/sorority or are you pledging a social fraternity/sorority?
 Yes No
4. If no, have you ever wanted to join a fraternity/sorority?
 Yes No
5. What is your parent's estimated annual income?
 Under \$20,000 \$60,001 - \$100,000
 \$20,001 - \$40,000 Over \$100,000
 \$40,001 - \$60,000
6. Which of the following best describes your social class:
 upper class working class
 upper middle class lower class
 middle class
7. Please indicate your mother's education:
 less than high school some college
 high school graduate college graduate
8. Please indicate your father's education:
 less than high school some college
 high school graduate college graduate
9. How would you describe your political views:
 radical conservative
 liberal strong conservative
 middle of the road
10. Recalling your childhood experiences, how would you describe you parents' attitudes towards Blacks:
 heard more positive than negative statements about Blacks
 heard neither positive or negative statements about Blacks
 heard more negative than positive statements about Blacks

11. Have your parents ever belonged to a racially identifiable group?
 Yes No
12. Do you now, or have you ever, belonged to a racially identifiable group?
 Yes No
13. How would you describe your friends' attitudes toward Blacks:
 hear more positive than negative statements about Blacks.
 hear neither positive or negative statements about Blacks.
 hear more negative than positive statements about Blacks.
14. How many Black individuals do you frequently socialize with (ie. lunch, movies, etc.)?
 none
 1 or 2
 3 or more
15. Have you ever attended a racial awareness/sensitivity workshop?
 Yes No
16. Do you feel that racial issues are a problem at William and Mary?
 Yes No

SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALES

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. Beside each item number, write the number that best describes how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I hardly think about what race I am.
2. I do not understand what Blacks want from Whites.
3. I get angry when I think about how Whites have been treated by Blacks.
4. I feel as comfortable around Blacks as I do around Whites.
5. I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them.
6. I find myself watching Black people to see what they are like.
7. I feel depressed after I have been around Black people.
8. There is nothing that I want to learn from Blacks.
9. I seek out new experiences even if I know a large number of Blacks will be involved in them.
10. I enjoy the different ways that Blacks and Whites approach life.
11. I wish I had a Black friend.
12. I do not feel that I have the social skills to interact with Black people effectively.
13. A Black person who tries to get close to you is usually after something.
14. When a Black person holds an opinion with which I disagree, I am not afraid to express my viewpoint.
15. Sometimes jokes based on Black people's experiences are funny.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

16. I think it is exciting to discover the little ways in which Black people and White people are different.
17. I used to believe in racial integration, but now I have my doubts.
18. I'd rather socialize with Whites only.
19. In many ways Blacks and Whites are similar, but they are also different in some important ways.
20. Blacks and Whites have much to learn from each other.
21. For most of my life, I did not think about racial issues.
22. I have come to believe that Black people and White people are very different.
23. White people have bent over backwards trying to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of Blacks, now it is time to stop.
24. It is possible for Blacks and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other.
25. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from Blacks that they can't learn from other Whites.
26. I am curious to learn in what ways Black people and White people differ from each other.
27. I limit myself to White activities.
28. Society may have been unjust to Blacks, but it has also been unjust to Whites.
29. I am knowledgeable about which values Blacks and Whites share.
30. I am comfortable wherever I am.
31. In my family, we never talk about racial issues.
32. When I must interact with a Black person, I usually let him or her make the first move.
33. I feel hostile when I am around Blacks.

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Uncertain	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
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34. I think I understand Black people's values.
35. Blacks and Whites can have successful intimate relationships.
36. I was raised to believe that people are people regardless of their race.
37. Nowadays, I go out of my way to avoid associating with Blacks.
38. I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites.
39. I believe I know a lot about Black people's customs.
40. Black teachers who are sensitive and knowledgeable can teach White students more about racism than sensitive and knowledgeable White teachers can.
41. I think that it's okay for Black people and White people to date each other as long as they don't marry each other.
42. Sometimes I'm not sure what I think or feel about Black people.
43. When I am the only White in a group of Blacks, I feel anxious.
44. Blacks and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior.
45. I am not embarrassed to admit that I am White.
46. I think White people should become more involved in socializing with Blacks.
47. I don't understand why Black people blame all White people for their social misfortunes.
48. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.
49. I feel comfortable talking to Blacks.
50. I value the relationships that I have with my Black friends.

ATTITUDE AND OPINION SCALE

This questionnaire contains 20 questions concerning your opinions about current social issues. Using the scale below, please respond to each statement. On the line next to each number item, write the number that best represents your opinion on each question. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers; please be as honest and straightforward as you can. All responses will be treated confidentially and analyzed as group data only.

Thank you for your cooperation.

0 = strongly agree

1 = agree

2 = agree somewhat

3 = neither agree or disagree

4 = disagree somewhat

5 = disagree

6 = strongly disagree

1. I enjoy a funny racial joke, even if some people might find it offensive.
2. If I had a chance to introduce Black visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.
3. I would rather not have Blacks live in the same apartment building (residence hall) I live in.
4. Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both Whites and Blacks.
5. I probably would feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Black in a public place.
6. I think that Black people look more similar to each other than White people do.
7. It would not bother me if my new roommate was Black.
8. Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the "who-am-I?" confusion which the children feel.
9. If a Black were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.
10. Generally, Blacks are not as smart as Whites.
11. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustices Blacks suffer at the hands of local authorities.

