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Interracial Contact at a Diverse High School: How School and Community Structures Shape Students' Experiences

Molly Nackley Feghali

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INTERRACIAL CONTACT AT A DIVERSE HIGH SCHOOL: HOW SCHOOL AND
COMMUNITY STRUCTURES SHAPE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my parents, Greg and Mary Nackley, who instilled in me a love of education, a love for people, and a passion to work toward equity. Both retired teachers, they spent their careers helping young people build confidence in themselves and pursue their passions. Had my parents not been the people they are, and had they not moved to Shaker Heights in the 1970s so that my sister and I could attend Shaker Schools, I certainly would not be the person I am today, pursuing the work I do, or writing this dissertation. Thank you, Mom and Dad.

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ABSTRACT

Utilizing survey data from 70 tenth grade students at a high school with a racially diverse student population of 45.6% Black, 42.8% White, 6.8% Multiracial and 3.0% Asian or Pacific Islander, multiple regression analysis was employed to analyze the extent to which aspects of meaningful intergroup contact across race, which included Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, and Friendship, were impacted by the racial compositions of participants' neighborhoods, school settings, and extracurricular activities. Results indicated that school settings and the racial composition of extracurricular activities had statistically significant impacts on Friendship – the percentage of friends of a different race than participants in their friendship networks. As the percentage of Black students in participants' extracurricular activities increased, the percentage of students that were of a different race in friendship networks decreased. While there were some limitations, this study provided a discussion and analysis of factors that diverse schools may consider when attempting to understand or promote intergroup contact within their buildings.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The racial undertones that engulfed events such as the deaths of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Alton Sterling, and Philando Castile and the events at Charlottesville have highlighted some of the deep tensions around race and justice within American society. As these and many other events clearly demonstrated, there is often a disconnect between the egalitarian meritocracy that America claims to be and the reality of American life for many people. The anger, confusion, and sadness that surrounded these events and their aftermaths illuminate the need for movement toward racial justice in America – all is not well. In order to begin to move forward as a nation, it is important that Americans recognize the increasing diversity of the nation and come together to ensure that diversity flourishes and is recognized as a strength, rather than a divisive weakness. A necessary step to achieving this ideal is to have a firm understanding of racial attitudes and their formation.

An inner-ring suburb of Cleveland, Ohio, Shaker Heights has often been studied by researchers as a place where diversity has intentionally been fostered and flourishes. First settled in 1822, and incorporated in 1912 (Shaker Heights Landmark Commission), Shaker Heights began as a community designed to attract people from all economic walks of life who worked in downtown Cleveland. Originally, restrictive covenants in real estate contracts drastically limited

the amount of racial diversity found in Shaker Heights; however, once these were ruled unconstitutional in 1948, the racial dynamics of Shaker began to shift (Keating, 1994).

When people of color were no longer banned from owning property in the community, Shaker Heights residents were eager to ward off the all too common phenomenon of “white flight” – the exit of Whites once people of color move into a neighborhood. In order to proactively address these concerns, groups within Shaker Heights began programs to attract families to certain neighborhoods within the City in order to promote racial diversity. These programs are often highlighted as hallmarks of residential integration efforts in the United States (Keating, 1994). And they were successful. Unlike some of its neighboring communities, Shaker Heights has managed to maintain a relatively diverse residential population.

The diversity of the community is seen quite evidently in the composition of the student body at Shaker Heights High School, the single public high school in the community. Recent figures indicated that 45.6% of the students attending Shaker Heights High School were Black, 42.8% were White, 6.8% were Multiracial and 3.0% were Asian or Pacific Islander (Ohio Department of Education, 2017-2018 Report Card). Parents of students often indicate that the quality of the schools and the diversity of the community and school system are some of the key reasons they choose Shaker Heights when selecting a residence (Fry, 2010). It is safe to say that diversity is an integral part of the Shaker experience.

However, with diversity often comes some tension. Although Shaker Heights encourages and attempts to foster diversity, and people are often drawn to it because of that diversity, segregation exists within the community and schools. Residential patterns clearly indicate this trend, as do statistics regarding the academic tracks of students at the community’s high school. Although the community and schools are diverse, it is unclear as to how integrated they are, and

how much meaningful contact across race residents and students have. Thus, Shaker Heights High School provides an excellent site to study how students at a racially diverse school experience inter-racial contact.

Conceptual Framework

Allport's (1954) contact theory asserts that it is through intergroup contact that prejudicial attitudes can be thwarted. In order for this to occur, however, certain conditions are essential for the contact to be deemed meaningful enough to elicit attitudinal changes – such conditions include: equal status between groups within the situation, a common goal, cooperation, and support of authority. Pettigrew (1998) includes another dimension, the potential for friendship, as a prerequisite of effective intergroup contact.

The diversity of one's neighborhood of residence is the most basic and primary place for intergroup contact to occur, but for young people a large portion of their social and daily lives revolve around their school. Moody's study (2001) looks specifically at contact theory within schools when he analyzes school structural factors that impact intergroup contact. With his analysis of over 90,000 student surveys, Moody suggests that academic tracking, grade segregation and extracurricular activities are the primary structures within a school community that influence student friendship networks, and thus meaningful intergroup contact across race.

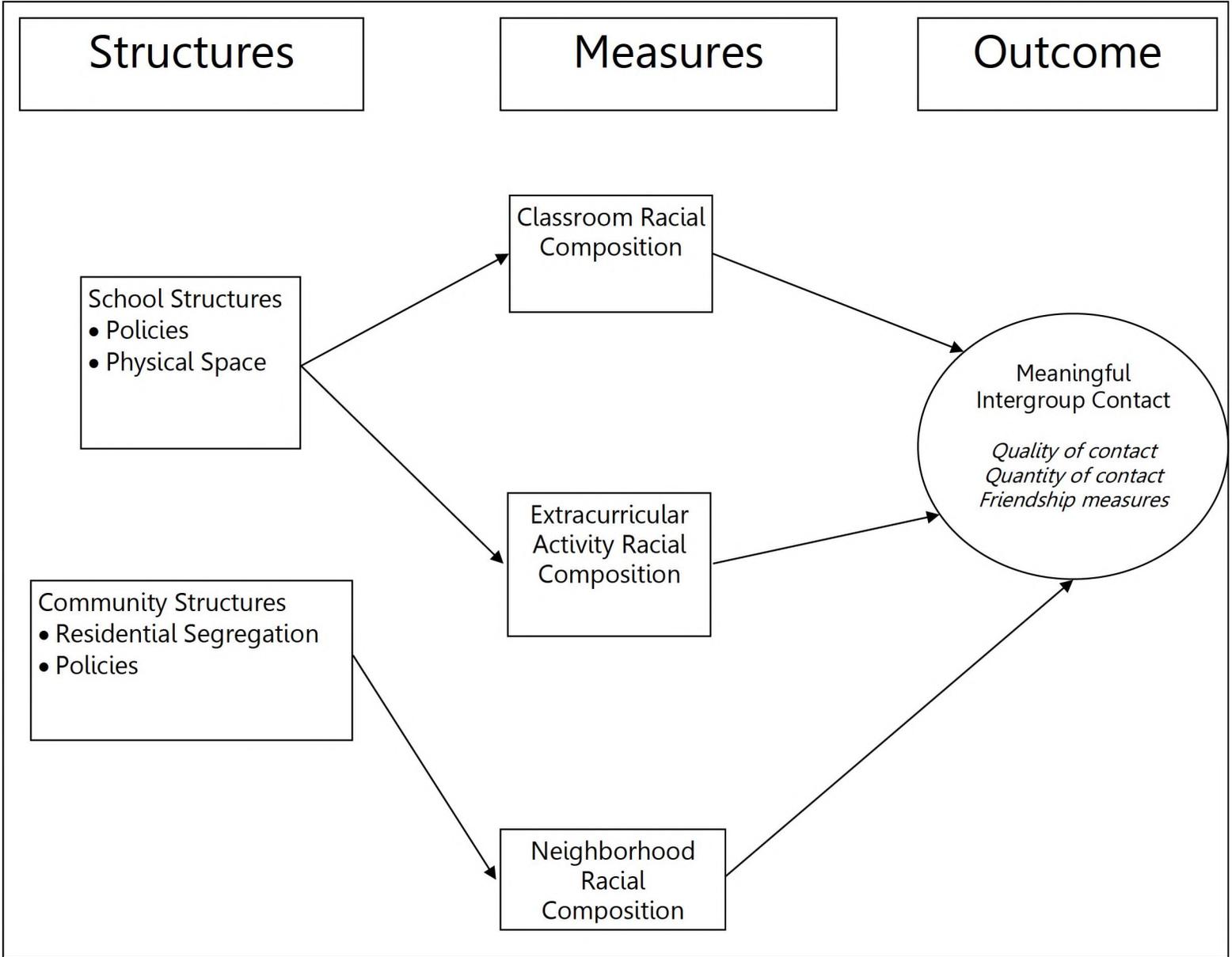
For the purposes of this study, meaningful intergroup contact or meaningful inter-racial contact will refer to interpersonal contact between one or more people of different races that allows for connections beyond that of mere proximity; it includes contact that elicits interpersonal relationships (friendship) across race as defined and understood by the participants.

This study will examine the factors that impact young peoples' intergroup contact in a diverse high school by analyzing their neighborhoods of residence (neighborhood racial

composition), academic levels (classroom racial composition), and extracurricular activities (extracurricular racial composition).

Figure 1 demonstrates a graphical representation of the conceptual framework.

Figure 1. Conceptual framework.



Statement of the Problem

As our nation becomes more ethnically and racially diverse and immigration and racial tensions are at the forefront of our political and social debates, school districts are experiencing more diverse student populations. Although many may be well intentioned, districts can struggle to maximize the social learning that can occur as a result of the increasing diversity. As many districts strive for greater racial integration, the problem is that it is unclear as to the extent of meaningful inter-racial contact between students that occurs at diverse high schools. One way to come close to understanding the problem is through the study of students' perceptions of friendships and their self-report of social experiences in a diverse high school.

Purpose of the Study

Studies have delved into the social benefits and attitudes of inclusion that students accrue with desegregated schooling (Wells, Holme, Revilla & Atanda, 2009; Tropp, 2014; Spencer & Reno, 2009) and have looked into the racially segregative effects of academic tracking (Galletta & Cross, 2007). However, more could be done to assess the factors that impact meaningful intergroup contact across race that occurs among students at a diverse high school such as Shaker Heights High School.

The purpose of this study was to better understand the level of meaningful intergroup contact across race that occurs among students at Shaker Heights High School. Data that indicates neighborhoods of residence, academic levels, friendship networks, and participation in extracurricular activities as the conditions necessary for meaningful contact to occur informed this research.

Four research questions drove this study:

1. To what extent are aspects of meaningful intergroup contact across race impacted by the racial composition of high school students' neighborhoods?
2. To what extent are aspects of meaningful intergroup contact across race impacted by the racial composition of high school students' school settings?
3. To what extent are aspects of meaningful intergroup contact across race impacted by the racial composition of high school students' extracurricular activities?
4. What is the effect of student race on the extent to which the racial composition of neighborhoods, school settings, and extracurricular activities impact aspects of meaningful intergroup contact across race?

Methodology

A survey instrument drawn largely from Bifulco, Buerger, & Cobb's (2012) work on understanding students' experiences with intergroup contact at diverse schools was utilized to survey tenth grade students at Shaker Heights High School regarding their experience with meaningful intergroup contact across race. Additional survey questions determined students' academic levels, neighborhoods of residence, extracurricular activities, and demographic characteristics. These variables informed the basis for six multiple regression models which were employed to address the research questions noted above.

Significance of the Study

In today's increasingly diversifying world, it is imperative that we foster attitudes of acceptance and inclusion in our young people. Their abilities to co-exist and work with people whom they perceive as "different" are not only morally imperative, but lead to better economic outcomes as well. In order to do this effectively, it is essential that intergroup contact across race in young people is observed and studied. Further, it is important to understand the conditions

needed for intergroup contact across race to foster meaningful contact – simple proximity does not necessarily equate to contact that can elicit the attitudes we seek to impart to young people.

Research consistently demonstrates the effectiveness of intergroup contact across race on lessening racial prejudicial attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006 & 2011). Specifically, racially integrated (diverse) schools have been shown to have positive effects on their graduates in terms of attitudes of inclusion (Wells, Holme, Revilla & Atanda, 2009; Tropp, 2014; Spencer & Reno, 2009). The significance of this study is that it assessed the extent of the inter-racial contact that occurs at a diverse school and reflected on the conditions necessary for that contact to be meaningful. Based on findings, this study provided implications of findings for diverse school districts in their efforts to facilitate meaningful inter-racial contact for their students.

The chapters that follow include a thorough review of social psychology literature that outlines the importance and interworking of intergroup contact and specifically intergroup contact in diverse schools. Following the literature review, an outline of the study's methodology is included. Then, the findings of the study are provided, and lastly, a discussion of the findings as they relate to the literature and possible implications for diverse school buildings attempting to better understand intergroup contact across race.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In today's progressively globalizing and diversifying America the ability to co-exist with people with different social identities and backgrounds than one's own is becoming increasingly important. The diversity of America is increasing: The National Center for Education Statistics estimates that by 2025 White students will comprise only 46% of public school students (https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_cge.asp) and thus to maintain a stable social contract White/European/Anglo Americans must commit to existing with and tolerating others that may be "different" than themselves. Aside from its inherent moral importance, social tolerance is increasingly important economically as well, because as the nation becomes more diverse the labor force also diversifies and workers' social abilities to be empathetic and effectively work with others influence the productive capacity of the nation (Florida, October 2011).

There are several definitions of social tolerance that exist on a continuum of embracing diversity. The first refers to a notion of "enduring or 'putting up with' others" (Robinson, Witenberg & Sanson, 2001, p. 73), the second is "expressed by the absence of prejudice" (p. 74), the third "involves a conscious rejection of prejudiced attitudes and responses" (p. 74) and lastly, the fourth "is the full acceptance and valuing of others while recognizing the differences between them and oneself" (p. 74). Valentine (2008) illuminates an issue raised by the very word

tolerance, calling it a “dangerous concept. It is often defined as a positive attitude, yet it is not the same thing as mutual respect. Rather, tolerance conceals an implicit set of power relations. It is a courtesy that a dominant or privileged group has the power to extend to, or withhold from, others” (p. 329). Further, as Cover (2013) relates, there is issue with the word “tolerance” not only as it applies to race relations, but in other boundaries of “difference” as well, such as sexual orientation and gender identity.

Most of the research that has been done on social tolerance has relied on the second definition – that social tolerance is the absence of intolerant beliefs. This study will continue to utilize that definition because although the third and fourth definitions may be more ideal in a multicultural society, they become increasingly difficult to assess. This study is interested in the ability of individuals in the society to co-exist and work together free from intolerant beliefs that threaten the social contract.

Allport’s (1954) Contact Theory suggests that in order to foster attitudes of tolerance and acceptance, people must be exposed to or come in “contact” with others who are different from them. Although the United States is quickly diversifying, it is also a highly segregated nation. Despite a United States Census Report from 2002 that suggests that racial segregation decreased between the years of 1980 and 2000 (Iceland, Weinberg & Steinmetz, 2002), “today the average white person in the United States continues to live in a neighborhood that is 80 percent white and only 7 percent black. Meanwhile, a typical African American lives in a neighborhood that is only 33 percent white and more than half black” (Wells, Holme, Revilla & Atanda, 2009, p. 15). And as Lamb (2005) relates, “[e]ven in 2000, African Americans composed less than five percent of the suburban population of nearly half of the top one hundred metropolitan areas” (p. 267).

Similar to the state of residential segregation, the racial segregation of schools does not provide an optimistic picture with regards to integration efforts or spaces for contact to occur: according to Orfield and Lee (2006), “the average white student attends schools where more than three quarters (78%) of his or her peers are also white” (p. 8). In 1988 the percentage of segregated nonwhite public schools in the United States (schools with 0-10% White students) was 5.7%, while in 2013 it was 18.6% (Orfield, Ee, Frankenberg, & Siegel-Hawley, 2016). Additionally, only roughly twenty-five percent of black and Latino students attend public schools that are not considered minority schools – where more than half the students are non-White. Several highly populated states (New York, Illinois, California, and Michigan) claim the highest levels of black segregation with the average black student attending schools with school populations of less than 25% White students (Orfield & Lee, 2006).

The social spaces in which people may encounter others “different” from them are based upon factors such as residence, schools, and workplaces. This type of contact, that which crosses boundaries of some social characteristic, is termed intergroup contact. This study focused on intergroup contact specifically across the social characteristic of race. As with many attitudes, those of tolerance or acceptance of others who are racially “different” are often forged early in life (Miller and Sears, 1986). Thus, it is important to realize and analyze the spaces of potential intergroup contact across race that housing and education offer for young people.

This chapter provides an overview of literature that addresses intergroup contact across race. Discussions include the history of political and judicial decisions that created and perpetuated racial segregation in neighborhoods and schools, the social psychology of intergroup contact, the impact of intergroup contact across race, and the current state of the potential for intergroup contact across race in schools.

Residential Segregation

Oliver and Shapiro (1995) argue that through institutionalized racism in the policy arenas of Reconstruction, housing and access to credit, African Americans have been denied equal opportunity and access to wealth generation, namely property, when compared to their White counterparts. In the Reconstruction after the Civil War, it was initially believed that freed African Americans would be entitled to land in reparation for slavery; during the war they were given lands that had been confiscated from plantation owners. However, after the war these new African American land owners were forced to give up the land they had begun cultivating and wait for the government to legislate how the land would be divided. Eventually, after the Southern Homestead Act in 1866, it was thought that freed African Americans would finally have rights to the land that they had worked on during their years in slavery. As Oliver and Shapiro (1995) relate, however, the act did not fulfill these hopes: “[o]ne estimate suggests that over three-quarters (77.1 percent) of the land applicants under the act were white” (p. 14).

