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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

RACIAL IDENTITY AND INTERRACIAL DATING ATTITUDES
OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS AT A PREDOMINATELY
AFRICAN-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY

BY
RUSSELL CHAD HANCOCK

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

May, 1995

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The concept of interracial dating has long been an American fascination. Since as far back as World War II (Merton, 1941) interracial dating and marriages have been the subject of study. Since then, interracial dating and marriage have been on the increase in society as a whole (Clark, 1986; Clayton, 1979; Spickard, 1989).

As of 1988, there were approximately 218,000 Black-White interracial marriages in the United States (Davidson, 1992). This statistic supports the general consensus that the number of individuals intermarrying has been on the increase in the past 20 years (Porterfield, 1982).

Less than 30 years ago, the Supreme Court banished laws against miscegenation (marriages between races) stating they were unconstitutional (Wheeler, 1992). Prior to the ruling in 1967 that stated laws against interracial marriages were in violation of the 14th Amendment (Davidson, 1992), interracial marriages were seen as sinful and biologically unsound (Hullum, 1982; McKinley, 1980; Porterfield, 1978). Before that ruling, 16 states maintained laws against interracial marriages. After decades of laws prohibiting interracial relationships, attitudes toward interracial mixing were extremely negative, until the present day, when

they can said to be ambivalent at best (Todd, Mckinney, Harris, Chadderton, & Small, 1992). Recent findings, though note a change in attitudes, actions and beliefs.

Porterfield (1982) stated that according to recent data, interracial relationships appear to be on the rise. It was Porterfield's conclusion that a major influence in the change and rise of interracial relationships is due to the "forced" or "greater integration" that is required by laws which in turn, allows for people of different racial groups to intermix, either by way of job or schooling.

Life magazine (1971) conducted a poll of college students in which 68% responded positively to the question of whether or not African-Americans and Whites who dated outside of their race were seen as "moral." The students further explained that timing in relation to the Civil Rights movement and the death of Martin Luther King Jr. affected their overall attitudes about interracial dating. There has been an increase in the general acceptance of interracial dating on predominately White campus (Clark, Windley, Jones, & Ellis, 1986; Stimson & Stimson, 1979) as well as in the number of students indicating a desire to date interracially. A 1990 study done by the Southern Regional Education Board found that 29.3% of African-American and 33.4% of White students indicated that interracial dating appeared to be an acceptable social relationship on their college or university campus

(Montgomery, 1992).

African-American college students' beliefs on dating, whether intra or interracial, have not received adequate attention as a social phenomenon. There currently are no published investigations of the relationship between the dating habits and preferences of African-American college students and their racial identity (Montgomery, 1992). Even less research has explored the beliefs and attitudes of African-American college students who attend the nation's historically or predominately African-American universities.

With an increase of non-African-American students enrolling in predominately African-American institutions, the literature states a similar hypothesis for African-Americans enrolling in predominately White institutions; that increased interracial contact might lead to increased interracial dating practices (Brooks, Sedlacek & Mindus, 1973). Since 1992, there has been an increase of approximately 2.5% non-African-Americans enrolling in predominately African-American institutions, there is the likelihood of increased interracial contact, and also the possibility of more interracial relationships.

In deciding to date interracial, an individual is questioned, either by society or personal introspection as to their motives, means, and interests in dating someone out of their racial group (Davidson, 1992). Society still views interracial dating as "unacceptable" (Montgomery, 1992). An

individual might be forced to ask a realm of questions varying from, do I date someone of another race for social acceptance to am I dating someone of another race for comfort and satisfaction? The individual at some point has to question the impact dating outside of their race will have on their family, friends and on the way the individual is viewed. Whether conscious or unconscious, each individual who is interested in dating interracially faces these and other similar inquiries. Regardless of how an individual chooses to address the previous statements, societal opinion, family influence and peers are potential influences that affect this aspect of an individual's dating choices.

Another influence that this study is attempting to understand, is the influence of one's racial identity and the way the individual views his or herself. Racial identity is an important aspect of how an individual not only looks at him or herself, but also the world around them. This study sought African-American college students mainly because of the lack of representation from this population and to gain additional insight about a subject that is often asked of students at predominately White institutions.

Purpose of Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine the attitudes and behaviors of African-American college students at a

predominately African-American university in regard to interracial dating and how that is affected by their racial identity. The information will be helpful in understanding some of the attitudes that African-American college students hold. There is very little research conducted with the African-American college population in general. There is even less research conducted with the population of students that attend predominately African-American universities, as the subject of study. This investigation will aid in exploring a portion of the nation's population that is underrepresented in psychological research. This research will also explore what effect friends have on an individual's decision to date outside of their race. The research questions under investigation are:

- (1) What is the effect of one's peers have one's decision to date someone of another race?
- (2) How does one's racial identity attitudes affect one's attitude towards interracial dating?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Relevant literature that was examined for the purpose of this study was identity development (with an emphasis on racial identity) and how that may be influential in an individual's attitude about interracial dating. The remainder of the examination looks at interracial contact and how that molds ideologies and beliefs about other races. This examination highlights both empirical research and theoretical literature relevant to these particular topics.