- 0 = strongly agree
- 1 = agree
- 2 = agree somewhat
- 3 = neither agree or disagree
- 4 = disagree somewhat
- 5 = disagree
- 6 = strongly disagree

- 12. It is likely that Blacks will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
- 13. Black and White people are inherently equal.
- 14. I get upset when I hear a White make a prejudicial remark about Blacks.
- 15. I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.
- 16. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.
- 17. Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.
- 18. I would not mind it at all if a Black family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.
- 19. Whites should support Blacks in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.
- 20. Some Blacks are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.

APPENDIX B: LETTERS TO PARTICIPANTS

Dear Student:

You are one of a select group of students at the College who has been selected to participate in a study concerning the racial climate in higher education institutions. The attached survey instruments were designed to measure your opinions concerning current social and political issues. The data received from you will provide important group information to be used in analyzing the racial climate at higher education institutions nationwide.

All completed surveys will be anonymous, thus only honest and straightforward answers are requested. Responses will be treated confidentially and analyzed as group data only. A copy of the results of the survey may be obtained by filling out the postcard enclosed in your packet of information.

The surveys themselves should take about 10-15 minutes to complete. Work as quickly as you can since there are no right or wrong answers, simply your opinion.

Since finals are right around the corner and papers are coming due as well, I am asking you to return the surveys to your R.A. as soon as possible, and no later than April 13. As always, participation in a study like this is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time, however to get as representative a sample as possible your cooperation would be appreciated.

Thank you for your help and good luck with final exams!

Sincerely,

Mary H. Glisan

Mary H. Glisan
Doctoral Candidate
School of Education

** If you have any questions concerning this research, feel free to contact me or my faculty advisor:

Mary H. Glisan
221 Reflection Drive or
Williamsburg, VA 23188
566-3715

Dr. Thomas Ward
313 Jones Hall
College of William and Mary
221-2358

Dear Student:

You are one of a select group of students at the College who has been selected to participate in a study concerning the racial climate in higher education institutions. The attached survey instruments were designed to measure your opinions concerning current social and political issues. The data received from you will provide important group information to be used in analyzing the racial climate at higher education institutions nationwide.

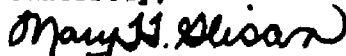
All completed surveys will be anonymous, thus only honest and straightforward answers are requested. Responses will be treated confidentially and analyzed as group data only. A copy of the results of the survey may be obtained by filling out the postcard enclosed in your packet of information.

The surveys themselves should take about 10-15 minutes to complete. Work as quickly as you can since there are no right or wrong answers, simply your opinion.

Since finals are right around the corner and papers are coming due as well, I am asking you to return the surveys in the enclosed stamped envelope as soon as possible, and no later than April 13. As always, participation in a study like this is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time, however to get as representative a sample as possible your cooperation would be appreciated.

Thank you for your help and good luck with final exams!

Sincerely,



Mary H. Glisan
Doctoral Candidate
School of Education

** If you have any questions concerning this research, feel free to contact me or my faculty advisor:

Mary H. Glisan
221 Reflection Drive or
Williamsburg, VA 23188
566-3715

Dr. Thomas Ward
313 Jones Hall
College of William and Mary
221-2358

**IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING
INFORMATION ON THE RESULTS OF
THIS STUDY, FILL OUT THE INFORMATION
ON THE REVERSE SIDE AND RETURN IT
TO YOUR R.A. OR MAIL IT TO THE
ADDRESS PROVIDED. SINCE THE SURVEYS
ARE TO REMAIN ANONYMOUS, PLEASE
DO NOT INCLUDE THIS CARD IN YOUR
SURVEY RETURN ENVELOPE.
THANKS AGAIN FOR YOUR
COOPERATION!!**

(PLEASE PRINT)

NAME

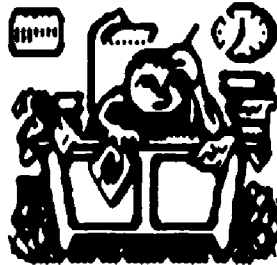
ADDRESS

CITY, STATE

ZIP

**MARY H. GLISAN
221 REFLECTION DRIVE
WILLIAMSBURG, VA
23188**

BY THE WAY----



**HAVE YOU RETURNED
YOUR SURVEYS???**

**IF YOU HAVE NOT RETURNED YOUR
SURVEY DEALING WITH THE RACIAL
CLIMATE IN HIGHER EDUCATION.
PLEASE DO SO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
EVERY SURVEY HAS THE POTENTIAL TO
HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE RESULTS. IF YOU
NEED ANOTHER COPY, PLEASE CALL ME AT
566-8715. IF YOU HAVE ALREADY RETURNED
YOUR SURVEYS YOUR HELP IS APPRECIATED.
THANK YOU!!!**

**MARY M. BLISAN
221 REFLECTION DRIVE
WILLIAMSBURG, VA
23188**

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VITA

MARY HORNBACk GLISAN

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July 1986**

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