This pattern of institutionalized racism continued with governmental housing policies in the next century. As African Americans moved northward during the Great Migrations following the World Wars they began to populate the urban centers of the North, drastically changing the demographic composition of those cities: “The number of blacks migrating from the South to the North increased from 197,000 between 1900 and 1910 to 525,000 and 877,000 in the following two decades. Then in the 1950s the number rose to 1.5 million” (Clotfelter, 2004, p. 79). As African Americans moved into the cities, many Whites chose to vacate the central cities for the suburbs that were developing as a result of increased automobile ownership, interstate usage and the decentralization of jobs (Clotfelter, 2004) in addition to “newer and better housing, schools, and amenities and municipal services” (Keating, 1994, p. 9). Those Whites who moved to the

suburbs were able to utilize racist governmental policies to do so: while the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) was established in order to promote homeownership in America, it was focused primarily on increasing homeownership in the suburbs. Further, its policies were biased in favor of financing new, single family homes and the FHA instituted property appraisal guidelines that encouraged financing for White buyers in communities that did not include Blacks. As Oliver and Shapiro (1995) relate, “the FHA’s discriminatory practices continued to have an impact on the continuing suburbanization of the white population and the deepening ghettoization of the black population” (p. 18). White families were thus encouraged through racist governmental policies to move to the suburbs while Black families were denied the same opportunity. The movement of Whites to the suburbs was also fueled “because of their opposition to racial change in their former urban neighborhoods...[and] in some cities...court-ordered desegregation of the public schools added to the white exodus” (Keating, 1994, p. 10).

The denial of access to credit was not limited to governmental policy. In what was termed “redlining,” private banks would determine that they would not provide credit (mortgages) to certain areas of a city based upon the racial makeup of the area. Those areas with high Black populations were often cut out of access to credit or were at least charged considerably higher interest rates when they could secure credit. Thus, through the racist governmental housing policies and the racist policies of banks in terms of providing credit to finance mortgages, housing segregation based on race was exacerbated which in turn created and maintained segregated public schools (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995).

Other policies affected the changing demographic patterns as well. Many communities utilized restrictive racial covenants which essentially wrote racism into deeds by making it illegal, based on the wording of the deed, to sell property to people of African American descent,

or other ethnicities or religions. Although these practices were eventually outlawed by the Supreme Court's *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision in 1948 (Keating, 1994) they had a profound effect on residential segregation.

When African American families were able to overcome the obstacles set forth by discriminatory housing and financing policies in order to move into the suburbs they were often met by resistance. In many instances, their entry into formerly White neighborhoods also caused White families to move out of the neighborhoods, often at alarming rates, due to fears that Whites would become the minority and that housing and real estate values would plummet. Realtor scare tactics regarding the detrimental effects of integration often contributed to this pattern as well (Keating, 1994).

During the Civil Rights Movement, efforts were made to desegregate housing via the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by "making it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race, color, or national origin in the administration of federally assisted programs, and authorizing agencies to terminate funds in cases of noncompliance" (Bonastia, 2008, p. 75) but most strongly by Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 which "prohibits refusing to sell, rent to, negotiate or deal with a person based on race, color, national origin, or (as amended in 1974) sex; discriminating in terms of the conditions for buying or renting; advertisements indicating racial preferences; or denying that housing is available when it actually is" (Bonasita, 2008, p. 88). The Civil Rights Act of 1968, Title VIII, known as the Fair Housing Act of 1968, also included provisions that essentially prohibited red-lining (Lamb, 2005).

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was not the first fair housing law to be introduced in Congress. Two years prior a fair housing bill backed by President Johnson was proposed which basically provided for the same provisions as the 1968 law: open access for all groups to all

aspects of housing including renting, buying, financing, selling, etc. How did legislation that failed in 1966 pass just two years later? Sidney (2001) argues that the social constructions of the policy's target group shifted. During the 1966 debate regarding Fair Housing, the social constructions of those involved in the Civil Rights Movement were framed as non-violent, based on the ideals of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Even though in 1966 the Black political movement was based on non-violent protest, White Americans felt threatened by the movement because it was transitioning its focus to include the North; what began as protests in the South against Jim Crow laws had begun to move North with the understanding that residential segregation in the North was a defining characteristic of racial oppression in that area. White Americans were threatened by this notion and "[b]y 1966, 70 percent of whites believed that 'Negroes were trying to move too fast'" (Sidney, 2001, p. 188). The fears of White Americans coupled with strong mobilization by the National Association of Real Estate Boards and home building lobby groups worked together to defeat the fair housing law in 1966.

By 1968, however, Sidney (2001) relates how the politics of the Black political movement had shifted, characterized by the following:

the emergence of the Black Power movement, the proliferation of urban riots, and the shift of activism to the North...The radical activists emerging within the civil rights movements in the late 1960s cared more about economic and social justice than racial integration, doubted the formal political system would be the mechanism to achieve change, and supported direct action tactics, violent if necessary. The increasing visibility of these Black Power leaders coincided with the increasing incidence of riots in ghetto neighborhoods. Between 1966 and 1968, 290 "hostile outbursts" occurred, during which 169 people were killed, 7,000 wounded, and 40,000 arrested. (p. 188)

These changes in the Black Civil Rights Movement from 1966 to 1968 caused the supporters of fair housing legislation to reframe the debate by promoting a different message about the target group than what they had done previously in 1966. By 1968, the target group of

the policy could no longer be framed in a non-violent way as the Black Power movement took hold and urban riots broke out. According to Sidney (2001), supporters of the fair housing measures therefore adapted their rhetoric to frame the target group of the policy to be middle-class Blacks that deserved to be able to get out of the “ghettos” where the violence and Black Power movement held grip. This strategy, along with decreased mobilization from the lobby groups, allowed fair housing legislation to finally pass in 1968 (Sidney, 2001). However, it passed with very weak enforcement ability; the legislative changes, while symbolically important for the progress of civil rights, did not do much to stem the tide of racial housing segregation. Because of its weak enforceability, the Fair Housing Act of 1968 did not, in reality, do much to racially integrate housing in the United States and although it was strengthened in 1988 it has still not been able to make a dent in the now entrenched racial residential segregation.

These “fair housing” policies were not as effective as they could have been for several reasons. As Brown (1993) relates in his analysis of mortgage lending in 16 major metropolitan areas where he found 62 instances of questionable discriminatory lending practices, Fair Housing laws were not enforced and red-lining (or some form of racial discrimination) continued in the mortgage lending industry. And while specific fair housing violations may have been prosecuted the number and extent of the cases actually brought to court paled in comparison to the fair housing violations that occurred; “Only the Justice Department could pursue sanctions through lawsuits and it brought only about twenty fair housing suits a year, though there were an estimated two million violations occurring annually” (Orfield & Eaton, 1996, p. 310).

Massey and Denton (1993) succinctly convey the consequences of the residential segregation that results from the abovementioned history and policies:

Residential segregation is not a neutral fact; it systematically undermines the social and economic well-being of blacks in the United

States. Because of racial segregation, a significant share of black America is condemned to experience a social environment where poverty and joblessness are the norm, where most families are on welfare, where educational failure prevails, and where social and physical deterioration abound. Through prolonged exposure to such an environment, black chances for social and economic success are drastically reduced (p. 2).

School Segregation

The Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, (known as *Brown I*) was its first ruling dealing with public schools to challenge the precedent set forth in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) which provided that "racial segregation did not constitute discrimination under the Fourteenth Amendment, so long as the separate facilities were equal" (Orfield & Eaton, 1996, p. xxi). In what is hailed by some as "perhaps [the Supreme Court's] most significant ruling of all time" (Russo, Harris & Sandridge, 1994, p. 297), *Brown I* ruled that *de jure* segregation of students based on race that deprived minority children of equal educational opportunities violated their Fourteenth amendment right of equal protection under United States law. While the case that was heard is known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, it actually consisted of four cases brought forth as class-action suits that were initiated on behalf of Black students who were denied access to White schools due to laws that either required or allowed racial segregation in Topeka, Kansas; New Castle County in Delaware; Clarendon County in South Carolina; and Prince Edward County in Virginia. The cases reached the Supreme Court because the lower courts had relied on the precedent set forth in *Plessy v. Ferguson* of "separate but equal" with the exception of the Delaware case where the lower court had ordered that minority students should be admitted to the all-White school because the educational opportunities afforded under racial segregation were not equal (Russo, Harris & Sandridge, 1994).

Oral arguments in *Brown I* began in December of 1952 but a decision was not handed down until May 17, 1954. In their 9-0 decision the Supreme Court unanimously struck down the precedent set forth by *Plessy v. Ferguson* and ruled that *de jure* segregation in public schools was a violation of the United States Constitution: “We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954). *Brown I* drastically altered the social, legal and political worlds of the United States, but it did not provide any remedies for how to correct the current systems so as to comply with the Court’s decree. Thus, it was necessary for the Court to hear additional arguments in order to inform its second *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, (Brown II)* decision, handed down in 1955 (Russo, Harris & Sandidge, 1994).

Brown II left much of the power to lower federal courts to order the specific remedies needed to comply with the *Brown I* decision, but offered general guidelines to those courts: “It directed them to fashion their decrees to equitable principles characterized by flexibility...to be mindful of the public interest” and that while it recognized that many obstacles were present that would make compliance difficult, the lower courts could not let the barriers “stand in the way of progress” (Russo, Harris & Sandidge, 1994, p. 299). In *Brown II* the Court did have a few choice words for the school districts, however, when it required that they “make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance” (Russo, Harris & Sandidge, 1994, p. 299) – the now famous “all deliberate speed” declaration (Orfield & Eaton 1996, p. xxi). Although the Court ordered districts to desegregate with “all deliberate speed,” many districts dragged their feet and many that did attempt to comply with the Court’s order did so with policies that did not address the complexity of the situation and the necessity of a dramatic overhaul of previous policies.

Both *Brown I* and *Brown II* issued orders to desegregate schools that were segregated based on the laws in their states, which applied to seventeen states in the American Southeast and the District of Columbia. Although these rulings did not expressly prohibit *de facto* segregation, they did have profound effects in states outside of the South as well, as they cemented a national need to address racial integration efforts that had been brewing in the North for some time previous to *Brown I* (Dougherty, 2008).

As Dougherty (2008) relates, the first state to outlaw racially segregated schools was Massachusetts in 1855 after the first case that challenged racial segregation in schools was brought forth in that state court in 1849, *Roberts v. City of Boston*. Although Mr. Roberts, a Black man who sued to allow his daughter to attend a White school closer to his home than the Black schools, lost the case, pressure was brought to bear upon the State Legislature and the law segregating schools based on race was outlawed. After the Civil War most other Northern states followed Massachusetts's lead and outlawed segregated schools with Indiana being the last Northern state to do so in 1949. Although after 1949 no Northern states were lawfully allowed to segregate schools, rampant segregation still occurred with separate White and Black schools commonplace, which was not based solely upon residential segregation, although that was and continues to be a contributing influence on racially segregated schools. A decade after *Brown I* and *II*, in Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, for example, schools continued to be segregated by "intentionally assigning most black students to schools by race, gerrymandering attendance boundaries, and refusing to permit black teachers in white schools" (Dougherty, 2008, p. 218). So, while supposedly *de jure* segregation no longer existed in the North, segregation was still commonplace and *Brown I* and *Brown II* and the subsequent Supreme Court desegregation decisions were the necessary impetuses needed to move the Northern states towards compliance

with what their laws already purported them to be: desegregated (Dunn, Whyte, Hardiman, Jones, & Hatten, 2016).

A huge turning point in desegregation cases, which significantly halted the march of racially integrated schooling in the United States, occurred in 1974's *Milliken v. Bradley* case. The *Milliken* case dealt with desegregation of the Detroit, Michigan schools. Due in large part to the discriminatory housing policies and overall demographic shifts described in the first section of this paper, the City of Detroit was becoming increasingly racially homogenous, with a large African American population living within the City Center and a large White population living in the surrounding suburbs. The *Milliken* case presented the Supreme Court with the issue of segregated Detroit schools and offered a plan to remedy the desegregation of a metropolitan area when it was not one school district and the pockets of racial homogeneity were distinctive cities. In a decision that would essentially stop the desegregation progress of the previous twenty years, the Court ruled that "interdistrict, city-suburban desegregation remedies as a means to integrate racially isolated city schools" were prohibited "unless plaintiffs could demonstrate that the suburbs or the state took actions that contributed to segregation in the city" (Orfield & Eaton, 1996, p. xxii). Justices Thurgood Marshall and William O. Douglas were among the four justices that dissented, with Justice Marshall concluding that "the majority opinion was more a reflection of perceived public mood that the nation had gone far enough in enforcing the Constitution's guarantees of equal justice than it was the product of neutral principles of law" and Justice Williams "saw *Milliken* as setting back African American progress to a period antedating the 1896 separate-but-equal doctrine established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*" (Brown, 1994, p. 337). With this ruling and the continued movement of Whites from the urban centers, the desegregation movement lost the momentum it had once had; if interdistrict remedies were

not to be upheld, unless it could be proved that all parties intentionally engaged in segregation efforts, little could be done to integrate schools in cities when they were essentially becoming racially homogenous themselves.

In subsequent cases such as *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk, Virginia* (1986), *Board of Education of Oklahoma v. Dowell* (1991), *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992), and *McFarland v. Jefferson County Public Schools & Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007) the Supreme Court continued to retreat from precedent it had set forth earlier. In *Riddick* the Court ruled that once a school district had been ruled unitary it could discontinue its desegregation plan and return to local control; in *Board of Education of Oklahoma* the Court held that since the district had been declared unitary it could return to segregated neighborhood schools; in *Freeman* the Court ruled that “districts could be partially released from their desegregation responsibilities even if integration had not been achieved in all the specific areas outlined in the *Green* decision” (Orfield & Eaton, 1996, p. xxiii) in *McFarland* the Court ruled that integration was still a compelling interest but that districts were prohibited from utilizing the race of students to place them in certain schools under voluntary integration plans (The Civil Rights Project, 2008), and in *PCIS* the Court ruled that although diversity was a compelling interest, the manner in which the school districts were going about ensuring diversity through student assignments based on racial classification were not “narrowly tailored” enough to the goal of avoiding racial isolation. Thus, although significant progress had been made in dismantling *de jure* segregation, and some in dismantling *de facto* segregation, the Supreme Court with its *Milliken* and subsequent decisions froze further advancement and even allowed the reversal of some improvements that had previously occurred.

Today, over sixty years after *Brown I* and forty-nine years after Fair Housing was passed, the United States is still highly racially segregated in both public schools and housing. The historic discrimination faced by African Americans in housing and finance policies has yet to be overcome in a meaningful way. Fair housing laws were a step in the right direction but they were weakly enforced and did not attempt to promote integration; they simply purported to guarantee the right of African Americans and other groups experiencing marginalization to fairly participate in the housing market. School desegregation efforts stemming from the *Brown* decisions seemed that they might begin to tackle some of the racial segregation problems in the country but their effectiveness greatly diminished after *Milliken* and subsequent decisions. When the Supreme Court essentially refused to desegregate schools across district lines without considerable proof of intentional segregation, desegregation efforts stalled.

Through policy and judicial decisions, the United States has created and maintained systemic racial segregation. It is important to recognize the structures that were implemented and endure in this effort. As children grow up and are educated in America, they do so within institutions and a social world that have been and continue to be shaped by these decisions. If attitudes of intolerance persist, it is not unreasonable to look to these policies and their long reaching effects as mechanisms that allow intolerant attitudes to persevere, even in an increasingly diversifying and interconnected world. While structures and policy directly create and impact the social spaces children inhabit, it is through the mechanisms of socialization and interpersonal relationships that attitudes and beliefs are learned and reinforced.

Intersectionality

In the increasing byzantine world, people's identities are more complex than their membership in a single social group. In order to attempt to uncover this complexity, Collins

(1998) suggests moving towards theorizing through the use of intersectionality. To do this, the many facets of a person's identity are taken into account and it is understood that their identity, the way they negotiate the world, and the societal power they possess as a result, is based at the intersection of these identities – on the situated standpoints of the axes of all of their social identities – not just one. Identity, then, is at the intersection of where one is identified or identifies oneself within multiple power structures; how people negotiate their identities is a product not only of one characteristic, but all of their “social” identities influence who they are and the societal power and privilege they are afforded. The complexity of identity is closely interwoven with differing power associated with socially constructed identities. One may embody societal or social power in one aspect of identity, and yet may embody disadvantage in another. Collins' theory requires an interrogation not only of the complexity of identity, but most importantly, an interrogation of the structural forces that afford certain identities with more power and privilege than others.

Those with intolerant belief systems tend to miss the complexity associated with identity – they often judge others based not on their complex identities but rather on their membership in one (or more) social group. Intolerant attitudes can arise based on factors such as race, age, class, sex, sexual orientation, and/or religion. Those with intolerant or prejudicial attitudes towards a certain group look not at the members of the group as unique individuals but rather as simply representative of the group – and as manifestations of their negative beliefs associated with the group. Not only do they miss the complexity of individuals' identities, but because their intolerance typically hinders their contact with members of the group they deem to be inferior, they miss the opportunity to interact with those individuals and come to a better understanding of their true, complex identities.

Prejudice and Contact Theory

As Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami (2003) discuss, studies regarding the basic premise of Contact Theory, that intergroup contact can reduce prejudicial attitudes, date back to the 1930s. Research was conducted in different environments - schools (Zeligs & Hendrickson, 1933; Horowitz, 1936; Smith, 1943), in the military (Singer, 1948; Stouffer, 1949; Brophy, 1946), in housing (Deutsch & Collins, 1950, 1951), and in extracurricular activities such as summer camp (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961). Soon, theoretical frameworks about the conditions necessary for contact to bring about attitudinal change began to develop (Lett, 1945; Bramfield, 1946; Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947).

Drawing from this body of work, Allport's (1954) *The Nature of Prejudice* arose as the seminal reference for a comprehensive theoretical framework of what became known as Contact Theory, which essentially asserts that "diversity fosters interethnic tolerance and social solidarity...reduces ethnocentric attitudes and fosters out-group trust and solidarity" (Putnam, 2007, p. 141-142) under certain conditions. As Pettigrew (1998) summarizes, "Allport (1954) held that positive effects of intergroup contact occur only in situations marked by four key conditions: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom" (p. 66).

Amir (1969) built upon Allport's work when he proposed five conditions that must be met in order for intergroup contact to increase the positive attitudes individuals hold about other groups: equal status among those present during contact, the contact must be interpersonal and not casual, it must be pleasant or rewarding, authorities and social norms should promote intergroup contact, and there should be cooperative goals for the contact (Amir, 1969; Berryman-Fink, 2006). Berryman-Fink (2006) analyzed the impact of Amir's proposed conditions in her

study of college students' prejudicial attitudes and found that the five factors correlated significantly with reductions in prejudicial attitudes and that "mere contact between demographically diverse college students is not sufficient to reduce prejudice and develop appreciation for diversity" (p. 513) – it is imperative that certain conditions of the contact exist – mere proximity does not produce the benefits of intergroup contact, the contact must meet certain criteria to elicit positive effects.