Racial Identity and Development

In order to fully understand the development of racial identity, it is essential to have an understanding of the concept of "identity development" in general. Racial identity is only one aspect of an individual's total identity or self-concept. It becomes important to know the nature of identity development, how it occurs, the types of identity development and at what point identity development takes place within an individual's life. More specifically, there needs to be an understanding as to how one's race or ethnicity plays a part in their identity development. Parham (1989) stated that "development of an individual's racial identity is not simply a reaction to the oppressive

elements within our society," although such elements are influential. Parham (1989) along with Pyant and Yanico (1991) stated in separate studies that racial identity is a "phenomenon that continues throughout the life span of an individual and is subject to change continuously." Clark and Clark (1952) concluded that facets of identity development are evident in children as early as three years of age, though Parham (1989) stated that the phenomenon of identity "metamorphosis" is a movement that evolves from childhood through an individual's adult life. Smith (1989) stated that the range of identification may vary from little or no racial identification with one's racial membership group to high identification with one's group, a line of thinking in keeping with the postulates of the Cross (1971) racial identity development model.

Smith (1989) postulated that there are three potential stages of identity within each person, regardless of ethnicity. The three stages are (1) the individual or idiosyncratic level, which determines individuality, (2) the group level, which encompasses racial identity development and consists of group-shared aspects of one's identity and (3) the panhuman level, which places focus on well known shared aspects of one's identity. The individual tends to define himself or herself in relation to membership in a certain group of people-generally and most notably, within their racial group. This establishes not only group

membership, but also an individual's racial identity.

The racial identification process can be measured by observing the extent to which one's racial membership group is a viable reference group. Clark and Clark (1952) concluded in an earlier study of racial identification and preference in African-American children, that the process of racial identity development is dependent upon fostering, nurturing, and maintaining certain reference group perspectives and allegiances across one's life experiences. Studies done by Devos and Romanucci-Ross (1982) suggest that identification with a racial reference group determines, and is determined by, the degree of acculturation or assimilation of a minority group into the mainstream society. Smith (1985) hypothesized that "minorities who have a strong level of racial identity will be better able to cope with stressors or stimuli due to race than a comparable group that has a low level of racial identity." In addition, researchers have found that positive acceptance of one's racial membership group fosters positive self-esteem, whereas rejection of one's racial membership group is related to self-estrangement and dysfunctional psychological behavior (Butler, 1975; Carter, 1991; Parham & Helms, 1985a, 1985b; Smith, 1989; Parham, 1989).

The Cross (1971) model of Black identity development is the most well-publicized model of psychological nigrescence (Parham, 1989). Nigrescence is defined as the process of

"becoming Black," in which Cross (1971) contends that the development of a Black person's racial identity is characterized by movement through four distinct psychological stages. These stages are: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization. These stages are proposed to be examples of how an individual develops a racial identity, both intellectually and internally.

The conceptual framework for this study is based on the Cross (1971, 1978, 1979, 1989) Nigrescence model, consisting of the four progressive stages of Black identity. Each proposed stage, represents a world view (ideology) and further explains the individual's attitudes in the cognitive, conative and affective components. It is possible for an individual to simultaneously, have attitudes from more than one stage.

This cognitive developmental model begins in the Preencounter stage where one's racial identity attitudes are primarily pro-White and anti-Black. The individual devalues his or her "ascribed" race/racial group in favor of the European-American culture. The second stage, Encounter, is hypothesized that the individual begins to challenge his or her view of "Blackness." The third stage, Immersion-Emersion involves learning and experiencing the meaning and value of one's race and unique culture. The final stage, Internalization, is where the individual's racial identity

is achieved through pride and security in his or her own race and bares no hatred from races that are different from that.

In Cross's original model (1971, 1978), the stages of racial identity were characterized by two primary components: racial self-concept and parallel attitudes about African-Americans and Whites as reference groups. More specifically, depending upon one's stage of racial identity, one will possess various thoughts, feelings, behaviors and make choices regarding whether African-Americans and/or Whites will be the reference group. It is believed that in reference to racial identity, all ethnicities use the European-American (mainstream) culture as their initial frame of reference. Socialization and exposure are potential reasons to explain why individuals, initially, embrace the mainstream culture.

Several studies have documented the identity changes hypothesized in Cross's (1971) identity development model (Davidson, 1974; Hall, Cross & Freedle, 1972). Parham (1989) introduced an expansion to Cross' original model of racial identity development. Parham stated that there is a cyclical nature to racial identity that individuals experience. His research indicates that there are three distinct possibilities with respect to how an individual deals with their racial identity. The expansion also assumes that any cognitive, affective or behavioral growth

and development in an individual, at some level, is self actualizing. The three stages are stagnation, stagewise linear progression and recycling. In the first stage, stagnation, the individual maintains one type of race related attitude throughout most of one's lifetime. This stage is considered to be non-self-actualizing because rigidity restricts the influx of new ideas, feelings and behaviors into a person's existing repertoire. The second stage, stagewise linear progression is reported to be the movement of one stage to another over a period of one's life. It is facilitated by experiencing life events or through an individuals internal drive toward growth and self actualization. Recycling, the final stage is the reinitiation of racial identity struggle and resolution process that happens after having gone through the identity development process at an earlier stage in one's life.

Parham and Helms (1985b), stated African-American students who devalue themselves because they are African-American are likely to suffer from low self-esteem, whereas those who confront and change their negative feelings generally experience a positive racial self-concept. Additionally, in their study on racial identity and affective states of African-American students (1985a), Parham and Helms found gender to be an important variable in predicting racial identity attitudes. Pyant and Yanico (1991) reported that racial identity attitudes are related

to psychological health in Black women. In their study, Pyant and Yanico reported the importance of Black women identifying themselves as African-Americans as being crucial to their identity. African-American women exhibited lower levels of Preencounter attitudes and higher levels of Internalization attitudes than did African-American men.

Parham and Helms (1985a, 1985b) also found certain characteristics that were closely related to a particular racial identity attitude. For example: persons with Preencounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes were associated with feelings of low self-actualization, low self regard and high anxiety. Parham and Helms (1985a) also stated that persons with high levels of Immersion-Emersion attitudes were found to exhibit and carry feelings of hostility. Those individuals with Encounter attitudes were reported as having low anxiety, high self actualization and high self regard. Cross et. al (1978) have speculated that Internalization attitudes may be related to better psychological health than are the other racial identity attitudes.

Does psychological health aid or hinder though, when faced with decisions regarding others and their ethnicities? Is psychological health fostering positive attitudes about others and thus allowing for well-rounded opinions based more on experience rather than stigma? And is it possible to hold one racial identity but still accept others who

might not be consistent with that?

Results from a study of racial identity and preferences for race of counselor (Parham & Helms, 1981) supported the hypotheses that possession of certain racial identity attitudes were associated with acceptance of African-American and White counselors. Their overall findings suggested that as individual comfort levels with racial identity increases, race of counselor becomes less important. They also found that gender and social class were better predictors of counselor preference than were racial identity attitudes, even when the race of the counselor was known (Parham & Helms, 1991).

In conclusion, racial identity development is a process by which an individual begins to interchangeably mix ethnicity with self concept. Many researchers, most notable Cross, have attempted to explain the phenomenon of racial identity. Through his four racial identity stages, Cross laid down a foundation to explain the attitudes and self concepts of African-Americans, within the confines of racial identity. Parham (1989) later added three cyclical stages to Cross' model which he believes explains how an individual deals with their racial identity. Positive racial identity seems related to many important aspects of an individual's persona, including psychological health, behavioral growth and self esteem.

Interracial Contact, Attitudes and Theories

As previously mentioned, the United States had laws, as recent as 30 years ago that forbade marriages between races. This indicates that though attitudes may have been changing, society still viewed interracial marriage as "unacceptable" and "unlawful."

Research has shown that racial, gender and socioeconomic differences influence one's opinion about racial or ethnic intermixing. Studies examining attitudes, perceptions and interracial contact have generally concluded that various racial groups, because of differing perceptions of their respective environments, have different attitudes on interracial contact; whether that be marriage, dating or social interaction (Amir, 1969; Brooks, Sedlacek & Mindus, 1973; Minatoya & Sedlacek, 1981; Patterson, Sedlacek & Perry, 1984; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1977). Johnson and Ogasawara (1988) found that amongst the various races and ethnicities, Hawaiians reported the most positive attitudes toward interracial dating. Men and lower income groups held more positive attitudes than women and higher social economic status, respectively. This implies that gender and socioeconomic status might pose as barriers or are influential factors in one's decision to date outside of their race. Consequently, differing attitudes and perceptions about interracial contact, serves as a framework for how the racial groups relate, and interact.

Cross (1971) states that in his model, there are two natural assumptions about African-Americans and interracial contact. First, that Black people have simultaneous but "diametrically" opposed attitudes about Blacks and Whites and second, that these attitudes impact on the interaction of Black people with Whites and with other Blacks (Montgomery, 1992). Smith (1989) made a similar assertion on the latter statement.

Educators have advocated for interracial contact through educational opportunities as desegregation and bussing of students as methods to improve racial attitudes and interracial relations (Carter & Sedlacek, 1984). However, Amir (1969), in an analysis of literature on interracial contact, found that much of the research suggested that more interracial contact alone did not necessarily foster "positive attitude" changes. He further stated that any such changes were dependent upon the circumstances in which the individuals were placed. For example, Wheeler (1992) found that in a high school in Brooklyn, New York, that interracial dating was viewed as an inevitable situation. With such a high number of non-White students, the high school served as a model for the "tossed salad" culture theory of American society. Hispanics made up 50% of the student population; African-Americans, 15%, and 35% were considered a multitude of nationalities and cultures. This statistic serves as an indication of the

diversity within that particular environment and solidifies Amir's point that simply having the number of races together does not alone encourage the interracial contact, but that something more, something that is unknown to the students, helps to foster the positive feelings between races.

Particularity in the Brooklyn high school, the different groups could have stayed to themselves, but an unmeasurable factor stands to reason as to why this group of students "crossed the color line" in their dating practices.

Porterfield (1982) found that interracial relationships appear to be increasing in numbers, largely due to the "greater integration" required by the law. He concluded that this has purposely enabled people from different groups to meet and consequently decrease their racial prejudices.

In an extensive study of race relations, Patchen (1982) uncovered that social interaction between African-American and White high school students was affected greatly by different social outcomes and expectations. He noted that when White students were in the majority in the class room setting, their interaction with African-American students was basically avoidant, unfriendly and seen as not important. As the number of African-American students increased, both African-American and White students began the avoidant, non-interacting behavior. However, Patchen also noted that when African-American students were in the majority, the negative interaction decreased and more

positive attitudes were attributed to both races. Regardless of race, the majority group maintained their "comfortable feeling" based on the idea of being in the majority. The majority was then able to attribute characteristics, rather good or bad, to the minority group to give them (the majority) a sense of comfort.