Pettigrew added another condition to Allport's original four, requiring that there must also be potential for friendships to evolve across the in-group/out-group barrier because it is through the mediating effect of friendships that members of the in-group can begin to positively view members of the out-group as individuals and as members of the larger "out-group." In fact, Pettigrew found in an extensive study on Europeans' social attitudes that "having an ingroup friend related to greater acceptance of minorities of many types" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 75) and "that living in an intergroup neighborhood makes it more likely that a European will have an out-group friend" (p. 72). He found, however, that "there is no direct relationship... between mixed neighborhoods and affective prejudice" (p. 72).

The progression of thought behind Pettigrew's friendship condition is as follows: in order to begin breaking down prejudicial attitudes a person holding those attitudes must first encounter an individual of the out-group that is able to infiltrate the social space of the prejudiced individual. Generally this is a difficult task because a prejudiced person encountering a person from the out-group tends to retreat from that space to avoid contact; thus, in order to dismantle prejudiced attitudes the in-group individual must initially view the out-group individual as unrepresentative of the out-group. However, as the relationship continues to grow the in-group individual must then come to see the out-group individual as a representative of the out-group

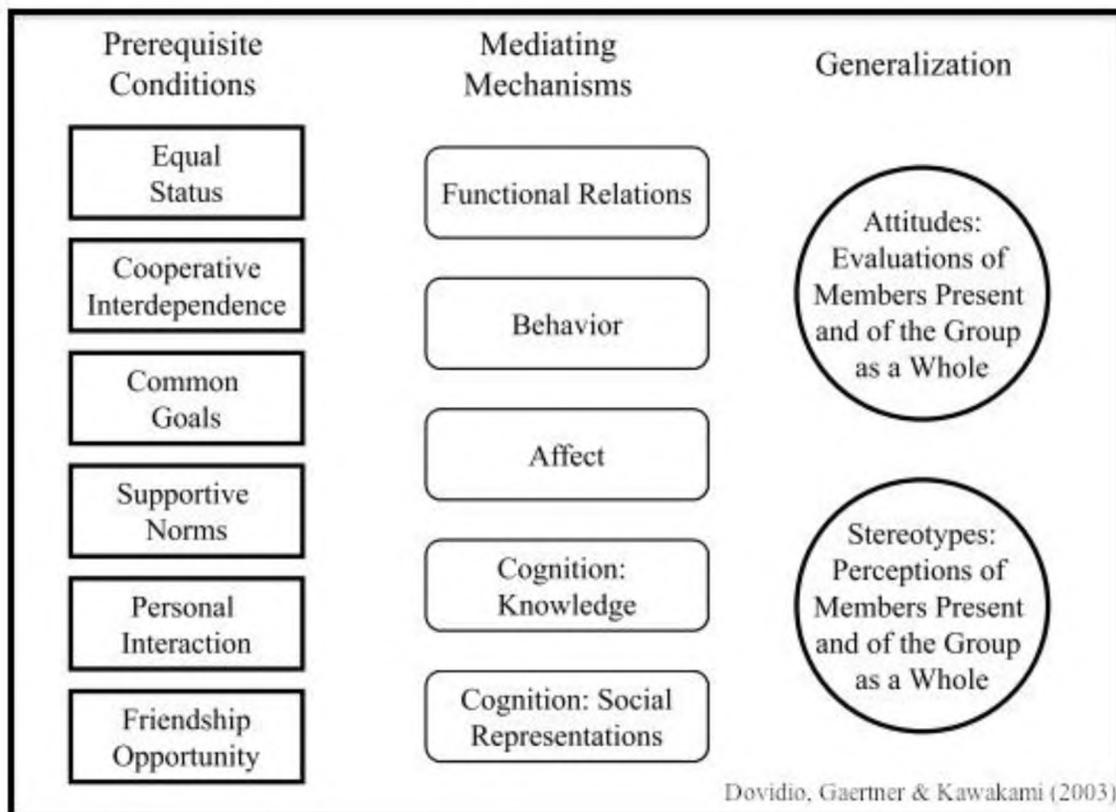
and thus can begin to generalize his/her changing attitudes toward the out-group individual to all members of the out-group, not just the one individual (Pettigrew, 1998). “Diminished saliency of group categories can be important when intergroup contact is initiated. Once established, salient group categorization is required for the effects to generalize to the inter-group level” (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 75). Hewstone and Brown’s research has confirmed Pettigrew’s assertions regarding group saliency: “the effects of contact are greater when respective group memberships are salient and/or out-group members are considered typical of their group as a whole” (Hewstone & Swart, 2011, p. 376).

Not all contact is beneficial in generating positive attitudes about out-group members, however. As Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif’s (1961) work describes, “positive interdependence (cooperation) produces more favorable attitudes towards out-group members, whereas negative interdependence (competition) generates more unfavorable attitudes” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). Further, Valentine’s (2008) research describes one of the fundamental hypocrisies of prejudice when he illustrates that “positive encounters with individuals from minority groups do not necessarily change people’s opinions about groups as a whole for the better with the same speed and permanence as negative encounters. In other words, in the context of negative encounters minority individuals are perceived to represent members of a wider social group, but in positive encounters minority individuals tend to be read only as individuals” (p. 332).

Based on their comprehensive review of the body of work regarding contact theory, Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami (2003) developed the framework in Figure 2 to assist in understanding the complexities associated with contact theory – the prerequisite conditions, the mediating mechanisms, and the generalization of the intergroup experiences. Here, the

prerequisite conditions are similar to those previously mentioned: equal status, cooperative interdependence, common goals, supportive norms, personal interaction, and friendship opportunity.

Figure 2. Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami framework.



The mediating factors include: functional relations, behavior, affect, cognition: knowledge, and cognition: social representations. Functional relations references whether an out-group is viewed as a cooperative partner or a competitor. Behavior refers to the behaviors that occur during the intergroup contact – and whether they are positive interactions that can then be generalized to the out-group. Affective factors include the emotions that characterize intergroup encounters: for those unfamiliar and uncomfortable with members of the out-group, fear or anxiety can influence the contact. On the positive side, if the contact is positive and individuals are able to connect, empathy can result which can then be generalized to the out-

group. Cognitive factors fall into two categories: knowledge and social representations. Knowledge refers to learning more about out-group members – more about their life experiences, more about them as complete people, not just representations of an out-group, which in turn, hopefully, can result in “new, non-stereotypic associations with group members (Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000)” and “enhanced intercultural understanding” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003, p. 10). Social representations refer to the idea that people socially categorize others based on a myriad of factors. There a person can become the in-group and the out-group – for whatever social categorization one is looking at. People tend to have more positive feelings about those in the in-group and more negative feelings about those in the out-group. Decategorization can be helpful here, which encourages people to look at themselves and others as individuals, rather than members of one group or another. This approach, in a sense, encourages an understanding of the complexity of identity.

Another approach to combat the limiting nature of categorization is termed recategorization, which is represented by the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). According to this model, “intergroup bias and conflict can be reduced by factors that transform participants’ representations of memberships from two groups to one, more inclusive group” (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003, p. 11). Additionally, the dual identity model can work as a mechanism of recategorization – in this model one can identify with both the in-group and out-group – without identifying as simply a member of one inclusive group. This model allows for both identities to be salient simultaneously (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). The dual-identity model can better allow for the complexity of social identity to be represented – rather

than succumbing to the limiting nature of in/out group identity – one is able to express and identify with a more encompassing understanding of self.

Lastly, generalizations that can result as a consequence of inter-group contact (provided the prerequisites and mediating factors align) are that attitudes and stereotypes can be challenged and reformed.

Further complicating how attitudes and stereotypes are formed, the socialization of attitudes of social tolerance or intolerance begins early in life. From the moment children enter the world they begin noticing and experiencing aspects of the social world and interacting with those around them. Whether they encounter a world full of intolerance or a world full of tolerance, or a racially homogenous or diverse environment, their attitudes and perceptions will be molded by what they experience.

According to Handel (2006), socialization is a lifelong process through which members of a society learn how to interact with one another in order to function within society. Socialization occurs on many fronts and many levels and people are socialized in every aspect of their beings. It is important to realize that some type of socialization, or social learning, is constantly occurring whenever one is interacting within the social world.

Bandura (1977) posits that all learning is of a social nature in that learning occurs as a result of interactions between “cognitive, behavioral, and environmental determinants” (vii). It is the environmental determinants that rely on the social world and thus shape the learning processes. The basic premise of social learning theory is that people will come to learn based on what they see and experience in the social world; models and vicarious learning are key. Models refer to either live models or symbolic models and learning occurs when the learner views a model and then watches how the model is received within the social world. For example, if a

child watches her mother interacting with a neighbor and hears her mother make a prejudiced comment, the child will learn much from the fact that her mother apparently embraces prejudiced attitudes and the child will learn much from how the neighbor reacts to the comment. If the child notices that the neighbor reacts positively to the comment, the child will process that information and come to an understanding, at least for the time being, that prejudiced comments are received with praise in the social world, thus reinforcing, for the child (and the mother), the acceptance of prejudice. If, however, the child views the interaction and watches as the neighbor recoils from the conversation after the offensive comment, the child will process the encounter such that the child will understand, at that moment at least, that the prejudiced comment was, in a sense, punished by the social world and thus not accepted. While this is a straightforward example, it provides an illustration of the basic idea of modeling and vicarious learning. The models are the mother and the neighbor and the child is learning vicariously by watching the interaction and processing what type of behaviors, speech, attitudes are reinforced by the social world and which are punished. Thus the environment children (and adults) encounter greatly influences them – in terms of their attitudes, personalities, and identities.

It is evident from research that many parents actively socialize their children's understandings of diversity and prejudice rather than rely solely on what the child tends to perceive from social interactions. The racial socialization literature is generally centered around four themes: the "transmission of cultural values, knowledge, and practices (cultural socialization);...preparing youths for discrimination (preparation for bias);...multiple dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization; and... ethnic-racial socialization as a unidimensional construct" (Hughes et al., 2006, p.749).

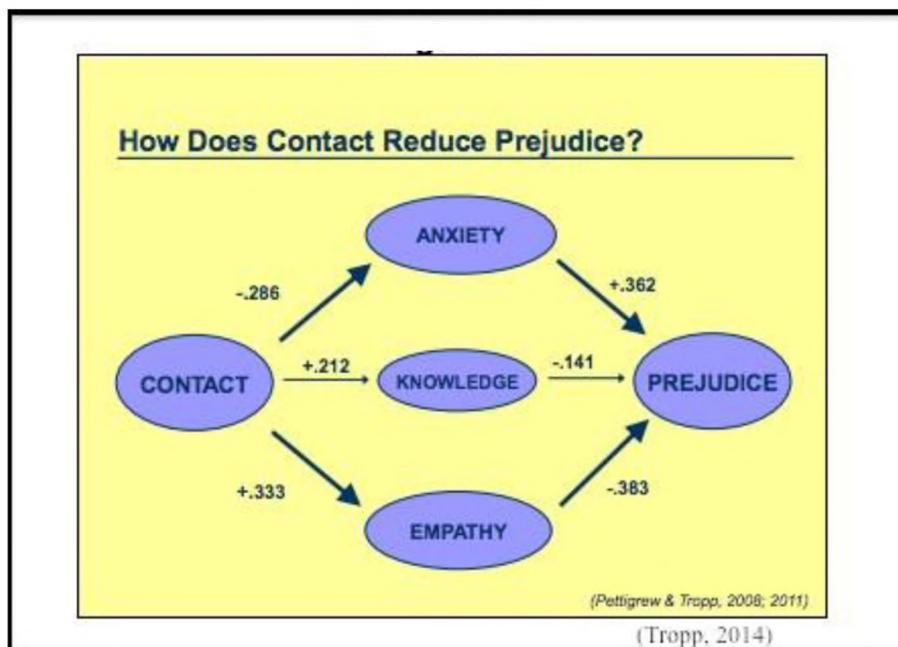
Referred to as the persistence hypothesis, the social attitudes and perceptions that young people are inculcated in tend to carry with them throughout their life regardless of environmental changes. Miller and Sears (1986) assessed “whether preadult attitudes persist even when individuals are exposed to new social norms in later life” (p. 214) and found that “Adult levels of social tolerance are strongly influenced by both the preadult and early adult environments, while the contribution of the current adult environment is generally quite weak” (p. 221). Thus, it is imperative that to foster social tolerance children must be socialized into these attitudes early in life.

There is little doubt that intergroup contact can and does impact the attitudes of those involved. Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2006; 2011) meta-analyses of the research on inter-group contact “overwhelming show that greater contact between groups predicts lower intergroup prejudice” (Tropp, 2014, p. 2). Based on their analysis of 515 studies, from the 1940s through the year 2000, which include over 250,000 participants in 38 countries, they found that 94% of the cases show that “greater contact is associated with lower prejudice” (Tropp, 2014, p. 2) with a correlation coefficient of $-.21$ which demonstrates a negative relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice. Further, their analysis revealed that the effect of intergroup contact provides an even greater correlation to reduced prejudice when the contact includes intergroup friendship, with a correlation coefficient of $-.246$ (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Tropp makes note that “children must have opportunities to become friends with people from other groups. This issue points to the importance of promoting racial integration in schools and classrooms” (Tropp, 2014, p. 4). Additionally, when Allport’s (1954) optimal conditions for intergroup contact are met, the correlation coefficient demonstrates an even larger reduction in prejudice, at $-.287$.

With the number of studies included in the meta-analyses, these correlations are highly significant (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Tropp, 2014).

Further, Pettigrew and Tropp's (2008; 2011) analysis demonstrates the impacts of affective, behavioral, and cognitive mediators that occur during intergroup contact – addressing HOW contact reduces prejudice (Tropp, 2014). In Figure 3, Tropp (2014) outlines the mediators and their impacts – with contact positively correlated with increased empathy toward the out-group ($r=.333$), increased knowledge about the out-group ($r=.212$), and decreased anxiety in intergroup settings ($r=-.286$). Those mediators impact prejudice directly as well – with anxiety positively associated with increased prejudice ($r=.362$), increased knowledge negatively correlated with prejudice ($r=-.141$), and empathy also negatively correlated with prejudice ($r=-.383$).

Figure 3. How does contact reduce prejudice?



Contact theorizing purports that under certain conditions diversity can breed social tolerance. Inversely, conflict theorists assert that due to conflicts that will arise over limited

resources “diversity fosters out-group distrust and in-group solidarity...the more we are brought into physical proximity with people of another race or ethnic background, the more we stick to ‘our own’ and the less we trust the ‘other’” (Putnam, 2007, p. 142), similar to the idea that competition with an out-group in a diverse setting would most likely not elicit the same attitudes toward the out-groups as a cooperative activity. Putnam’s (2007) work adds to the literature on social tolerance and diversity by claiming that neither the contact nor the conflict theories provide the whole picture of human interaction in diverse settings. Through his analysis of nationwide survey data of 30,000 respondents his results show that living in a diverse setting actually reduces both out-group and in-group solidarity, meaning that residents of a diverse community are less likely than those that live in a homogeneous environment to trust not only out-group members but in-group members as well; “in more diverse communities, people trust their neighbours less” (p. 148) regardless of their in-group or out-group standing. His findings are quite interesting. He relates that “in areas of greater diversity, our respondents demonstrate: lower confidence in local government, local leaders and the local news media; lower political efficacy – that is, confidence in their own influence; lower frequency of registering to vote, but more interest and knowledge about politics and more participation in protest marches and social reform groups; less expectation that others will cooperate to solve dilemmas of collective action; less likelihood of working on a community project; lower likelihood of giving to charity or volunteering; fewer close friends and confidants; less happiness and lower perceived quality of life” (Putnam, 2007, pp. 149-150).

The multitude of theories and studies regarding intergroup contact and prejudice illuminate the fact that interpersonal and group dynamics are intensely complicated even before race, socioeconomic status, gender, and other identity and power structures are taken into

account. Add on structural and institutional policies designed and implemented in order to create different opportunities for different groups, and the complexity grows. While this study focuses solely on racial intergroup contact in one school, it is important to note that these considerations are important for any study of the complexity of people's attitudes, social world and society.

Contact in Schools

Building upon the theoretical frameworks outlined by Allport, Amir, Pettigrew, and the other theorists mentioned above, contact in desegregated or "integrated" schools has been studied a number of times. Moody's (2001) research regarding friendship networks in "integrated" schools is an influential study in this area. Utilizing National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health data on 90,118 students, Moody conducted analysis to determine levels of adolescent friendship segregation and the school characteristics that provided conditions that influenced the levels of segregation. His findings suggest that "in general, there is a strong positive correlation between a school's heterogeneity and friendship segregation" (p. 699). However, this relationship is not linear – "as racial heterogeneity increases, race becomes more salient for friendship and the tendency for same-race friendship increases significantly, only to decrease again at the highest levels of racial heterogeneity" (p. 702). Moody was also interested in the structural conditions within schools, such as levels of academic tracking, grade segregation, and extracurricular mixing and their impact upon friendship segregation, arguing that "organizational features that group people into classes (foci) make it much more likely that particular types of people meet (Feld 1981). Academic tracking, grade, and extracurricular activities are the primary foci that structure meeting opportunity in schools. If student assignment to an academic track is correlated with race, then track assignment can resegregate an integrated school by limiting cross-race exposure" (p. 685). His models cannot provide a causal

relationship between academic tracking and friendship segregation; however, he can conclude that, with regards to grade level, “when friendships fall within grades, racial segregation decreases” (p. 705). Finally, according to Moody, intergroup contact in extracurricular activities has a strong effect on decreasing the level of friendship segregation within a school. He recommends that schools are intentional in the manner in which they provide intergroup contact; even if a school is diverse, if there is a lack of space where true, meaningful intergroup contact that elicits friendship can occur, segregation can quickly result.

An important component of fostering a diverse school environment that provides venues for intergroup contact is the inclusivity of the school identity. Drawing from the Common In-group Identity Model, if students can see out-group members as members of their same school community, rather than simply as out-group members, more favorable avenues for intergroup contact can emerge. Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, and Anastasio (1994) “found that the more students reported that it felt like a single community at their school, the more favourable ethnic attitudes they had” (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014, p. 9).