Groups, regardless of race, seek a certain comfort level with those that are different from them. What impacts the majority groups' level of comfort is the number of people that are different and their perceptions of the "deviating" group. The majority group dictates the amount of comfort they will allow and allocate to the minority group and it is when the majority group is "comfortable" that they will interact as they see fit with the minority group.

In a similar study to examine if racial backgrounds and experiences were related to interracial attitudes and contact, Carter and Sedlacek (1984) found that African-American college students encountered more diverse interracial contacts than did White college students. The African-American college students' "minority" status was postulated as the main reason why those students experienced more interracial contact. Black students were found to be less "inhibited" with people of other races and were more likely to embrace another ethnicity rather than shun or distance themselves from the differing race. The "minority"

status became a commonality for the non-White students and consequently enhanced the likelihood of acceptance. But this is not to say that a person's "minority" status simply will get them acceptance from another "minority group member." In their study, Carter and Sedlacek (1984) concluded that both Black and White students with racially isolated upbringings exhibited similar interracial attitudes, while Black students from racially mixed backgrounds held different attitudes regarding interracial contact.

Todd, Mckinney, Harris, Chadderton and Small (1992) surveyed 400 university students from California and 44% of the African-American women polled responded negatively to the idea of dating outside of their race. The only other group with less than half willing to date outside of their group was older White women. The negative attitude of African-American women toward interracial dating was not explained by any differences in personality as reflected in the interpersonal influence or the self-rating scales; thus a situational explanation may be best. Todd et. al (1992) stated that African-American women may perceive a relative lack of single Black men and they may resent the increased competition of other ethnic groups for such few available partners. Despite the fact that these women were asked about how they felt about them dating outside of their race, Todd et. al (1992) stated that many (African-American) women

had a difficult time differentiating between their reluctance and the overall impact it placed on their dating options.

Lampe (1982) in study of interracial dating and contact amongst African-American, Mexican-Americans and Whites reported that 88% of African-American males and 58% of the White males dated interracially. This is in comparison to 51% for White females and 28% for African-American females. This indicates not only a large disproportion in numbers, but that there will be a number of Black females who will otherwise be dateless. For example, take 200 African-Americans; 100 men and 100 women. Lampe's statistics reveal that approximately 90 of the 100 Black men might date outside of their race, whereas approximately 30 out of the 100 Black women would date outside the African-American race. That leaves approximately 10 Black men to date approximately 70 Black women. This is a "worse case scenario," with no realistic implications. The only truth that holds is if no individual from either of the groups change their mind and sticks solely to the group they designated. This presents explanations and significant differences in who actually dates outside of their race and the options for those that choose not to.

African-American women may carry perceptions with them that others who date outside of their race do not. Their perceptions possibly range from a sense of betrayal of their

race to a sense of distrust of White men who possibly would want to date them. These perceptions are as such but there currently is no research that states what these attitudes are based on. Research has shown that African-American women, on the average, date outside their race less than any other group (Downs, 1971). Downs noted that many feel threatened by the lack of eligible, available African-American men, but have chosen to date solely Black rather than to date outside of their race.

Though interracial dating is hardly accepted, the union of African-American and White is the least tolerated and most controversial of all (Porterfield, 1992). It is believed that due to the history of slavery between African-Americans and Whites that intermixing is viewed as taboo by both cultures. Porterfield (1992) stated that many African-Americans see it as a way to gain acceptance from the mainstream society, while Whites view it as a "forbidden fruit" fascination or a way to deviate from what many were raised to like and not like.

Relevant viewpoints to interracial dating suggest that the individual who dates outside of their race is in some way rebelling, deviating from a norm or displaying ulterior motives (Davidson, 1992). Present day theorists do not adhere to conclusions as past theorists who have concluded "interracial couples have a deep seated resentment of their parents and desire to give them pain or have a desire for

self degradation" (Hullum, 1982). They unfortunately have not shed much light on the reasons why those who do date outside of their race do. Spaights and Dixon (1984) are noted for stating "interracial couples are personally insecure and self loathing." No scientific evidence supports the notion that a person who marries or dates interracially is psychologically unstable or rebellious (Alridge, 1978; Porterfield, 1982) and is probably a reflection of their own personal biases.

The theorists reviewed all express a negative viewpoint in their explanations of the motivations behind interracial dating. Brown (1987) warned that many professionals may have racist attitudes which lead them to believe ideas such as the "high castle racial status" (Davis, 1941); where it is postulated that an individual becomes more accepted by White society if they date or marry into the mainstream. Theorists have also stated that those who date outside of their race suffer from the "forbidden fruit" syndrome, which implies an individual attempts to get something that society has kept from the individual or not allowed to be appropriate (Berry & Blassingame, 1982). Another "ideology" is the exploitation of Whites when African-Americans date them (Spaights & Dixon, 1984). Finally, there has been limited research in the area of racial identity as it relates to dating preferences, whether inter or intraracially, despite the attempts of some clinicians to

label individuals who date outside of their race.