Utilizing student survey data in ten interdistrict magnet schools in Connecticut which were designed to desegregate the district, Bifulco, Buerger, and Cobb (2012) found the following: there were high levels of intergroup interaction; Black students reported less frequent and less meaningful intergroup contact than did White students and Hispanic students; those schools that were most heterogeneous reported more frequent intergroup interaction, less friendship segregation, and better race relations within the school; and lastly, those students who responded that they had quality intergroup contact also reported better academic environments, more positive attitudes toward other racial groups, and stronger inclinations for future multicultural interests (p. 20). Even in schools with high levels of friendship segregation,

students still reported that they had frequent intergroup contact. Bifulco, Buerger, and Cobb (2012) make clear though, that even though they found that there were high levels of intergroup contact, “positive intergroup interactions do not occur automatically in diverse schools...school leaders must make efforts to structure the social dynamics in a school in ways that encourage positive intergroup relations” (p. 21). They note that “several studies suggest that intergroup contact within racially diverse schools is reduced by segregation across classrooms, friendship groups, and extracurricular activities (Clotfelter, 2002; Joyner & Kao, 2000; Mickelson, 2001; Moody, 2001)” and that “high levels of within-school segregation and negative intergroup relations might undermine the quality of the school learning environments” (p. 3).

There are more racially diverse schools than there were before desegregation efforts began (Bifulco, Buerger, & Cobb, 2012; Clotfelter, 2004) but that does not mean that the goals of desegregation such as equity, better access to resources for all, more positive educational environments, social opportunities, and space for meaningful intergroup contact have manifested in racially diverse schools. Tyson (2013) discusses the segregative impact that academic tracking has had, even in schools that are diverse at the school level. Research consistently demonstrates that segregation at the school or classroom level results in an unequal distribution of resources and lower achievement for low-income and racial minority students. Students of color continue to be substantially underrepresented in higher-level courses such as advanced placement, international baccalaureate, and honors courses. Commonly referred to as “second-generation segregation or racial or racialized tracking” (p. 171), academic tracking results in high levels of within-school segregation. Interestingly, Lucas & Berends (2007) found that higher levels of school diversity increase the chance that White students will be in a college preparatory track and decrease the chance that a Black student will be. Not only does academic tracking

have a segregative effect and provide better and more engaging learning opportunities to some students and not others, but it can also reinforce already held stereotypes and can impact the self-concepts and self-efficacies of students.

Although it is often argued that academic tracking and talented and gifted programs are necessary in order to ensure that gifted students are sufficiently challenged in school, expectations that are attached to these labels can have a large impact on achievement. In a fascinating study of 10,000 kindergarteners, first, and second graders in North Carolina, researchers analyzed achievement data for students in a control group who received a typical education and those involved in a project termed Project Bright Idea. Project Bright Idea trained teachers to think of all of their students as gifted and to approach their curriculum and interactions in that vein. Results indicated that within three years a conservative estimate of 15-20% of students in Project Bright Idea classrooms were identified as gifted. Conversely, within three years only 10% of the students in the control group were identified as gifted. Simply by training teachers to expect more from all students an additional 5-10% of students were later identified as gifted (Duke Today, 2011). In the racialized context of academic tracking, this finding is crucial for addressing the achievement gap between students of color and White and Asian students, both in diverse and less diverse settings.

Roda and Wells (2013) provide additional evidence of the racially segregative effects of academic tracking and talented and gifted programs in their study of the opinions and attitudes of advantaged families in New York City. This research was interested in the seeming contradictions in the opinions of the families as they went about making choices of schools for their students to attend. The parents overwhelmingly reported (80%) that they wanted their children to attend racially diverse schools, but due to school choice and academic tracking, the

talented and gifted programs they often enrolled their students in, in order to, as Roda and Wells put it, “protect their privilege” (p. 283) did not provide racially diverse experiences for their children. Within the diverse district that Roda and Wells studied, “almost all of the district’s white elementary school students were enrolled in only six of the 18 schools...Meanwhile, the remaining 12 schools enroll a disproportionate number of black and Latino students, with school-level demographics that ranged from 80% to 100% black and/or Latino” (p. 271). Even in those schools that are somewhat racially diverse, the gifted and talented programs “are almost entirely white, while the ‘general education’ classes in the same schools are almost entirely students of color” (p. 273). They relate how the visual of walking down the halls of these “diverse” schools is jarring as the classrooms are almost entirely racially segregated. So while these well-intentioned parents claim to want to provide their children with racially diverse schooling experiences, what their children are experiencing does not actually provide sustained intergroup contact within their classrooms.

Academic tracking is just one of the myriad ways that a diverse school can struggle with integration. In addition to academic tracking, as Clotfelter (2002) relates, friendship choices and extracurricular activities can also contribute to racially segregating a diverse school. Clotfelter’s study focuses on interracial contact in extracurricular activities. Utilizing yearbooks from 193 high schools, he determined the degree of interracial contact in 8,849 extracurricular activities. He found that, overall, non-Whites were not involved in extracurricular activities at a level representative of their population in the schools. Additionally, he found that the extracurricular activities tended to be racially imbalanced and that the “degree of interracial exposure in these school organizations is...typically less (averaging about 26% less) than it would have been had all the organizations in each school been racially balanced...[and]...if the comparison is to the

racial composition of the schools themselves, the gap is even larger (39%)” (p. 41). Thus, based on Clotfelter’s analysis, it would seem that extracurricular activities in diverse schools do not generally provide avenues for interracial contact to the extent that they could were they racially balanced in a manner representative of the racial make-up of the school itself.

Charles (2011) was also interested in analyzing the racial composition of extracurricular activities, but his analysis is of collegiate students and focuses on extracurricular activities as spaces to promote cross-group friendships. Utilizing data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshman from 1999-2003, he found that non-White students in authority extracurricular groups (which he defines as organizations with selective criteria – e.g. sports, music, theater, area, honors fraternities or sororities) have more diverse friendship networks than those not in the extracurricular activities, but this relationship does not hold true for White students – “Whites in authority groups have even lower friendship diversity than Whites not in those activities” (p.199). There are limitations to his study in that he assumes the authority groups to be diverse, but he does not have data on the racial make-up of the extracurricular activities. Charles’ analysis is somewhat inconclusive regarding whether extracurricular activities provide an arena in which diverse intergroup contact occurs.

The diversity of children’s school environments has been found to contribute to social tolerance. As Spencer and Reno (2009) relate,

A growing number of studies show that a racially integrated school environment promotes cross-racial friendships, increases comfort levels, and positively impacts attitudes students from one racial group have toward students of other racial groups, reducing stereotypes and bias in many cases. An integrated environment is particularly important during a student’s early years, when their attitudes about and understanding of race are not yet concretely shaped. Students who have been educated in a diverse environment place a high value on integration... (p. 14).

Similarly, Wells, Holme, Revilla & Atanda (2009) found in their comprehensive study of the graduates of desegregated schools that all graduates, regardless of race or ethnicity, were grateful for having gone to a desegregated school because it “had given them the rare opportunity to get to know people of other racial or ethnic backgrounds in a meaningful way...[they expressed their] conviction that their experiences had made them more capable of connecting not only to people of other races that they had gone to school with but also more generally to people who differed from them, whether in race, culture, nationality, or other ways. Consequently, they felt more prepared than their peers who had not experienced desegregation to live in a highly diverse, global society” (p. 214). Often, students in racially diverse schools do not realize the full extent of what that experience affords them until later in life – “until well after the students graduate and enter the workforce, where they are most likely to interact with people of different cultural backgrounds, races and ethnicities as adults” (Wells, 2012, p. 3). This finding, that a racially diverse school experience led students to generalize the acceptance of difference to social attributes other than just race, is especially noteworthy.

Tropp and Saxena (2018) relate that there is strong evidence from a multitude of studies across many years that schools that are racially and/or socioeconomically diverse can provide the spaces that help students “discover their commonalities, and...acknowledge meaningful differences in perspective and experience, which can enhance mutual understanding and foster inclusion and participation in multicultural democracy” (p. 2). Diverse schools that intentionally encourage students to form meaningful relationships across group boundaries can prepare students well for the skills that employers, and most importantly, societies in the globalizing world need in their workers and citizens: reduced anxiety about difference, capacities for empathy, leadership competencies such as collaboration and leadership “across lines of

difference” (p. 8), and catalyzing social change. As Wells, Fox, and Cordova-Cobo (2016) relate, many Fortune 100 companies have argued that in order to succeed in the global economy they need workers who come from diverse backgrounds, and that students enter the workforce with “experience in sharing ideas, experiences, viewpoints, and approaches with diverse groups of people. In fact, such cross-cultural skills are a ‘business and economic imperative’” (p. 11).

In order to effectively utilize the diversity of diverse schools to build these twenty-first century competencies, schools need to intentionally create and nurture spaces that: foster cross-racial friendships, implement cooperative learning strategies, and promote supportive norms in schools and peers. It is especially important that these competencies are developed early on in life, because “early life experiences can have long-term consequences for...developing intergroup attitudes and beliefs. Indeed, once formed, attitudes and beliefs about other groups may become harder to change as children grow older” (Tropp & Saxena, 2018, p. 6). Further, students who learned in racially and ethnically diverse schools report that they are more likely to want to live and work in diverse environments as adults.

In addition to the socio-emotional benefits of integrated schooling, students that attend diverse schools also see increases in critical thinking and problem solving abilities, academic success, and intellectual self-confidence (Wells, Fox & Cordova-Cobo, 2016). Particularly interesting is that White students tend to benefit from diverse school settings because “the presence of students of color stimulates an increase in the complexity with which students – especially white students – approach a given issue” (p. 10).

In this discussion of intergroup contact, and particularly contact within schools, it is evident that through socialization or social learning attitudes are shaped. Contact theory asserts that specifically attitudes of prejudice or tolerance are shaped through intergroup contact, or

contact with members of social groups or categories different from one's own. It has been shown that integrated schooling can breed in its alumni beliefs that they are better able to handle diversity than others who did not experience integrated or desegregated schooling. Thus, it would seem that in order to foster social tolerance, intergroup contact must occur with social learning that reinforces socially tolerant attitudes and that schools have been at least one avenue where this has been accomplished, even with its own set of benefits and challenges.

In the following chapter I lay out the methodology used to determine the level of meaningful intergroup contact across race that students at a diverse high school experienced.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore the association between the racial composition of various settings and the level of meaningful intergroup contact across race that occurred among students at a diverse high school. This study investigated how the racial composition of residential neighborhoods, academic tracks, and extracurricular activities was associated with meaningful intergroup contact across race. Additionally, this study explored how the race of students affected the association between those factors (racial compositions of residential neighborhoods, academic tracks, and extracurricular activities) and students' experiences of meaningful intergroup contact across race.

Sample and Research Site

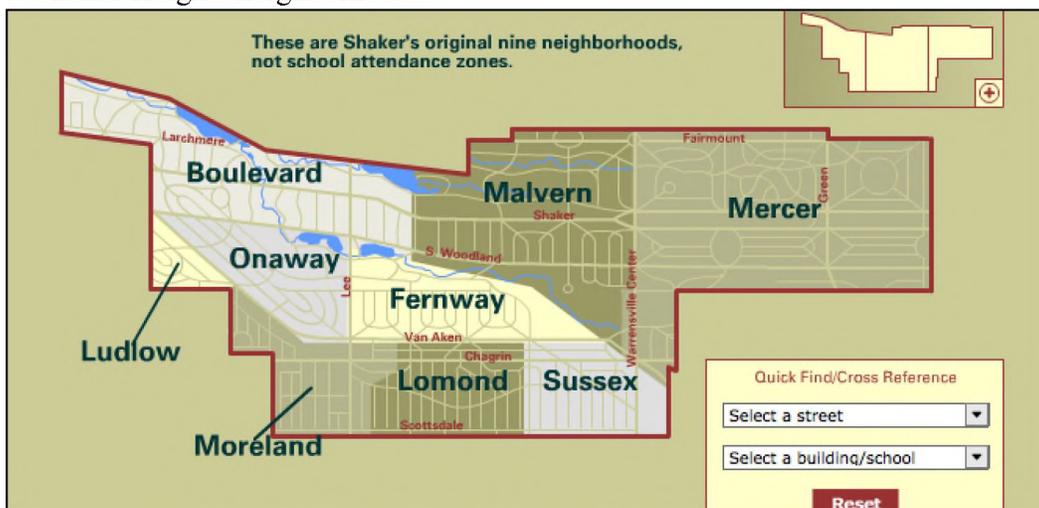
Some communities have attempted to promote and maintain racial integration within their boundaries. Shaker Heights, Ohio, is one such community. Shaker Heights, a first-ring suburb of Cleveland, Ohio, was a city designed within the general framework of the Garden Cities Movement. It was designed by a single company, the Van Sweringen Land Company, and was carefully planned. Within the community, nine distinct neighborhoods were created with each coming to be defined and identified by the elementary school within the neighborhood.

Within the larger community of Shaker Heights, "palatial homes for wealthy families were not the only homes built in the quickly developing Shaker Village. The Van Sweringens,

when creating the zoning ordinance, designated specific areas of the village for smaller single-family homes as well as two-family homes. This gave families of a wider range of incomes the opportunity to live in Shaker Village” (Shaker Heights Landmark Commission). Today, Shaker Heights still maintains its Garden City feeling, having continued with strict zoning laws in order to uphold the original intent of the design of the community. Although the community was designed to be inclusive in terms of differing levels of income it was not originally racially diverse and the use of restrictive covenants excluded “members of ‘undesirable’ racial, ethnic, and religious minorities” (Keating, 1994, p. 97). After the *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision in 1948 that ruled that courts could not enforce racial covenants, the racial dynamics of Shaker Heights began to shift.

Figure 4 is a current map of Shaker Heights that highlights the neighborhoods within the community. The community has continued to focus on the importance of education and neighborhoods are still identified based on the elementary schools within the neighborhoods even after several of these schools (Malvern, Sussex, Moreland and Ludlow) have been closed.

Figure 4. Shaker Heights neighborhoods.



<http://www.shakeronline.com/about/maps/map.asp>

Data gathered in a 2010 study, commissioned by the Shaker Heights Board of Education in order to help inform the District's strategic plan, illuminated the reasons residents chose to move to Shaker Heights. In the project headed by Dr. Ronald Fry of Case Western Reserve University and Dr. Charleyse Pratt from Cleveland State University, over 900 residents of Shaker Heights were interviewed during the '09-'10 academic school year (Fry, 2010). When residents were asked their reason for being in Shaker, 77% of the respondents answered that they live in Shaker so that their children can attend Shaker Schools (Fry, 2010, p. 6). Now, of course, there will be residents not represented in this sampling, but the overwhelming percentage of the sample that indicated that they live in the community because of the schools presents an important segment of the population within the community.

Furthermore, the study found that the biggest attractors to Shaker Heights were diversity, positive sense of community, reputation of schools and quality/pride in schools (Fry, 2010). As Fry succinctly states, "Shaker Schools and the community of Shaker are deeply intertwined. Whether people came to Shaker because of the schools or for other community features, the schools provide experiential verification of the appreciation of diversity, valuing of education, and vibrant neighborhoods that remain attractors to Shaker residents. People experience their pride, commitment, and attachment to Shaker through the schools, as much as through anything else" (p. 15)

While the City of Shaker Heights prides itself on its diversity and integration efforts, neighborhoods within the city still face racial residential segregation. Based on data from the City of Shaker Heights, compiled through analysis of 2010 Census Data, Table 1 illuminates the racial composition of the City's neighborhoods. Notice that 5,178 (49.1%) of the 10,536 African American residents live in two of the City's nine neighborhoods, Lomond and Moreland.

Additionally, Lomond, Ludlow, and Moreland all have populations that are 66% African American or more. And Mercer, Fernway, and Onaway are all 69.1% White or more. For a City that often touts its integration, the racial demographics of the neighborhoods continue to demonstrate residential segregation.

Table 1. Shaker Heights 2010 census data by neighborhood.

Shaker Heights 2010 Census Data by Neighborhood Courtesy of The City of Shaker Heights											
Neighborhood	Pop.	White #	White %	African American #	African American %	Amer. Indian #	Amer. Indian %	Asian/Pacific Islander #	Asian/Pacific Islander %	Other #	Other %
Boulevard	3185	1922	60.3%	666	20.9%	2	0.1%	471	14.8%	125	3.9%
Fernway	3038	2143	70.6%	712	23.4%	3	0.1%	114	3.7%	66	2.2%
Lomond	4418	1259	29.0%	2900	66.0%	13	0.3%	69	1.6%	177	4.0%
Ludlow	669	98	14.7%	531	79.4%	1	0.2%	12	1.7%	27	4.0%
Malvern	3540	1976	55.8%	530	15.0%	6	0.2%	142	4.0%	96	2.7%
Mercer	5324	4223	79.3%	728	13.7%	4	0.1%	225	4.2%	144	2.7%
Moreland	2717	328	12.1%	2278	83.8%	6	0.2%	34	1.2%	71	2.6%
Onaway	2162	1494	69.1%	476	22.0%	2	0.1%	119	5.5%	71	3.3%
Sussex	3395	1413	41.6%	1715	50.5%	4	0.1%	125	3.7%	139	4.1%

*Compiled based on aggregate block group level 2010 Census data from US Census/American Factfinder and NEO Cando

The Shaker Heights City Schools face a challenge with true integration as well. As indicated in the previous chapter, integrated or desegregated schooling has been demonstrated to have social and academic benefits, but it is important to realize that these environments are not completely devoid of racial bias. It has been well documented that academic tracking in schools, even racially diverse schools, can have racially segregative and negative effects for racial minority students. Galletta and Cross (2007) discuss these effects in their analysis of “integrated” Shaker Heights High School. The community, while receiving national attention for its racially integrative housing policies and school district, experiences a large Black/White achievement gap. Galletta interviewed students at Shaker Heights High School in order to explore the academic identities of the students – focusing on the intersection of race and academic identity. Galletta concluded from her analysis that there were structural conditions reinforcing racial inequality in place that encouraged White achievement and Black underachievement largely

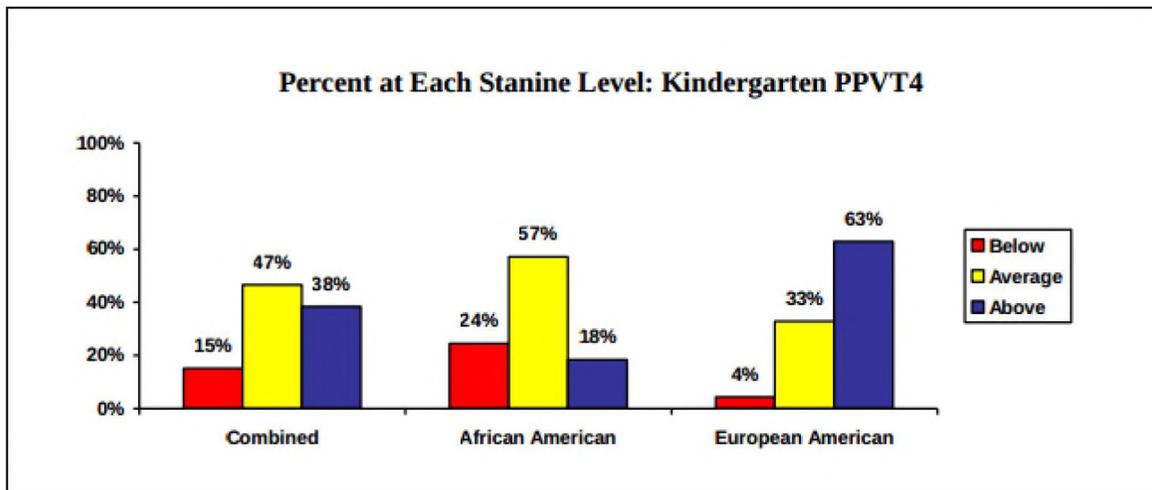
through academic tracking. This analysis was interested in how race intersected with academic privilege which, in combination, affected the academic identities of the students. While in school, academic identity becomes such an important aspect of a child's complete identity, and this academic identity affects not only school performance, but the whole child and often feelings of academic inadequacy can follow a person throughout his or her lifetime.