However, there currently is a body of knowledge related to acculturation and assimilation theory (Alba, 1985). The theory describes interracial marriage as the ultimate form of assimilation, the process by which a minority group loses or relinquishes its distinct racial identity. Similar ideas are also postulated for those who date outside of their race.

Though there is no "scientific" rationale or reason to explain interracial contact and attitudes, much of the research supports the notion that increased interracial contact enhances the likelihood of interracial dating.

Conclusion

With there currently being no literature to substantiate or negate, this study seeks to explain if any relationship lies between racial identity attitudes and interracial dating attitudes. In order to get a firmer grasp on the entire picture, it is necessary to fully understand the development of both racial identity and how influential exposure is in the concept of interracial dating.

Racial identity development has been postulated to be an important aspect of one's total identity and self-concept. Racial identity is a process that occurs over the life span of an individuals life, that "changes continuously." Identity development has been reported to be

evident in an individual by as early as the age of three.

Cross' development of Black identity is the most well-publicized model of psychological nigrescence, which Cross states as an individual's process of "becoming Black." The model is highlighted by four racial identity groups that express an individual's thoughts, feelings and behaviors in reference to racial identity. Parham extended Cross' model by suggesting that racial identity is "cyclical" in nature and that there are three distinct possibilities with respect to how an individual deals with their racial identity.

With laws forbidding interracial marriages, as recent as 30 years ago, there appears to be a greater "acceptance" of interracial dating and marriages. Research has shown that gender and socioeconomic status to be influential factors that affect the perceptions and beliefs of individuals.

Increased interracial contact, through "forced integration" such as bussing and schooling have forced many to reexamine their beliefs and perceptions about those that are in different racial groups. The research indicates though, that when in a group, the majority group members are those that are "forced" to evaluate their behavior and either include or delete the minority group members. Many of the studies examined indicated that the increased contact will result in more interracial relationships, though there is no scientific evidence to explain why some individuals

will date outside of their race and others will not.

This chapter attempts to find a relationship in the literature between racial identity attitudes and interracial dating attitudes and whether or not one has more influence over the other when the two are mixed.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Design

The design for this study consists of an analysis of data, yielded within the framework of combining an individual's racial identity attitudes with that of their beliefs and attitudes about interracial dating. The nature of racial identity is examined in the context of racial choice-in this case, the effect that racial identity has in the dating preference of African-American college students. The data were obtained from the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Parham & Helms, 1985), Would You Date Interracial Scale? (Stimson & Stimson, 1979) and a personal data sheet.

Sample

The sample for this study consisted of 86 African-American students from Chicago State University. Chicago State University is a predominately African-American university in Chicago, Illinois and is currently the only predominately African-American university in the state of Illinois. African-Americans comprise 84% of the student population at Chicago State (Office of Admissions, 1993). Approximately 92 questionnaires were distributed to Psychology I students of which 86 were completed, yielding a

93% response rate. Twenty-two men and 64 women completed the questionnaire.

Instrumentation

Racial Identity Attitudes Scale

The Racial Identity Attitudes Scale; RIAS-Long Form (Parham & Helms, 1981, Appendix B) was utilized in this study to assess attitudes and behaviors characteristic of the racial identity stages. This scale is based on Cross (1971) racial identity development model and adapted from Hall, Cross and Freedle's (1972) Q-sort items.

According to Helms, there are three versions of the scale: RIAS-A, RIAS-B (short form), and the RIAS-B (long form). Scales comprising the three versions are highly correlated, and both the A and B versions have been used in empirical investigations. The RIAS-B (long form) of the scale, consisting of 50 items was used in this study. Current versions of the scale have been developed on a diverse sample of college and university students in terms of age (ranging from 17 to 72 years), gender (approximately balanced), institutional type (private colleges, state universities, and community colleges), racial composition of institutions, and geographical location (north, south, east or western location of the United States).

Respondents used a 5-point Likert type scale with "1=strongly disagree" to "5=strongly agree" to indicate to what extent the question best described their attitude.

Scores for each of the four subscales (Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization) were obtained by summing the responses to items keyed to a particular subscale and dividing by the number of items in the subscale. Scores for each subscale ranged from 1 to 5 with higher scores indicating higher levels of a given attitude. Rather than assigning respondents to a single stage by using their highest scale score, linear combinations of the attitude subscale scores were used, allowing use of the measure even with those respondents whose attitudes are representative of more than one stage (Parham & Helms, 1985).

Helms (1990) reported internal consistency reliabilities coefficients of .69 (Preencounter subscale); .50 (Encounter subscale); .67 (Immersion-Emersion subscale); and .79 (Internalization subscale). Although the subscale reliabilities are comparable to those of other personality instruments, Anastasi (1982) asserted that the usefulness of the RIAS-B potentially could be enhanced by improving the reliabilities. Helms (1990) asserted that the RIAS-B scale versions predicted characteristics that, according to theory, should be related to racial identity (i.e., self-esteem, affective states). For example, Parham and Helms (1985) provided evidence of the construct validity of the RIAS in finding that racial identity attitudes predict respondent's preference for counselor's race. Conversely,

the scale has been found not to predict those unrelated characteristics such as social class (Helm, 1988; Parham, 1982).

Would You Date Interracial Scale

The Would You Date Interracial Scale (DIS) created by Stimson and Stimson (1979), evaluated individual's attitudes about dating outside of one's race. Originally, the eight questions were postulated as yes/no questions. For the sake of consistency and data analysis, the questions were revised to follow the 5-point Likert type scale, with "1=strongly disagree" to "5=strongly agree" (See Appendix B). Because only three questions, 51-53, dealt solely with interracial dating attitudes, the researcher for this study implemented a modified DIS, where the previously mentioned questions comprised the DIS scores. Those obtaining higher numbers indicated a stronger likelihood to hold pro-interracial dating attitudes. Since its publication in 1979, Stimson and Stimson have reported no continued research utilizing this instrument. Subsequently, no correlations, internal consistency, and reliability numbers are available.

Personal Data Sheet

This instrument was developed by the researcher in order to collect demographic information, such as age, marital status, grade level and ethnic makeup of their neighborhood, currently and prior to college (See Appendix A).

Procedure

Students who attended Psychology courses at the university were given the questionnaires, solely on a voluntary basis. The questionnaire packet included two consent forms informing the participant of their rights and commitments to the project, a personal data sheet, the RIAS and the DIS.

The surveys were pilot tested to three individuals prior to testing to establish time limitations, wording problems and comprehension. The estimated time was approximately 15-20 minutes to successfully complete the surveys. The three individuals were not used in the final tabulation concerning this research.

To ensure anonymity, the participants were instructed not to include their name on any part of the research packet. The participants were assigned code numbers and no identifying information was collected to link a participant with a survey. Participants who completed the survey, hand delivered it to a proctor who had no relation to the research. Each participant, upon completion, received a copy of the debriefing statement explaining the purpose of the study.

Analysis of Data

The analysis of data attempted to answer the major research questions of this study: (a) what effect do one's family or peers have on an individuals decision to date

someone of another race? (b) how is one's racial identity related to one's decision to date someone of another race? The purpose of these questions are to detail how one's racial attitude and the attitudes of family or peers influences an individual's ideas and philosophies about dating outside of one's race.

To test this hypothesis that racial identity attitudes were differentially related to participants beliefs concerning interracial dating, the researcher utilized both discriminant analysis and analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures. The discriminant analysis was performed to assess the relationship between racial identity attitudes with linear combinations composed of racial ethnic makeup of environment and gender. This served as basis for assigning respondents to one of the four, predetermined racial identity groups.

A series of ANOVA's, Tukey's Post Hoc tests, and t-tests (of independent samples) was conducted to measure the relationship and differences between the four racial identity attitudes, gender and interracial dating. The findings of this study are reported in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

General Findings

The study sought to examine the relationship between racial identity, campus environment and interracial dating attitudes and behavior. Descriptive data is detailed in Table 1. The descriptive data includes all six of the variables that were asked on the personal data sheet along with the number of people that responded (frequency) and the percentage that were also in that variable group.

Discriminant analysis, ANOVA's and Tukey's Post Hoc procedures were performed on each subsample. During the discriminant analysis, a correlation matrix was derived. The matrix, which measures the degree of association between each racial identity stage to the other remaining stages, was to detail which racial identity stages showed positive and negative relationships.

Mean scores for all four racial identity groups and the interracial dating questions were computed and are reported in Table 2. T-tests were also conducted on certain independent samples. Gender, ethnic makeup of neighborhood prior to college and currently were the samples that were to determine any difference in the racial identity and

Table 1

Descriptive Analysis

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
<hr/>		
College Class Level:		
Underclassmen	31	36.0
Senior	34	39.5
Unclassified	21	24.4
Gender:		
Male	22	25.6
Female	64	74.4
Age:		
18-23	31	36.0
24-33	28	32.6
34 & up	21	24.4
unanswered	06	7.0
Marital Status:		
Single	55	64.0
Married/Partnered	18	20.9
Divorce/Sep/Widowed	12	14.0
Unanswered	01	1.2
Racial Ethnic Makeup of Neighborhood Prior to College:		
Predominately Black	70	81.4
Mixed	11	12.8
Predominately White	05	5.8
Racial Ethnic Makeup of Neighborhood Currently:		
Predominately Black	62	72.1
Mixed	20	23.3
Predominately White	04	4.7

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations

	Mean	Range	SD
Preencounter	1.716	1-5	.411
Encounter	3.096	1-5	.814
Immersion	2.574	1-5	.628
Internalization	4.120	1-5	.454
Modified DIS	2.640	1-5	.957

Table 3

Correlation Matrix- (Coefficients)

	Preen.	Enco.	Imm.	Int.	DIS.
Preen.	-	-	-	-	-
Enco.	.100	-	-	-	-
Imm.	.349*	.489*	-	-	-
Int.	-.193	.213*	.008	-	-
DIS.	.225*	.022	-.021	.004	-

interracial dating attitudes.

In order to find some variance amongst the designated sample groups, an independent t-test was conducted. The overall finding in all three independent sampling groups was that there was no significant difference in variables when in comparison to one another. The Preencounter stage elicited the greatest t-value of 1.53 ($F = 2.05$, $p > .05$) though it was not significant. That was in comparing males and females who were in the Preencounter stage. In the ANOVA comparisons, the findings are similar in that at the .05 level, no two groups are significantly different.

The interaction of the DIS and college class level was not statistically significant, but approached significance ($F = 3.16$, $p > .05$).