Prominent education researchers John Ogbu (2003) and Ronald Ferguson (2001) also studied the racial academic achievement gap in Shaker Heights. Ogbu's study is widely discussed as it concludes that Black students' achievement lags behind White students' achievement due to cultural values about education held by Black students. Ogbu argues that Black students feel that they will be ostracized by their peers for achieving academically – they will be viewed as “acting White” and thus purposely disengage from schooling and achievement.

Ferguson's (2001) study of Shaker Heights students complicates Ogbu's claim, in that it argues that what may appear to be an oppositional culture to achievement and school may in fact arise from different factors. Ferguson's analysis of 1,699 student surveys concludes that there are myriad factors impacting the racial disparities in grade point averages in Shaker Heights. These factors include that the disparities in terms of Black students' lower reported willingness to participate in class discussion, which might initially be attributed to race, disappears when parental education and other non-racial family factors are controlled for. Additionally, while it may appear to educators that Black students do not complete as much homework as White students, Black students actually report spending as much or more time on homework as White students, but have less to show for the effort they do put in. Ferguson further relates that the peer pressure associated with academic underperformance is similar for White and Black students.

More recent data from the Shaker Heights School District further demonstrates the extent of an Achievement Gap in the “racially integrated” schools. Data from the Shaker Heights Schools Fact Book 2011-2012 Academic Year (Whittington) reveals the extent of the achievement gap between White and African American students – and the fact that the Gap exists throughout the schooling years, from Kindergarten through graduation. The Fact Book data utilize different measures to illustrate achievement depending upon grade. In Kindergarten the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test data from the 2011-2012 school year is used and demonstrates that although 85% percent of all Kindergarteners performed in the average or above average range for the test, African Americans and White students, on average, performed at different levels – most White students (63%) performed in the above-average range and most African American students (57%) performed in the average range.

Figure 5. Shaker Heights percent at each stanine level: Kindergarten.

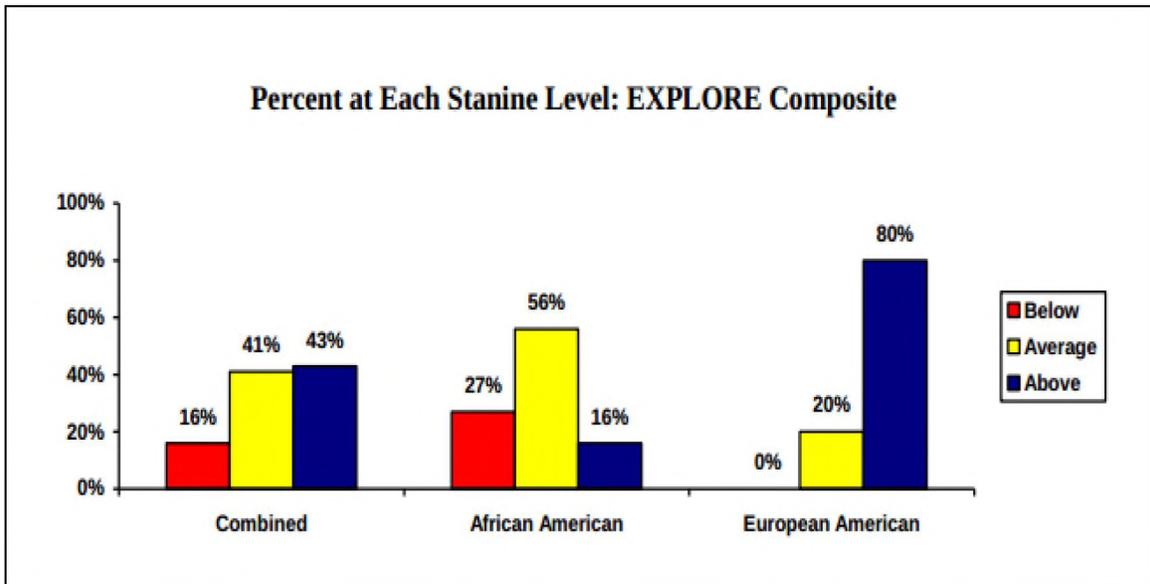


Source: Whittington, Dale. Shaker Heights Schools Fact Book 2011-12 Academic Year.

In Middle School, achievement data shows a similar picture. Utilizing data from the EXPLORE tests administered to eighth grade students in February of 2012 – 84% of students score with average or above average composite scores (English, math, reading and science).

However, again a disparity exists between the average achievement of White and African American students – 56% of African American students scored in the average range, and 80% of White students scored in the above average range.

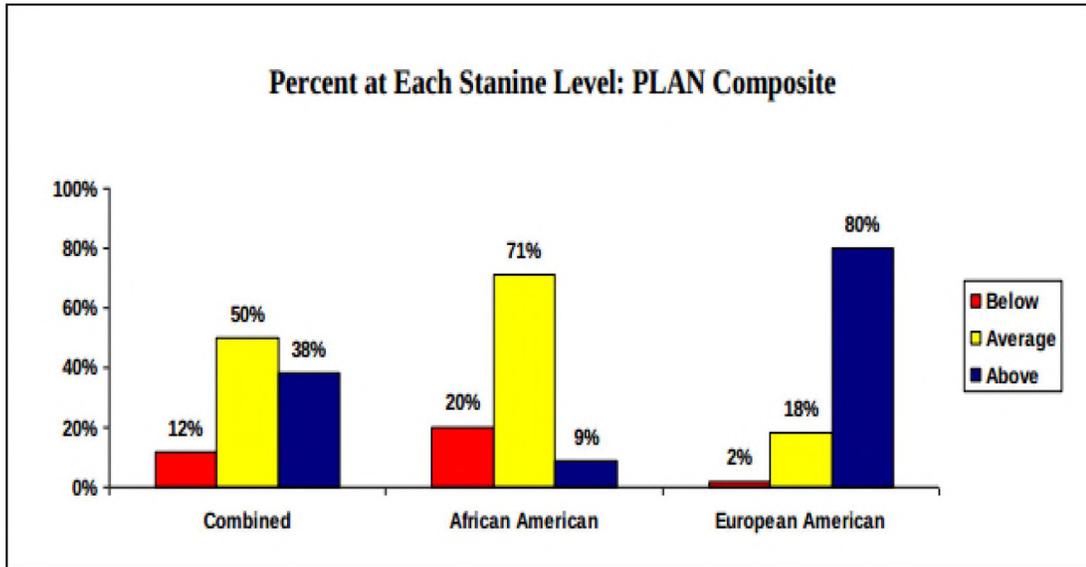
Figure 6. Shaker Heights percent at each stanine level: EXPLORE composite.



Source: Whittington, Dale. Shaker Heights Schools Fact Book 2011-12 Academic Year

This pattern persists through High School as well. Data from the PLAN test administered to tenth graders in the fall of 2011 reveals the consistency, with 88% of the tenth graders who took the PLAN test scoring in the average or above average ranges for the composite of the English, math, reading, and science tests). However, again racial disparities arise with 71% of African Americans scoring in the average range, and 80% of White students scoring in the above average range.

Figure 7. Shaker Heights percent at each stanine level: PLAN composite.



Source: Whittington, Dale. Shaker Heights Schools Fact Book 2011-12 Academic Year

Figure 8. Shaker Heights Middle School % of each group enrolled in at least one advanced class.

Shaker Heights Schools

Shaker Heights Middle School

% of Each Group Enrolled in At Least One Advanced Class

	Total	African American	European American	Special Needs	Free/Reduced Lunch
2010	71.1	54.5	96.2	26.2	42.8
2011	68.3	50.4	96.2	24.2	42.7
2012	72.3	57.1	93.9	28.2	49.1
2013	73.2	54.9	95.1	27.7	50.1
2014	72.6	51.3	97.1	24.0	47.2

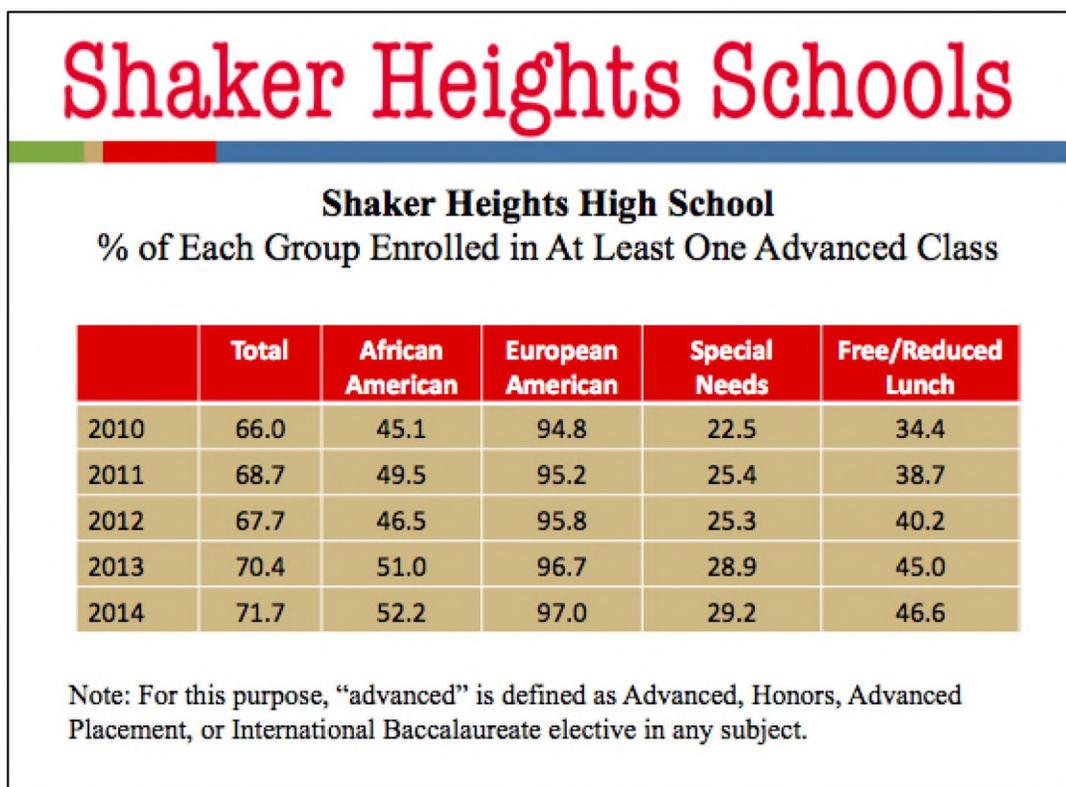
Note: For this purpose, “advanced” is defined as High School Credit, Advanced or Honors Courses.

Source: <http://www.shaker.org/StateoftheSchools.aspx>

Further evidence of the racial achievement gap in Shaker Heights was highlighted in a State of the Schools speech given by Dr. Gregory Hutchings, Jr., then Superintendent of the Shaker Heights City Schools. This speech, on February 10, 2015, cited data from the 2013-2014 school year regarding academic tracking – specifically, the percentage of students from different demographic groups who were taking one or more advanced classes – both at Shaker Heights Middle School and Shaker Heights High School.

As the data in Figure 8 demonstrates, there is a substantial difference between the percentage of African American students and the percentage of European American students taking at least one advanced class at Shaker Height Middle School. The difference is striking. Not only does this difference highlight a fundamental achievement gap between groups, but particularly relevant for this study, it highlights a gap in the amount of contact across races students will have. Earlier cited literature highlighted the social and emotional skills developed by attending school in a diverse and integrated environment. Additionally, Allport and Pettigrew's theories outlined the necessity for meaningful contact in diverse environments in order to break down prejudicial barriers. What the data from both Shaker Heights Middle School and Shaker Heights High School in Figure 9 bring into question is that even though these schools are racially diverse – that diversity may not always translate into diverse classroom environments, which would in turn bring into question the availability of diverse meaningful contact.

Figure 9. Shaker Heights High School % of each group enrolled in at least one advanced class.



Source: <http://www.shaker.org/StateoftheSchools.aspx>

The trends in graduation rates at Shaker Heights High School, disaggregated by demographic groups outlined in Figure 10, demonstrate another aspect of Shaker’s Achievement Gap. In 2011 84.4% of all students graduated within four years, in 2012 it was 83.0%, and in 2013 it was 89.4%. In 2011 only 74.6% of African American students graduated within four years, in 2012 it was 71.4% and in 2013 it was 84.3%, the substantial increase from 2012 is attributed to programs to boost graduation rates for struggling African American students. While the increase from 2012 to 2013 is a promising trend, the data for White students throughout the three years was consistently substantially higher than that of African Americans. Over 95% of White students graduated within four years in 2011, 97.9% in 2012, and 95.5% in 2013.

Figure 10. Shaker Heights High School four-year graduation rate by group.



Goal 1: The Shaker Experience
Shaker Heights High School
Four-Year Graduation Rate by Group

Groups	Class of 2011	Class of 2012	Class of 2013
All students	84.4	83.0	89.4
Economically Disadvantaged	76.1	73.8	87.8
Asian/Pacific Islander	NR	NR	NR
African American	74.6	71.4	84.3
Hispanic	NR	NR	NR
Multiracial	NR	NR	NR
European American	>95	97.9	95.5
Students with Disabilities	57.1	56.8	67.2
Limited English Proficiency	NR	NR	NR

<http://www.shaker.org/StateoftheSchools.aspx>

Given the segregated nature of the Shaker Heights community in terms of neighborhoods of residence and academic tracks at the community’s high school and the district’s explicit commitment to diversity and equity, the district offers a rich setting for examining the extent to which community and school structures in the community provide the spaces for young people to engage in meaningful interracial contact.

Participants

After consultation with district staff and the high school principal, the tenth grade level was identified as optimal because of the course level offerings and because of the likelihood of students’ experiences in the physical school building and within extracurricular activities being still somewhat fresh, but not entirely new, as would be the case with students in the ninth grade.

All tenth grade students at Shaker Heights High School were invited to participate in the study. After all tenth grade students were recruited through a weekly e-newsletter (twice), received two personalized e-mails, and received an explanation of the study and hard copy invitations in their Language and Literature classes, the sample size was 70 tenth grade students, representing diverse races, friendship groups, and neighborhoods.

Instruments

Bifulco, Buerger, & Cobb's (2012) High School Student Survey instrument began as a 130 item survey and was piloted with about 200 high school students who were participating in programs at the University of Connecticut or attended school at a nearby high school (Bifulco et al., 2012). After conducting factor analysis, their complete survey comprised 100 items. This study utilized a modified version of the Bifulco and colleagues (2012) survey instrument because not all of the questions in the original survey addressed this study's research questions regarding intergroup contact across race - in addition to the intergroup interaction questions the original survey also included items to assess student/teacher relationships and future academic interests which are not relevant to this study's inquiries.

Meaningful intergroup contact. Meaningful intergroup contact among students was measured using survey items (see Appendix A for survey items) from sections of the High School Student Survey (Bifulco, et al, 2012). These items included questions on intergroup relations in the School Climate subscale such as: "Students of different races in this school need each other" or "I talk to students of different races only when I have to." A five point Likert scale was used with the following rating anchors: strongly disagree; disagree; neutral; agree; and strongly agree. The subscale on Interacting with Other Students was also utilized which included questions such as: "Spend time socially with students from a different race/ethnicity

than your own” with answers on the following five point Likert scale: never; once a month; once a week; several times a week; and everyday. This subscale also included questions on friendship networks – requesting that respondents think of their ten closest friends and indicate per race (Black, Latino/Latina, White, Asian, Multi-racial) whether they have none, one, or more than one close friend in each of these racial/ethnic categories. Further, this subscale included questions about whether racial tensions existed in the school and how respondents believed their school experiences have impacted their abilities to understand members of other races.

The items from Bifulco and colleague’s survey that were utilized for this study comprise the constructs of Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, and Friendship (Bifulco, et al., 2012) that were found through the factor analysis conducted by Bifulco and colleagues. These constructs operationalized the dependent variables that assessed students’ perceptions of the extent and quality of meaningful intergroup contact across race.

Quantity of Contact. Quantity of Contact comprised the items where respondents indicated how often they did the following activities “with students from a different race/ethnicity than your own”: work together in class, play games/sports/clubs, spend time socially, work on class assignments, talk at the lunch table. Quantity of Contact included the average frequency of interaction which is computed from the mean of the responses to the above items.

Items indicating Quantity of Contact were coded as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2
Coding of Quantity of Contact Items

Response	Code
Never	1
Once a Month	2
Once a Week	3
Several Times a Week	4
Everyday	5

Quality of Contact. Bifulco and colleagues (2012) created the School Interracial Climate Scale of their survey instrument through the combination of previously tested intergroup interaction survey instruments by Green, Addams, & Turner (1988) and Gaertner, et al. (1994). As outlined in Table 3, this scale consisted of 11 items that captured the extent that “intergroup interactions are characterized by equal status, communication, interdependence and supportive norms” (Bifulco, et al., 2012, p. 9). Similar to previous studies that utilized the items in the School Interracial Climate Scale, Bifulco and colleagues (2012) found high levels of internal consistency, strong evidence of construct validity and confirmed the four component factors – equal status, communication, interdependence, and supportive norms. Per Bifulco and colleagues’ work, all of these factors together comprised Quality of Contact as they, combined, represented the qualification of contact needed in order to establish contact as meaningful and of having quality. The Cronbach alpha for Equal Status was .718; for Communication .752; for Interdependence .768; and for Supportive Norms .651. Bifulco and colleagues (2012) averaged the items that comprise the School Interracial Climate scale and included the average as one of the components of the Quality of Contact, along with the item “Report some or a lot of racial tension” (p. 10).

Table 3
School Interracial Climate Scale Component Factors

Component Factor	Item
Equal Status	Teachers at this school are fair to all groups of students. All students in this school are treated equally. Some students at this school get more opportunities to do things because of their race.*
	I talk to students of different races only when I have to.* My friends would think badly of me if I ate lunch with students of a different race.* Students of different races don't have much to do with each other at this school.*
	Students of different races in this school need each other. Students of different races have important things to offer each other. After students of different races get to know each other, they find they have a lot in common.
Interdependence	Teachers encourage students to make friends with students of different races. In this school everybody is encouraged to be friends.

*Reverse coded so that higher values represent disagreement

Items of the School Interracial Climate Scale were coded as outlined in Table 4.

Table 4
Coding of School Interracial Climate Scale Items

Response	Code
Strongly Disagree	1
Disagree	2
Agree	3
Strongly Agree	4
No Answer	Missing

Responses for “How much tension exists in your school between students of different racial or ethnic groups?” were coded as outlined in Table 5.

Table 5
Coding of Racial Tension Item

Response	Code
None	1
Very Little	2
Some	3
A lot	4
Don't Know	Missing

The Quality of Contact variable was calculated as the average of the scores of Interdependence, Supportive Norms, Communication, Equal Status, and reverse coded "How much tension exists in your school between students of different racial or ethnic groups?"

Friendship. Utilizing measures from a slightly modified version of Bifulco and colleagues' (2012) measure of friendship, these measures included items that indicated the racial background of respondents' ten closest friends: the respondent indicated if there were none through ten Black friends; none through ten Latino/Latina friends; none through ten White friends; none through ten Asian friends; none through ten Multi-racial friends. Friendship was then calculated as the percentage of the participants' reported friends that were of a different race than their own.

Racial Composition

In the racial composition variables, the percentage of Black students or residents was utilized as a proxy for racial diversity as this is a common tactic in the research, and so as to ensure that a historically marginalized group of students and citizens is brought to the forefront of research conducted around better understanding diversity and its impacts.

Racial composition of classroom settings. Racial composition of classroom settings was calculated from the item indicating which Individuals and Societies level the participant was enrolled in. Other items that were considered for analysis were the Language and Literature level and the teacher/class period for both Individual and Societies and Language and Literature. However, ultimately, the Individuals and Societies level was utilized as it provided the best representative sample of those items. Individuals and Societies courses were selected as the classrooms of measurement for this variable as the tenth grade year offers a variety of course levels, with little to no overlap of grade levels within a class. Mathematics courses were also considered, but Mathematics is a less grade-specific course.

As there were only two classroom settings (academic levels of Individuals and Society course), this variable was recoded as indicated in Table 6.

Table 6
Coding of Classroom Settings

<u>Response</u>	<u>Code</u>
Honors	0
Advanced Placement	1

The percentage of survey respondents in each course level who identify as Black was calculated. 13.33% of Honors students self-reported as Black and 25% of Advanced Placement students self-reported as Black.

Racial composition of extracurricular activities. These data came from the survey and from data provided by the Shaker Heights School District. Students indicated the extracurricular activities and sports with which they were involved. Utilizing data from the Shaker Heights City School District regarding demographics of extracurricular activities and sports, racial composition of an activity was operationalized as the percent of students in each extracurricular activity who were Black. Participants were then assigned a racial composition of extracurricular activities score, based on the average of the percentages of students who were Black in the activities and sports they are involved for those where data was provided from the Shaker Heights City School District. Those participants (two) who did not respond as being active in any extracurricular activities or sports were considered to have missing data and were therefore not included in the analysis.

Racial composition of neighborhoods. Students indicated where they lived on the map of Shaker Heights that was provided on the survey. That location was then compared to census maps, and the census tract and census group number for each participant was recorded. Utilizing census data, neighborhood racial composition was calculated based on the percentage of the census group block that was Black. Racial composition was thus operationalized as the percent of people in each census group block who were Black. Neighborhood racial composition in Shaker Heights, as operationalized as a percentage of Black residents in each census block, ranges from 3.51% to 96.83%. If a participant did not indicate the location of their home on the map (4 participants) their estimate of the percentage of Black residents on their street was utilized for this variable, otherwise, census data was utilized for this variable.

Control variables. Students indicated their demographics and background on the survey, which included birthdate, gender identity, Hispanic ethnicity, race, mother's and father's highest levels of education, grade, and grade started in the Shaker Schools.

Questions that were added to the selection of items from the original survey instrument to include questions specific to the Shaker Community did not affect the psychometric properties of the sections of the original survey. Questions specific to the Shaker Community were analyzed as separate variables from the survey items utilized from the Bifulco and colleagues' (2012) instrument, and therefore did not affect the psychometric properties of the original survey. Please refer to Table 7 for the exact items and scales that comprised the models' variables.

The Cronbach alpha of the Quantity of Contact was .680. The Cronbach alpha of Quality of Contact was .431.

The content validity of the modified survey instrument was checked by administering the survey to a group of six students prior to the study for the sole purpose of ensuring the clarity of the language utilized. This small group of students was sent a link to the survey and was asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the language utilized in terms of clarity and vocabulary. These students reported that the vocabulary and structure of the survey instrument were clear, utilized relevant language, and were unambiguous.

Procedure

Before any data collection commenced, this research underwent an approval process from the Institutional Review Board of Cleveland State University and required approval from Shaker Heights City School District to conduct research in the schools with students as participants. These two approval processes required application for approval to be completed by the researcher and dissertation chair. Applications included an outline of research data collection

procedures and student consent and assent paperwork. Upon approval from both the Institutional Review Board of Cleveland State University and Shaker Heights City School District, a letter was provided to all target participants which explained the study, a consent form for parents or guardians of the targeted participants, and an assent form for targeted participants.

Data collection took place during lunch periods in the cafeteria on two days and in Language and Literature classrooms on another day in May of 2018. A paper/pencil assessment was utilized. The researcher instructed participants regarding survey completion.

All information remained anonymous.

Analysis

The constructs of Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, and Friendship were modeled as the outcome variables and represented students' perceptions and experiences with meaningful intergroup contact across race. Separate regression models were estimated for each outcome to determine to what extent the variables of racial composition of classroom settings, racial composition of extracurricular activities, and racial composition of neighborhoods were able to predict students' self-reports of meaningful intergroup contact across race as operationalized by the school climate and student interaction outcome variables from the survey data. Demographic data were also included in the regression model as control variables.

Table 7
Multiple Regression Variables

Variable	Survey Items/Scales
Control Variables	When were you born?
	What is your gender identity?
	Are you Hispanic or Latino/Latina?
	How do you describe your race?
	What is your mother or female guardian's highest level of education?
	What is your father or male guardian's highest level of education?
	In what grade did you start in Shaker Schools?
Classroom Racial Composition	What is the Individuals and Societies course are you currently taking?
	Who is your Individuals and Societies Teacher?
	What period do you have Individuals and Societies?
	What is the Language and Literature course you are currently taking?
	Who is your Language and Literature Teacher?
	What period to you have Language and Literature?
	What is the level of most of the classes you are currently taking?
Extracurricular Activity Racial Composition	What is the level of most of the classes you plan to take next year?
	Please check all of the school activities you are involved with:
	Please check all of the sports you are involved with:
Neighborhood Racial Composition	Please indicate the two activities that you are most involved with - where you invest the most time and energy for your extracurricular activities.
	Data from the Shaker Heights City School District
	Approximately what percentage of people on your street are from each of the following racial or ethnic groups?
Meaningful Intergroup Contact	Please indicate with an "X" where you live on the map.
	Data from the United States Census Bureau
	Quantity of Contact Quality of Contact Friendship

Gender was dummy coded with female as 1 and male as 0.

Race was dummy coded into White, Black, Multi-Racial and Other as indicated in Table

8.

Table 8
Dummy Coding of Race

Dummy Variable	Values
White	0=Not White 1=White
Black	0=Not Black 1=Black
Multi-Racial	0=Not Multi-Racial 1=Multi-Racial
Other	0=Not Other 1=Other

The White dummy coded variable was the reference race variable and was left out of each model.

Parental educational attainment was coded as outlined in Table 9 and SES was considered the higher of mother’s or father’s educational attainment. Responses of “Don’t Know” or “Not applicable” were considered missing values.

Table 9
Coding of Parental Educational Attainment

Level of Education	Value
Less than high school graduation	1
High school graduation or GED	2
2-year degree from a community college or vocational school	3
4-year college degree (Bachelor’s)	4
Graduate Degree (e.g. Master’s, Law, Medicine, Ph.D.)	5
Don’t know	Missing
Not applicable	Missing

Six multiple regression models were estimated. A model was run for each of the three outcome variables (Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, and Friendship) with the three predictor variables and the control variables of race, gender, and socio-economic status.

Below is the generic regression equation. Y represents the outcome variable for student i , $class_comp_i$ is the student i 's track in school; $extra_comp_i$ is the average of the percentage of Black students in student i 's extracurricular activities, and $neigh_comp_i$ is the average percentage of Black people in student i 's indicated neighborhood.

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 class_comp_i + \beta_2 extra_comp_i + \beta_3 neigh_comp_i + \beta_4 black_i + \beta_5 multi-racial_i + \beta_6 other_i + \beta_7 gender_i + \beta_8 ses_i + \epsilon_i$$

In these regression models, coefficients β_1 , β_2 , and β_3 were of most interest to the study as these addressed the research questions of the association of the racial compositions of classroom settings, extracurricular activities, and neighborhoods on the outcome variables of Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, and Friendship. Thus, these coefficients indicated the relative magnitude of the association of those factors and how high school students experienced meaningful intergroup contact across race.

Then, three additional models based on the generic regression equation below were utilized for each of the three outcome variables to determine the interactional effect of race for Black students.

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 class_comp_i + \beta_2 extra_comp_i + \beta_3 neigh_comp_i + \beta_4 class_comp \times black_i + \beta_5 extra_comp \times black_i + \beta_6 neigh_comp \times black_i + \beta_7 black_i + \beta_8 multi-racial_i + \beta_9 other_i + \beta_{10} gender_i + \beta_{11} ses_i + \epsilon_i$$

In these regression models, coefficients β_4 , β_5 , and β_6 were of most interest to the study as these address the research question related to the effect of race on the associations of the racial

compositions of classroom settings, extracurricular activities, and neighborhoods on the outcome variables of Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, and Friendship. Thus, these coefficients indicated the magnitudes of the difference for Black students and non-Black students in how the racial compositions of classroom settings, extracurricular activities, and neighborhoods are associated with meaningful intergroup contact across race.

After estimating the first set of regression models, multicollinearity was measured by running a variance inflation factor (VIF) for independent variables. Should a high VIF have resulted, such as between five and 10, multicollinearity may have been an issue, if the VIF was over 10, multicollinearity would definitely be an issue. VIF calculations were within acceptable ranges.

Missing Data

Two participants who did not indicate any extracurricular activities that Shaker Heights City School District was able to provide data regarding were removed from the analysis for missing data. One participant who indicated a level of Core for their Individuals and Societies level was removed as there was insufficient data to calculate a representative racial composition of classroom settings variable for them. And three participants who had missing data for SES were not included in the analysis as well.

Data was managed and cleaned in Excel and SPSS v.25 was the statistical package utilized to analyze the data.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to better understand the level of meaningful intergroup contact across race that occurs among students at Shaker Heights High School. Data that indicated neighborhoods of residence, academic levels, friendship networks, and participation in extracurricular activities as the conditions necessary for meaningful contact to occur informed this research.

The key variables used to address the research questions were the racial composition (as defined as the percentage of Black people/students) of participants' neighborhoods, classroom settings, and extracurricular activities. These variables, along with demographic control variables, were utilized in multiple regression models to predict the outcome variables of Friendship, Quantity of Contact, and Quality of Contact. Friendship was operationalized as the percentage of a participant's ten closest friends that were a different race than them. Quantity of Contact was derived from survey items that accounted for the frequency of interracial contact. Quality of Contact was derived from survey items that assessed participants' feelings regarding the Equal Status, Communication, Interdependence, and Supportive Norms of interracial contact within their school.

This chapter outlines the demographic composition of the sample, the descriptive statistics of the outcome variables and then relates the multiple regression analysis findings for the four research questions.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics and frequencies demonstrated the make-up of the sample. 41.43% of the sample was male; 58.57% female. 68.57% of the sample identified as White, 20.00% as Black, 10.00% as Multi-Racial and 1.43% as other. The mean of Socioeconomic status was 4.51 (highest level of mother or father’s education in sample averaged between a Bachelor’s or Graduate Degree); with a minimum of 2.00 (highest level of mother or father’s education was High school graduation or a GED) and a maximum of 5 (highest level of mother or father’s education was a Graduate Degree). 42.86% of the sample was currently enrolled in an Honors level Individuals and Societies Course, and 57.14% of respondents were enrolled in an Advanced Placement Individuals and Societies Course. Based on self-report data of both course level and race, the calculated percentage of Black students in the Honors Individuals and Societies level was 13.33% and was 25% in the Advanced Placement Individuals and Societies level.

Table 10
Sample Descriptive Statistics, Categorical Variables

	n	%	% Black
Male	29	41%	
Female	41	59%	
White	48	69%	
Black	14	20%	
Multi-Racial	7	10%	
Other	1	1%	
Honors	30	43%	13%
Advanced Placement	40	57%	25%

Quality of Contact, the variable created as a mean of Equal Status, Communication, Interdependence, Supportive Norms and Racial Tension items, ranged from 1.93 to 3.13 with a mean of 2.62. Responses for these items could have ranged from 1 to 4. 1 indicates strong disagreement with the idea of equal status of different races at the school; strong disagreement that communication across race occurs at the school; strong disagreement with the idea of interdependence across race existing at the school; strong disagreement with the idea that authority encouraged inter-racial friendships; and a lot of racial tension at the school.

Quantity of Contact, which measured how often respondents reported interacting with students of different races in various activities, ranged from 1.60 to 5, with a mean of 3.74. 1.60 lies between the responses of Never (1) and Once a Month (2). A response of 5 indicated that at least one respondent engaged in all activities listed with students of a different race Everyday. The mean of 3.74 lies between the responses of Once a Week (3) and Several Times a Week (4).

The Friendship (% of friends of a different race) variable ranged from 0.00% to 100.00%, with a mean of 41.39%. This indicated that 41.39% was the average percentage of friends of a different race for respondents. The minimum of 0.00% demonstrated that at least one respondent had no friends of a different race in the friendship network they identified, and the maximum of 100.00% demonstrated that at least one respondent had only friends of different races in the friendship network they identified.

Extracurricular Racial Composition, which described the mean of the percentages of Black students in the extracurricular activities respondents indicated they participated in, ranged from 3.98% to 85.71% with a mean of 28.58%. The range of Extracurricular Racial Composition indicated that some students were engaged in extracurricular activities that were

highly segregated – with some having an average of all of their activities with as few as 3.98% Black students, and some as high as 85.71% Black students.

The Neighborhood Racial Composition variable ranged from a minimum of 3.51% to a maximum of 100.00%, with a mean of 24.12%. This range indicated that the neighborhood racial composition as operationalized as the percentage of Black people in a census block group (or as self-reported for the four respondents who did not indicate their place of residence on the map) ranged from 3.51% Black to 100.00% Black, with an average of 24.12% Black.

Table 11
Descriptive Statistics of Outcome and Racial Composition Variables

	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD	Mean for White Students	Mean for Black Students
Quality of Contact	70	1.93	3.13	2.62	0.28	2.65	2.47
Quantity of Contact	70	1.60	5.00	3.74	0.77	3.80	3.41
Friendship	70	0%	100%	41%	26%	36%	38%
Neighborhood	70	4%	100%	24%	21%		
Extracurricular Activities	70	4%	86%	29%	21%		
Socioeconomic status	67	2.00	5.00	4.51	0.80		

Racial Composition of Settings and Interracial Contact

Three multiple regression models were estimated. A model was run for each of the three outcome variables (Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, and Friendship) with the three predictor variables and the control variables of race, gender, and socio-economic status.

Neighborhoods. The racial composition of neighborhoods was not associated with the Quantity of Contact, the Quality of Contact, or the Friendship networks that participants reported (see Tables 12, 13, and 14). This seems to indicate that for the participants, there was not a relationship between the racial composition of their neighborhood and the quantity or quality of

interracial contact they experienced. It further indicates that the racial composition of a neighborhood was not associated with the diversity of participants' friendship networks.

School Settings. The racial composition of school settings was not associated with the Quantity of Contact or the Quality of Contact that participants reported (see Tables 12 and 13). It was found that the racial composition of the classroom level ($B = -.15$, $p = .007$) was associated with the percentage of friends of different race that respondents reported. The classroom level coefficient indicated that students in an Advanced Placement Individuals and Societies Course (percentage of Black students = 25%, versus 13.33% in Honors level) reported a lower percentage of friends of a different race. These findings seem to indicate that for the participants, there was not a relationship between their classroom setting and their quantity or quality of interracial contact, but there was a relationship between the classroom setting and the diversity of their friendship networks.