As previously stated, the correlation matrix was utilized to indicate which racial identity stages had the most positive and negative relationships. Table 3 supports this finding.

Because the Preencounter stage was the only racial identity stage that proved it was statistically significant in predicting how an individual's racial identity would impact an individual's beliefs or attitudes about interracial dating, it is important to know why this stage was separated from the rest. In observation of the matrix, the Preencounter stage's closest relationship was .35 with the Immersion stage, which proved to be statistically

significant. As indicated in table 3, there were four pairings that proved to be statistically significant at the .05 level. The best correlation lies between the Immersion and Encounter stages with a relationship correlation of .4892 ($p = .000$), stating that there is a moderate relationship of these two stages. This is significant in that it is the only pairing that proved closed to 1.00, which is achieved when two items are a perfect match. The moderate relationship signifies the closeness in attitudes for those individuals who fall into these stages.

One of the questions this study set to answer is whether or not peers had any influence on an individual's attitude about interracial dating. The purpose of the question was to detail how much does the attitude of others, particularly those close to an individual, affect either their attitude or beliefs about interracial dating.

The DIS elicited statistics that indicated of the 86 students polled, more than half (56%) stated that they strongly disagreed with the question of whether or not these prior influences affected their attitude about interracial dating. Another 32% disagreed that friends were influential factors in their decision to date outside of their race; nearly 88% of the 86 students did not believe their peers or family influenced their attitude about interracial dating. Those same students were asked would they date someone of another race? There appeared to be more of an even

distribution of students who said they would date someone of another race (33%) to those who would not date someone of another race (33%) with 34% of the students in the middle on the question as "uncertain."

By merely observing the correlation matrix, the Preencounter stage has the most positive relationship with the interracial dating questions, meaning one can predict that someone in the Preencounter stage has more open attitudes about interracial dating.

The other research question asked how one's racial identity affects one's attitude toward interracial dating. Because the RIAS questions were not open-ended and only one of the racial identity attitudes proved to be valid, this study was not able to determine the effect that racial identity has on interracial dating. The correlation matrix (Table 3) exhibits the relationship between the racial identity and the interracial dating questions. But the numbers alone, do not indicate an effect or a particular belief about interracial dating, rather a possible correlation as thoughts are in relation to the topic.

Regression Analysis

In attempting to predict a relationship between interracial dating and racial identity attitudes, a step-wise regression analysis was used to determine whether racial identity attitudes predicted an individuals attitude about interracial dating. The only significant predictor of

interracial dating attitudes was the Preencounter stage with a R square of .05094 which predicted 5% of the variance.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Individuals manifest certain behaviors, beliefs, feelings and act in ways that make certain choices in asserting their identification. Many of these actions, beliefs and feelings are based on a racial identity; a key element in the Cross (1971) racial identity model. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between racial identity, interracial dating attitudes, and the influence that peers have on an individual's attitude about interracial dating. The results of the study indicate that only those who fall into the Preencounter racial identity stage can be significantly correlated with racial identity, interracial dating and "open" attitudes about interracial mixing.

This study was set to predict, solely based on the given questionnaire, how one feels and acts in relation to interracial dating, based on their racial identity. As interracial dating becomes more widespread, it was the goal to hone in on beliefs that might explain, why some interracially date and others do not. By using the RIAS-B, the researcher sought to predict a significant relationship between racial identity stages and interracial dating

attitudes.

Though the Preencounter stage was proven to be the only stage by which one can predict an attitude about interracial dating, it is the belief that the three remaining stages might have given a clearer representation if the researcher put focus on another spectrum or area of interests.

Due to its definition about viewing the world from the European-American frame of reference, the Preencounter stage is likely to be the most predictable stage of interracial dating attitudes. It is the stage at which an individual "thinks and views" the world from a Eurocentric/mainstream of reference and believes society to be "color-blind." This individual thinks, acts and behaves in a manner which devalues one African-American heritage and cherishes what is portrayed as the mainstream ideals and dreams. The Preencounter stage is when an individual views the world as non-discriminatory. For this particular stage, the RIAS-B is a suitable measurement. In reviewing the reliabilities for this measurement, the Internalization subscale rendered a .57 coefficient, which stands to be significantly different from Helms' earlier cited coefficients. It raises a question as to the reliability of this measure for the Internalization stage. What is a significant and usable measurement for the findings of the remaining stages (Internalization, Immersion-Emersion and Encounter) or are those stages less likely to be measured due to possible

overlap between them?

It could be that no measurement can truly predict an attitude or belief without knowing how an individual came to the conclusion, duration of belief and where it originated. The three remaining stages are significant in that they are evidence of a progression within an individual. They can indicate an extension of progression in an individual's intellectual growth. Without findings on any of the remaining stages, one can not sufficiently make a statement regarding an individual in that stage and their interracial dating attitudes. Reason can allow one to make a probable stance that an individual in the Immersion stage is the least likely to date outside of the African-American race. But this does not completely account for the individual's attitude about those who do and what they think about interracial dating as one whole. It only accounts for the individual's preference for him or herself.

In the ANOVA's calculated, the Immersion stage carried the greatest difference in means between men and women. Because there was such a difference, it brings up questions as to why men and women differ in this stage? It might stand to reason that men and women reach this particular stage at different ages, for different reasons and due to a variety of experiences. It is possible for a female to become more centralized in this stage sooner because of quicker maturation that women have, i.e., women mature both

biologically and psychologically at a faster rate than men (Rakel, 1984). But it is also more probable for a man to stay in this stage longer if he feels separated through socialization (i.e., media exploitation and societal discrimination).