Extracurricular Activities. The racial composition of extracurricular settings was not associated with the Quantity of Contact or the Quality of Contact that participants reported (see Tables 12 and 13). Significant findings did occur for the outcome variable of Friendship (% of friends of a different race; see Table 18). It was found that the racial composition of Extracurricular Activities ($B = -.64$, $p = .001$) was associated with the percentage of friends of different race that participants reported. The Extracurricular Activities coefficient indicated that as the percentage of Black students in the average of respondents' extracurricular activities increased, there was a decrease in the percentage of students of a different race respondents indicated in their friendship network. A ten percentage point increase in Black students in participants' Extracurricular Activities was associated with a corresponding 6.4 percentage point decrease of friends of a different race. These results seemingly indicate that there was not a

relationship between the racial compositions of participants' extracurricular activities and their quantity and quality of interracial contact, but there was a relationship between the racial composition of participants' extracurricular activities and the diversity of their friendship networks.

Table 12
Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Quality of Contact

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
(Constant)	2.53	0.25	
SES	0.03	0.05	0.08
Black	-0.10	0.12	-0.14
Multi-Racial	-0.02	0.12	-0.03
Other	0.03	0.28	0.01
What is your gender identity?	-0.06	0.07	-0.12
Extra_Comp	-0.01	0.23	-0.01
Class_Comp	-0.06	0.07	-0.12
Neigh_Comp	0.30	0.18	0.22

Table 13
Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Quantity of Contact

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
(Constant)	3.40	0.66	
SES	0.14	0.13	0.16
Black	0.11	0.33	0.06
Multi-Racial	-0.02	0.31	-0.01
Other	0.45	0.74	0.08
What is your gender identity?	-0.26	0.19	-0.19
Extra_Comp	-0.42	0.62	-0.12
Class_Comp	-0.15	0.19	-0.11
Neigh_Comp	0.40	0.49	0.11

Table 14
Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Friendship

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
(Constant)	0.46	0.19	
SES	0.02	0.04	0.07
Black	0.30	0.09	0.45**
Multi-Racial	0.37	0.09	.43***
Other	0.74	0.21	.34***
What is your gender identity?	0.00	0.05	-0.01
Extra_Comp	-0.64	0.17	-0.48***
Class_Comp	-0.15	0.05	-0.28**
Neigh_Comp	0.04	0.14	0.03

*p<.05

**p<.01

***p<.001

The Effect of Race on Racial Composition of Settings and Interracial Contact

Three additional models were run for each of the three outcome variables to determine the interactional effect of race for Black students.

Neighborhoods. The three models that analyzed the interactional effect of race for Black students did not indicate that there were significant relationships between the racial composition of neighborhoods and Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, or Friendship network diversity for Black students.

School Settings. The three models that analyzed the interactional effect of race for Black students did not indicate that there were significant relationships between the racial composition of school settings and Quantity of Contact, Quality of Contact, or Friendship network diversity for Black students.

Extracurricular Activities. The model that analyzed the interactional effect of race for Black students on Quality of Contact did not indicate that there was a significant relationship

between the racial composition of extracurricular activities and the Quality of Contact participants' reported. Significant findings did occur for the outcome variables of Quantity of Contact and Friendship, however. Coefficient β_5 demonstrated statistical significance in both models, in the Quantity of Contact model, ($B = -3.20$, $p = .023$) and in the Friendship model, ($B = -.92$, $p = .015$). In both models, the significant β_5 coefficient indicated that the percentage of black students there were in participants' extracurricular activities was associated with both Quantity of Contact and Friendship for Black students, but that it was not associated with the Quantity of Contact or Friendship for non-Black students. As the percentage of Black students in the average of Black participants' extracurricular activities increased there was a decrease in the Quantity of Contact Black respondents indicated. As the percentage of Black students in the average of Black respondents' extracurricular activities increased, there was also a decrease in the percentage of students of a different race Black respondents indicated in their friendship networks. For every ten percentage point increase in Black students in Black students' extracurricular activities, the diversity of Black students' friendship networks decreased by 9.2 percentage points.

Table 15

Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting the Effect of Race for Black and White Students on Quality of Contact

	<i>B</i>	SE	β
(Constant)	2.47	0.25	
SES	0.04	0.05	0.12
Black	-0.39	0.40	-0.57
Multi-Racial	0.01	0.12	0.01
Other	0.03	0.28	0.01
What is your gender identity?	-0.05	0.07	-0.10
Extra_Comp	0.06	0.29	0.04
Class_Comp	-0.05	0.08	-0.10
Neigh_Comp	0.17	0.20	0.12
Class_compxblack	-0.05	0.19	-0.06
Extra_compxblack	0.12	0.52	0.11
Neigh_compxblack	0.86	0.54	0.45

Table 16

Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting the Effect of Race for Black and White Students on Quantity of Contact

	<i>B</i>	SE	β
(Constant)	3.20	0.66	
SES	0.14	0.13	0.15
Black	1.96	1.05	1.07
Multi-Racial	0.06	0.31	0.02
Other	0.37	0.72	0.06
What is your gender identity?	-0.28	0.19	-0.20
Extra_Comp	0.63	0.76	0.17
Class_Comp	-0.11	0.20	-0.08
Neigh_Comp	0.33	0.53	0.09
Class_compxblack	-0.23	0.50	-0.11
Extra_compxblack	-3.20	1.37	-1.05*
Neigh_compxblack	-0.97	1.41	-0.19

*p<.05

**p<.01

***p<.001

Table 17

Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting the Effect of Race for Black and White Students on Friendship

	<i>B</i>	SE	β
(Constant)	0.42	0.18	
SES	0.03	0.03	0.08
Black	0.70	0.28	1.02
Multi-Racial	0.39	0.08	0.45
Other	0.73	0.19	0.34
What is your gender identity?	-0.02	0.05	-0.05
Extra_Comp	-0.33	0.20	-0.24
Class_Comp	-0.18	0.05	-0.35
Neigh_Comp	0.03	0.14	0.02
Class_compblack	0.21	0.13	0.26
Extra_compblack	-0.92	0.37	-0.81*
Neigh_compblack	-0.42	0.38	-0.22

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Summary of Findings

In summary, there were no significant relationships found between the racial compositions of neighborhoods and the three outcome variables of quality and quantity of contact, and friendship. There were also no significant relationships found between the racial composition of classroom settings and quality and quantity of contact. There was a significant finding for the relationship between racial composition of classroom settings and friendship, a decreased diversity in friendship network in Advanced Placement Individuals and Societies Course, as compared to Honors. This finding may suggest that while the higher-level course offers more rigor and seemingly better preparation for college coursework, there may be a social cost in the diversity of friendship that is paid in terms of a decrease in interracial friendships, which may in turn decrease the likelihood of meaningful contact across race, even in a diverse school environment.

While there was not a significant finding in associations between the racial composition of extracurricular activities and quality and quantity of contact, there was a significant finding indicating a relationship between the racial composition of extracurricular activities and friendship networks. The nature of the relationship indicated that as the percentage of Black students in participants' extracurricular activities increased, the diversity of their friendship networks decreased. This finding held true in the models that looked at the effect of race for Black students, as the percentage of Black students in their extracurricular activities increased, the diversity of their friendship network decreased, as did their quantity of interracial contact. This finding did not hold true for White students – indicating that the decrease in interracial friendships found in the first model was driven by Black students; that finding did not hold true for White students.

Taken together, these findings may suggest that the diversity of a neighborhood is not associated with the amount or quality of interracial contact that young people experience. It would seem, from these findings, that the diversity of spaces young people inhabit in school, such as classrooms and extracurricular activities, may weigh more heavily in their experience with interracial contact, namely in where friendships networks are built and maintained.

If it is the case that the school settings of classrooms and extracurricular activities are spaces where young people experience contact that shows a relationship with the racial composition of their friendship networks, then it is important to thoroughly analyze and discuss how those spaces are created and maintained within schools. In order to more fully interpret the experiences of students at a diverse school, the following chapter will provide discussions of the power dynamics that are at play, why certain students may be drawn to certain activities, and why racial disparities may exist in different spaces and activities within a diverse school.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

It seems that our country is at a crossroads. With the election of Donald Trump as President, the rise of white nationalism, the horrific rhetoric around immigration, and many other instances, it is unclear what path our nation will follow. The optimist in me is hopeful that the rise of this hateful rhetoric and sentiment is simply the last ditch efforts of a dying way of life or philosophy, but we do not know that for sure. What we do know for sure is that the diversity of our nation is increasing, and as much as some people may want to stem that tide, it is the reality. This study, while limited in its scope and execution, is an attempt to understand a small part of that diversity. While our schools could and should be more integrated, our young people are growing up in a more diverse and interconnected world than many of us could have ever imagined. If they are to succeed in that world, and if they are to build and create a society that embraces, rather than tries to diminish, diversity, it is important for us to understand how the diversity of the settings young people encounter every day may shape or influence their understanding of and connection with others who are “different” than them.

This chapter provides a discussion of how the findings of this study relate to the literature discussed in Chapter II and contribute to the field. Implications of the findings and suggestions for future research are included as well. As a brief reminder of the main goals of this research, the purpose of this study was to assess the extent that aspects of meaningful intergroup contact

across race were associated with the racial compositions of high school students' neighborhoods, school settings, and extracurricular activities.

Neighborhoods

Although the data collected demonstrated that neighborhood racial composition for the sample ranged in the percentage of Blacks in a Census Block Group from 3.51% to 96.83%, none of the models provided evidence that the racial composition of respondents' neighborhoods had a significant association with their reported levels of Quality of Contact, Quantity of Contact, or Friendship networks. These findings may indicate that although neighborhoods may be an organizing principle in terms of proximity, they may not be as of as much importance in producing intergroup contact across race for young people, as it may be within their school structures that meaningful contact would be most likely to occur. This makes sense when thinking about the prerequisites for meaningful contact laid out in the literature – whether utilizing Allport's (1954) conditions of equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities; adding Pettigrew's (1998) requirement of friendship, or Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami's (2003) model which included equal status, cooperative interdependence, common goals, supportive norms, personal interaction, and friendship – it would seem that for young people, it might be most likely that their school environments or structures would offer the time and space for these conditions to be met – and to be most salient for them. Further, it is possible that within the small locale of Shaker Heights – 6.32 square miles, the broader city becomes the neighborhood, and the smaller Census Block Groups are not as salient of a feature in young peoples' minds. The broader city would certainly be where some of the conditions of meaningful intergroup contact would be elicited from, if they exist, such as equal status or support of authorities. Additionally, it makes sense that for some of the other

prerequisite conditions, such as common goals, intergroup cooperation, friendship, or personal interaction, the school building, where a young person spends thirty-five hours a week during the school year (or more when extracurricular activities are taken into account), might be one of the most impactful settings on aspects their intergroup contact, rather than their neighborhood of residence. Further, if considering the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), the broader community of Shaker Heights may encompass the Ingroup Identity – rather than the smaller residential groupings of Census Block Groups. Also, because students in the district attend the same building in grades 5-6, 7-8, and then the high school, neighborhood affiliation to a school is less relevant after grade four. However, what occurs within a building may create racialized boundaries associated with particular classroom and extra-curricular activities (Galletta, 2013).

Important to note in the discussion of neighborhood, then, is that public school settings are created from the broader sense of neighborhood. While not dependent upon the Census Block Groups definition of neighborhood utilized in this study, with the organization of public schools based on city or county, or any arbitrary geographic boundary, the racial composition of those geographies have profound implications for the racial compositions of the school buildings and thus the classroom and extracurricular settings students find themselves in. And given the racialized and segregated history of residence, and therefore schools, in American history, as outlined in Chapter II, there are weighty consequences for the opportunity to experience diversity in a public school that are directly derived from the racial compositions of neighborhoods. If a neighborhood is segregated, and school populations are derived from neighborhoods, then the segregation of neighborhoods has a direct link to the diversity, or lack thereof, of a school. Thus, the racialized history of residence in America has a direct connection to the racialized history of

school settings, and to the opportunity, or lack thereof, for students to experience racial diversity in a public school setting.

School Settings

Due to the limited nature of this study, the findings about school settings should not be generalized since there were only two settings included in the study. What the data showed, though, was that being in an Advanced Placement Individuals and Societies course (25% Black), versus an Honors Individual and Societies course (13.33% Black), was associated with a lower percentage of friends of a different race. While there may be additional, unaccounted for factors that impact this finding, the finding indicates that respondents in the setting with the higher percentage of Black students (Advanced Placement level) reported lower diversity in their friendship networks. This is similar to that of the associations within extracurricular activities as well. This may suggest that while the higher tracked classroom setting may offer advanced academic rigor and training, there may be a social cost to entering the higher-level course. However, these findings should be considered in relation to the context of racialized spaces in the high school, particularly the course levels.

Drawing from Galletta and Cross' (2007) work in Shaker Heights High School, which concluded that there were structural conditions reinforcing racial inequality in place that encouraged White achievement and Black underachievement largely through academic tracking, and data from the 2015 State of the Schools address, which demonstrated the substantial differences in the percentage of students of different races in at least one advanced class at Shaker Heights Middle School, we can conclude that there is disparity in the number of students of different races in different academic tracks. It should be noted that students are not technically tracked into specific classes by the school district; however, counselors or

administrators may recommend certain classes to students, and there may be some prerequisites in order to enter certain courses. While more current data were requested from the Shaker Heights City School District regarding the racial composition of different classroom settings and was denied due to student privacy concerns, data from Galletta and Cross' study and from the 2015 State of the Schools Address highlight that there is not parity in the number of students of different races in different academic tracks at Shaker Heights High School. This is important to note, because if, as this study has seemingly indicated, the racial compositions of neighborhoods of residence are not associated with aspects of meaningful intergroup contact across race in a diverse community, then it falls to the school settings to provide the spaces and supports for students to be able to have meaningful contact. As outlined in the research, for meaningful contact to occur in school buildings, the school should intentionally engage in practices and build spaces that provide opportunities for fostering cross-racial friendships, implementing cooperative learning strategies, and promoting supportive norms in schools and peers (Tropp & Saxena, 2018).

Extracurricular Activities

Models indicated that as the percentage of Black students in the average of participants' extracurricular activities increased, there was a decrease in the percentage of students of a different race participants indicated in their friendship networks. The relationship with the racial composition of extracurricular activities is further complicated in the models that looked at the effect of race. Models indicated that the percentage of Black students there were in participants' extracurricular activities was associated with both Quantity of Contact and Friendship for Black students, but that it was not associated with Quantity of Contact for non-Black students. As the percentage of Black students in the average of Black participants' extracurricular activities

increased there was a decrease in the Quantity of Contact Black participants indicated. As the percentage of Black students in the average of Black participants' extracurricular activities increased, there was also a decrease in the percentage of students of a different race that Black participants indicated in their friendship networks. These findings indicated that the racial compositions of extracurricular activities were associated with Black Students' Quantity of Contact and the diversity of their Friendship Networks.

In the social psychological literature, extracurricular activities are theorized as providing spaces for students to engage in contact that elicits friendship, one of the prerequisites for meaningful contact. The prerequisites for meaningful contact – such as Allport's (1954) conditions of equal status, common goals, and intergroup cooperation, or Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami's (2003) model which included equal status, cooperative interdependence, common goals, supportive norms, and personal interaction, would lead one to believe that extracurricular activities in a school building might be the main avenue for these conditions to be met, as extracurricular activities are built based upon the tenets of common goals, cooperation, personal interaction, and the in-group social categories and cognitive constructions as primary considerations for social psychological ingroup and outgroup relations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Extracurricular activities seemingly, by definition, provide spaces that meet many of the conditions necessary for meaningful contact. Further, as is evidenced in the statistical models, if extracurricular activities were the spaces where friendship networks were associated with the racial composition of the settings, it provides further evidence that these are the arenas in which friendship, another prerequisite condition of meaningful contact, might have a strong association.

The mediating factors outlined in Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami (2003)'s framework of intergroup contact which include functional relations, behaviors, affective factors, cognitive factors, and social representations also seem to be well-represented in extracurricular activities. Functional relations describe whether an out-group member is viewed as a cooperative partner or a competitor – if students are involved in an extracurricular activity together they could, based on group membership, be automatically considered a cooperative partner. In order for functional relations to occur in a classroom, a teacher would need to utilize cooperative learning strategies, and in a neighborhood it would take intentional action on the part of neighborhood members for functional relations to occur. Thus, it is easier for functional relations to occur in extracurricular activities, as opposed to classroom settings or neighborhoods. Behaviors refer to the actions that take place during the contact and whether they are positive or negative. One would hope that most encounters in an extracurricular activity would be positive; if they were negative, membership in an extracurricular activity would likely cease, as it is a space that can more easily be exited, in comparison to a classroom or neighborhood. The cognitive factor of knowledge refers to learning more about out-group members – more about their life experiences, more about them as complete people, not just representations of an out-group, which in turn, hopefully, can result in not stereotyping the out-group member (Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000) and increased understanding of the out-group (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). Extracurricular activities, with their focus on building cohesive groups or teams with common goals or interests, provide a space where knowledge about others can flourish as the spaces can be more informal than a classroom setting, but more connected than the mere proximity of neighborhood.

The study finding that as the percentage of Black students in extracurricular activities increased friendship network diversity decreased may seem to refute the findings of Moody (2001), that intergroup contact in extracurricular activities has a strong effect on decreasing the level of friendship segregation within a school. However, it should be noted that there were several extracurricular activities at Shaker Heights High School whose memberships were all over 90% Black. These included the MAC Scholars (91.42 %), Fashion Club (92.00%), Sankofa (92.75%), and Modern Dance Club (94.12 %). Additionally, there were a number of extracurricular activities with zero or very few Black students, such as Boy's Hockey (0%), Business and Investment Club (0%), Girls' Soccer (0%), and Mathematics Club (0%), to name just a few. While there were some extracurricular activities that enrolled a diverse group of students, it appears likely that extracurricular spaces are clearly assigned meaning racially. So, the finding that as the percentage of Black students in extracurricular activities increased the diversity of friendship networks decreased does make sense, for if extracurricular activities are an arena in schools where the potential for friendships to form is prevalent, and these same spaces are often highly racially homogenous, the activities with high percentages of Black students would provide spaces for Black students to strengthen their within race friendship networks. This line of reasoning would hold true for White students as well – if they are participating in racially homogenous extracurricular activities, their potential to form meaningful relationships and friendships with Black students would be diminished.

These findings related to Clotfelter's (2002) study, which focused on interracial contact in extracurricular activities. Through his analysis, he found that, overall, non-Whites were not involved in extracurricular activities at a level representative of their population in the schools. Of particular relevance to the findings of this study, was that he found that extracurricular

activities tended to be racially imbalanced. Further, the “degree of interracial exposure in these school organizations is...typically less (averaging about 26% less) than it would have been had all the organizations in each school been racially balanced...[and]...if the comparison is to the racial composition of the schools themselves, the gap is even larger (39%)” (p. 41). The findings of this study seem to support Clotfelter’s analysis - it would seem that extracurricular activities in diverse schools do not generally provide avenues for interracial contact to the extent that they could were they racially balanced in a manner representative of the racial make-up of the school itself.

These findings also point to an important conversation regarding racialized spaces in schools. Schools do not exist in vacuums, and the racism that permeates throughout our society and institutions does not stop at the school door. Whether that racism manifests itself in overt or covert ways, it certainly exists. As Tatum (1997) discusses, adolescence is a time when young people begin to form deeper understandings of themselves, their social identities, and how others respond to them. There is no question that our society, and even some well-intentioned individuals, communities, and schools, treat Black students differently than White students, and typically do not confront racism and its effects head-on (Ogbu, 2003). Even if these instances are due to unconscious bias, or manifest in micro-aggressions, they are still real and have profound implications on young peoples’ development and their understanding of their place in social spaces and hierarchies. Tatum (1997) and Ogbu (2003) both discuss how in diverse elementary schools there seems to be greater integration across race in friendship networks, but as students enter adolescence, where identity development and social and peer interaction begin to become more important, the diversity of friendship networks tends to decrease. Tatum argues that this may be because, perhaps especially in diverse spaces, race becomes more salient for

Black students. Due to White privilege and the idea that the White experience is the “norm”, White students typically do not have to confront what it means to be White in a space; White students do not have to grapple with the same understandings of the salience of race in their formation of identity as Black students do (Wells, Holme, Revilla, & Atanda, 2009). This is particularly the case in high-level courses that begin formally in middle school in this district. Since race is more salient for Black students, and they can often find themselves in academic spaces, in a diverse school, where they are the minority due to structural factors, it is certainly reasonable and understandable that these students may want to build and maintain friendship networks with others who have a more complete understanding of their experiences. Further, they may be drawn to spaces where they are the majority, such as the extracurricular activities at Shaker Heights High School with high percentages of Black students, rather than feeling like an “outsider” in other spaces (Wells, 2009). Adolescent identity development can be a difficult experience for any young person, but as a young Black person in America, the collective experience of shared racial identity and culture offers a space of belonging and resistance toward that which might cause one harm (Fullilove, 1999).

Implications for Schools

The literature on diverse school environments overwhelmingly supports the notion that there are benefits to attending diverse schools, and that schools that are able to create spaces that foster inter-group friendships, with supportive norms, provide the best chance for the diversity of a school building to actually elicit meaningful intergroup contact, rather than mere proximity to those who are “different” (Spencer & Reno, 2009; Tropp & Saxena, 2018; Wells, 2012; Wells, Fox, & Cordova-Cobo, 2016; Wells, Holme, Revilla & Atanda, 2009).

Although it is important to refrain from over-generalizing the findings of this study due to the limitations discussed in the following section, this study does hint at what diverse schools might do in order to ensure that their structures provide spaces for meaningful intergroup contact to occur. Based on the findings here, extracurricular activities are one of the main arenas in a school where this type of contact can occur. Were diverse schools to implement policies or incentives to increase the diversity within extracurricular activities, there is a good chance that meaningful intergroup contact, which could potentially lead to greater diversity in friendship networks, might increase as well.

While the findings here did not indicate a relationship between the racial composition of classrooms and the quantity and quality of contact, and showed somewhat of a relationship between the racial composition of classrooms and the diversity of friendship networks, it is important to note that given the limited nature of this study, we should not preclude a discussion of the importance of providing diverse classroom spaces to foster meaningful intergroup contact at a diverse school. As Galletta and Cross (2007) and data from the 2015 State of the Schools address suggest, the diversity of Shaker Heights High School classrooms does not match the diversity of Shaker Heights High School. Were classrooms representative of the diversity of their broader school population, and if the teachers in those classrooms intentionally engaged in cooperative learning strategies, fostered cross-racial friendships, and promoted supportive norms (Tropp & Saxena, 2018), they could provide spaces, within the classrooms, that function similarly to how extracurricular activities function. Were classrooms to adopt some of the tenets of meaningful intergroup contact, similar to those that extracurricular activities embody such as Allport's (1954) conditions of equal status, common goals, and intergroup cooperation, or Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami's (2003) model, which included equal status, cooperative

interdependence, common goals, supportive norms, and personal interaction, they too could be spaces within the school where meaningful intergroup contact that leads to friendship could flourish.

Limitations and Further Research

A major limitation of the study is that the cross-sectional, non-experimental design does not allow for any causality to be inferred regarding the relationships between variables.

While the term classroom composition was utilized to describe a participant's classroom level, this terminology may be a bit problematic as these data were based on self-report of students' races and course level in tenth grade Individual and Societies courses. As this variable was computed based both on self-report data and relied on only one course level, this severely limits the generalizability of this variable and thus the conclusions that can be drawn as a result of analysis.

The sample in this study is not representative of the study body at Shaker Heights High School. As only tenth graders who were honors or Advanced placement students were included, this limits the generalizability of the study to the entire student population and the school as a whole and the low sample size provides a low power to detect significant associations. Further research to address these limitations would be to include additional participants from more academic tracks and to somehow gain access to classroom racial composition data from the school district. These two areas of future study would enhance conclusions that could be drawn from the study. Additionally, a deeper interrogation into the implications of academic tracking would help to enhance these discussions.

Further, it would be interesting to survey students across grade levels and to look at whether being in the school building longer had an impact on the level of meaningful intergroup

contact across race they experienced. It would also be interesting to further look into the impact of individual extracurricular activities on aspects of intergroup contact across race, as well as the differing items and components that make up the variables of the aspects of intergroup contact.

An additional limitation of the study is that external validity is limited due to the single-site of data collection. This could be addressed by moving beyond the confines of Shaker Heights, and conducting the survey in multiple communities with differing degrees of racial diversity. This approach would help to better understand the impact of neighborhood racial composition on aspects of meaningful intergroup contact across race.

Conclusion

The world is becoming more diverse and more interconnected every day, and as a society it is therefore even more imperative today, than it has ever been, to foster attitudes of acceptance and understanding in our young people. Further, to be successful in today's globalizing economy, it is essential that young people have the skills and competencies to work with those who are "different" than them. The so-called soft skills become increasingly important in a service and knowledge oriented economy. In order to try to impart these skills to our young people effectively, it is essential that we have a thorough understanding of how intergroup contact across race can nurture understanding and acceptance. Of the utmost importance is to understand the conditions needed for that intergroup contact across race to foster meaningful contact – simple proximity does not necessarily equate to contact that can elicit the attitudes we must impart to young people.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Shaker Heights High School Dynamics

This survey is a part of Molly Nackley Feghali's dissertation research about the social dynamics at Shaker Heights High School. This research will help her to complete her Ph.D. in Urban Education at Cleveland State University.

Please answer all of these questions as completely and honestly as possible. While we encourage you to complete all questions, if there are any questions that make you uncomfortable you are able to skip them. If you need additional support due to the nature of any questions please do not hesitate to let the researcher know.

If you agree to participate, please complete this survey.

Thank you for your participation, it is much appreciated!

About You

For these questions, please provide the information requested about yourself. Your responses and identity will be held completely confidential.

1. What is your gender identity? Circle one.

Male Female Gender Diverse

2. Are you Hispanic or Latino/Latina? Circle one.

No, not Hispanic or Latino/Latina

Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano

Yes, Puerto Rican

Yes, Cuban

3. How would you describe your race? Please select one or more of the following choices to describe your race.

White

Black/African American

Asian American

American Indian or Alaska Native

Asian Indian American

Multi-Racial

4. When were you born? Please indicate your birthday.

January	1	1998
February	2	1999
March	3	2000
April	4	2001
May	5	2002
June	6	2003
July	7	2004
August	8	2005
September	9	
October	10	
November	11	
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5. What is your mother or female guardian's highest level of education? Circle one.

- Less than high school graduation
- High school graduation or GED
- 2-year degree from a community college or vocational school
- 4-year college degree (Bachelor's)
- Graduate Degree (e.g. Master's, Law, Medicine, Ph.D.)
- Don't know
- Not applicable

6. What is your father or male guardian's highest level of education? Circle one.

- Less than high school graduation
- High school graduation or GED
- 2-year degree from a community college or vocational school
- 4-year college degree (Bachelor's)
- Graduate Degree (e.g. Master's, Law, Medicine, Ph.D.)
- Don't know
- Not applicable

7. In what grade did you start in Shaker schools? Circle one.

(If you left Shaker and came back please indicate the most recent time you started in Shaker).

- Kindergarten – 4th grade
- 5th or 6th grade
- 7th or 8th grade
- 9th grade
- 10th grade

School Climate

Indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements by selecting either: **Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree or Strongly Agree.**

Circle one response for each statement.

8. Students of different races in this school need each other.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

9. Students of different races have important things to offer each other.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

10. After students of different races get to know each other, they find they have a lot in common.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

11. Teachers encourage students to make friends with students of different races.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

12. In this school everybody is encourage to be friends.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

13. Teachers do not encourage students to make friends with students of different groups.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

14. I talk to students of different races only when I have to.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

15. My friends would think badly of me if I ate lunch with students of a different race.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

16. Students of different races don't have much to do with each other at this school.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

17. Teachers at this school are fair to all groups of students.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

18. All students in this school are treated equally.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

19. Some students at this school get more opportunities to do things because of their race.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

Interacting with Other Students

How often do you:

Indicate how often you do each of the following by marking the appropriate answer for each as either: Never, Once a Month, Once a Week, Several Times a Week or Everyday.

Circle only one response for each statement.

20. Work together in class with students from a different race/ethnicity than your own.

Never Once a Month Once a Week Several Times a Week Everyday

21. Play games/sports/clubs with students from a different race/ethnicity than your own.

Never Once a Month Once a Week Several Times a Week Everyday

22. Spend time socially with students from a different race/ethnicity than your own.

Never Once a Month Once a Week Several Times a Week Everyday

23. Work together on class assignments outside of class with students from a different race/ethnicity than your own.

Never Once a Month Once a Week Several Times a Week Everyday

24. Talk with students from a different race/ethnicity than your own at the lunch table.

Never Once a Month Once a Week Several Times a Week Everyday

Friends

Think of your 10 closest friends.

Indicate how many of those 10 closest friends are from each of the following racial or ethnic groups by circling either: None through Ten for each.

Circle only one response for each group.

25. Black	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
26. Latino/Latina	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
27. White	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
28. Asian	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
29. Multi-racial	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Interacting with Other Students

For the next few questions, please circle the response that most closely reflects your opinion. Please circle only one response for each question.

30. How much tension exists in your school between students of different racial or ethnic groups?

None Very little Some A lot Don't Know

31. How do you believe your school experiences have impacted your ability to understand members of other races and ethnic groups?

Helped a lot Helped Somewhat Had no effect Did not help Hurt my ability

People who are...

Please indicate how close you feel to each group by choosing a number on the 7 point scale where 1 means "not at all close" and 7 means "extremely close."

Please circle only one response for each question.

	1 (Not at All Close)	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Extremely Close)
32. Black	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Latino/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. White	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. Asian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. Multi-racial	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please indicate how comfortable you feel toward each group by choosing a number on the 7 point scale where 1 means "not at all comfortable" and 7 means "extremely comfortable." Please circle only one response for each question.

	1 (Not at All Comfortable)	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Extremely Comfortable)
37. Black	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. Latino/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. White	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. Asian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. Multi-racial	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Your Activities

42. Please circle ALL of the school activities you are involved with:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| A Cappella Choir | German Club |
| Academic Challenge | Girlvana Yoga |
| Art Ambassadors | Global Development Club |
| Art Club | Global Friendship Club |
| Band | Goslar, Germany Exchange Program |
| Book Club | Gristmill |
| Business and Investment Club | HPA (Harry Potter Alliance) |
| Chamber Orchestra | Improv Club |
| Chanticleers | Israeli Culture Club |
| Cheerleaders | Jazz Band |
| Chess Club | Jazz Combo |
| China Culture Immersion Trip | Jazz Ensemble |
| Chinese Culture Club | Junior Statesmen Of America |
| CODA (Community Outreach of Dedicated Artists) | Kick-It For Cancer |
| Computer Coding Club | Latin Club |
| Creative Writing Club | MAC Scholars |
| Democrat Club | MAC Sister Scholars |
| Engineering and Innovation Club | Mano en Mano |
| Ensemble | Math Club |
| Entrepreneur Club | Microfinance Club |
| Environmental Club | Mock Trial Club |
| Fashion Club | Modern Dance Club |
| Fencing Club | Morocco Immersion Trip |
| French Exchange Program | NAACP |
| Garden Club - SEEDS | NHD Competition Club |
| Gay-Straight Alliance | Operation Beautiful |

Outdoor Adventure Club	Shaker My Com Youth Council
PA Announcers	Ski Club
Pen Ohio	Soprano/Alto Choir
Percussion Ensemble	Speech and Debate Club
Poetry Out Loud	Stage Crew
Project Support	String Orchestra
Quebec Cultural Trip	Table Tennis Club
Raiderettes	Table-Top Gaming Club
Rubiks and Puzzle Cube Club	Takatori, Japanese Exchange Program
Sankofa	Take Action Tutoring Club
SAY Student Leadership Council	Tenor/Bass Choir
Science Olympiad	The Shakerite News Organization
Semanteme Literary Magazine	Theater Productions
SGORR (Student Group On Race Relations)	Thespian Troupe #815 (<i>invitation only</i>)
Shaker Heights High School Student Council	Ultimate Frisbee Club
Shaker Heights Republican Club	Vocal Ensemble
Shaker Heights Women's and Men's Crew	Women's Studies Club
Shaker High Association of Public Speaking (SHAPS)	Worthing England Exchange
Shaker High Men's Rugby Football Club	YEH (Youth Ending Hunger) / Interact
Shaker Model UN	

Sports

43. Please circle ALL of the sports you are involved with:

Cross Country

Baseball

Basketball

Field Hockey

Football

Golf

Hockey

Lacrosse

Rugby

Soccer

Softball

Swimming & Diving

Tennis

Track

Volleyball

Wrestling

44. Please indicate the two activities/sports that you are most involved with - where you invest the most time and energy for your activities.

A Cappella Choir	Football
Academic Challenge	French Exchange Program
Art Ambassadors	Garden Club - SEEDS
Art Club	Gay-Straight Alliance
Band	German Club
Baseball	Girlvana Yoga
Basketball	Global Development Club
Book Club	Global Friendship Club
Business and Investment Club	Golf
Chamber Orchestra	Goslar, Germany Exchange Program
Chanticleers	Gristmill
Cheerleaders	Hockey
Chess Club	HPA (Harry Potter Alliance)
China Culture Immersion Trip	Improv Club
Chinese Culture Club	Israeli Culture Club
CODA (Community Outreach of Dedicated Artists)	Jazz Band
Computer Coding Club	Jazz Combo
Creative Writing Club	Jazz Ensemble
Cross Country	Junior Statesmen Of America
Democrat Club	Kick-It For Cancer
Engineering and Innovation Club	Lacrosse
Ensemble	Latin Club
Entrepreneur Club	MAC Scholars
Environmental Club	MAC Sister Scholars
Fashion Club	Mano en Mano
Fencing Club	Math Club
Field Hockey	Microfinance Club

Mock Trial Club	Shaker My Com Youth Council
Modern Dance Club	Ski Club
Morocco Immersion Trip	Soccer
NAACP	Softball
NHD Competition Club	Soprano/Alto Choir
Operation Beautiful	Speech and Debate Club
Outdoor Adventure Club	Stage Crew
PA Announcers	String Orchestra
Pen Ohio	Swimming & Diving
Percussion Ensemble	Table Tennis Club
Poetry Out Loud	Table-Top Gaming Club
Project Support	Takatori, Japanese Exchange Program
Quebec Cultural Trip	Take Action Tutoring Club
Raiderettes	Tennis
Rubiks and Puzzle Cube Club	Tenor/Bass Choir
Rugby	The Shakerite News Organization
Sankofa	Theater Productions
SAY Student Leadership Council	Thespian Troupe #815 (<i>invitation only</i>)
Science Olympiad	Track
Semanteme Literary Magazine	Ultimate Frisbee Club
SGORR (Student Group On Race Relations)	Vocal Ensemble
Shaker Heights High School Student Council	Volleyball
Shaker Heights Republican Club	Women's Studies Club
Shaker Heights Women's and Men's Crew	Worthing England Exchange
Shaker High Association of Public Speaking (SHAPS)	Wrestling
Shaker High Men's Rugby Football Club	YEH (Youth Ending Hunger) / Interact
Shaker Model UN	

Academics

45. What is the Individuals and Societies course you are currently taking? Circle one.

Individuals and Societies Life (General)

American Experience (Core)

Individuals and Societies Life (Core Team)

American Experience (Honors)

Individuals and Societies Life (Core)

AP U.S. History

Individuals and Societies Life (Honors)

46. Who is your Individuals and Societies Teacher? Circle one.

B. Elsaesser

R. Isaacs

K. Fleming

J. O'Brien

Y. Horstman

S. Reed

47. What period to you have Individuals and Societies? Circle one.

1 2 3 4/5 5/6 6/7 7/8 9 10

48. What is the Language and Literature course you are currently taking? Circle one.

10 Team

10 Honors

10 Core

American Experience

49. Who is your Language and Literature Teacher? Circle one.

C. Cotton

E. Mauch

J. DeWeerd

J. Morris

A. Grey

V. Schmidt

C. Kelly

50. What period to you have Language and Literature? Circle one.

1 2 3 4/5 5/6 6/7 7/8 9 10

51. What is the level of most of the classes you are currently taking?

Please select the best answer.

Advanced	Honors
Advanced Placement	International Baccalaureate
Core	TEAM

52. What is the level of most of the classes you plan to take next year?

Please select the best answer.

Advanced	Honors
Advanced Placement	International Baccalaureate
Core	TEAM

Your Neighborhood

Your responses and identity will be held completely confidential.

Approximately what percentage of people on your street are from each of the following racial or ethnic groups? Circle one value for each group.

53. White	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
54. Black/African American	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
55. Asian American	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
56. American Indian or Alaska Native	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
57. Asian Indian American	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
58. Multi-Racial	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

59. Please indicate with an "X" where you live on the map on the next page.