The relationship between the interracial dating questions and the Immersion stage was negatively related. This could serve as a strong indication of how individuals in this stage feel. The matrix also stated the best relationship to be between the Encounter stage and the Immersion stage.

In Chapter IV, the researcher stated that in the Preencounter stage, the stage that is most predictable for an attitude of this nature, that only 5% of the variance could be accounted for. Though this proved to be statistically significant, 95% is left with no definitive attribution. Examine the possibilities of what else could possibly influence an individual, regardless of racial identity stage. Uncontrollable influences or even social (class) status are variables that the RIAS-B does not account for but that greatly influences racial identity and or attitudes about interracial dating (Montgomery, 1992).

It is also the belief of the researcher that environment, whether it be college, neighborhood, teammates or work related, are significant influences that have not been proven measurable, nor can not be ignored in attempting

to understand an individual's attitude.

The interracial dating questions raised significant questions. There was a definite imbalance in those who said that their peers were not influential in their attitudes about interracial dating. But, as previously mentioned, there was an even distribution between those who would and would not date outside of their race. What determines why they will, will not and how much of that is conscious or unconscious beliefs? This study was unable to determine what factors are influential in determining whether an individual will date outside of their race or not.

Future Considerations

Prior research indicates that the RIAS-B has only been given to a relatively select group; university and African-American students. This researcher questions what type of findings would be given if this same measurement was given to White students at a major university, White students at a predominately African-American university of any other nationality at any type of university. The Asian population is regarded as the race who most interracial dates, in the United States (Wheeler, 1992). Future research consideration might examine how Asian-Americans view themselves in the interracial dating spectrum. Do they view themselves as more "Americanized" or accepted and why is the combination of White and Asian-American or African-American and Asian-American more accepted than the union of African-

and Asian-American more accepted than the union of African-American and White? Research, whether purposely or not, views many of the topics of interests from a White-African-American standpoint with little, if any consideration, to the other nationalities that comprise the sub-cultures in America.

In addition to the previously mentioned considerations, future research possibilities include a subjective questionnaire given that allows the participant to indicate what and why their interracial dating attitudes are as is. There lies the possibility of asking students who have interracially dated, what their racial identity is currently (by giving the RIAS-B). There also should be an emphasis on African-American college students, especially those that attend historical/predominately African-American universities. These students are a part of a population that is unfairly underrepresented. Results might have been altered if the participants attended an institution that is represented with the "traditional" students (18-22 years of age).

Limitations

A general limitation that should be considered in reading the results centers around the use of the Cross (1971) model as the conceptual framework for the study. It is quite possible that the model is no longer representative of African-American people's reactions to present day social

conditions and that African-Americans today, in contrast to African-American people in the 1960's and 1970's, are influenced by a different set of personal, social, spiritual and environmental factors. However, further empirical investigations, such as this study has attempted, what will be the best way to determine whether or not the model continues to be relevant and representative of how African-Americans develop their racial identity (Montgomery, 1992). The findings for this study are, in fact, non-significant and thus carries no barring on predicting racial identity and the development of it.

Another limitation with this study was the questions at hand. The study sought to get an inference on behavior through an attitude scale. The concern that poses though, is that because an individual might do something (inference), does not mean that individual will do something (reality), thus making it difficult to make a concrete ascertainment about behavior.

There are several limitations which hold some implications for the external validity of the study. First, the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale has been used exclusively with college and university students; therefore, consideration must be given to the validity of generalizing to other types of populations. Second, Parham and Helms (1985a, 1985b) suggested in their research that racial identity attitudes could be distributed differently across

college campuses, depending upon the social and environmental factors of various parts of the country. If this is to be assumed true, Encounter attitudes might be prevalent on one campus, whereas Preencounter attitudes might be prevalent on another campus. In the context of this study then, it would be possible for interracial dating to be prevalent on the Preencounter campus and noticeably absent from the campus where the Encounter attitudes prevailed.

Due to the lack of research that has examined interracial dating, an obvious limitation was the number of resources that could be used to measure these specific attitudes. With the DIS, it only presented eight questions about the topic. This researcher believes that the idea of interracial dating can not be sufficiently examined with eight questions. There are a variety of aspects that must be addressed (i.e., a preference for one race over another, the possibility of marriage and whether or not the individual has been exposed to interracial dating in the past, just to name a few).

The final limitation has to do with the interracial dating concept of this study. The definition of interracial dating was assumed to be between African-American and White, for two primary reasons. One reason stems from the divisive, controversial, and therefore very relevant, nature of the African-American/White dating relationships in the

United States society. More importantly, however, the Cross (1971) development centers around the development of one's racial identity within the context of an oppressive Eurocentric society. In order to maintain internal validity, it seemed more appropriate to apply, and consequently assume, that the cases were relating interracial to mean African-American and White. Given to grower diversity of the United States, however, perhaps it would be beneficial to develop a measurement with a broader context that allows for the other races to be given ample consideration.

In light of these limitations, caution should be taken in generalizing results of the study to other populations. A general attempt was made to control for such problems through a specific delineation of the population and sample used in the study.

Conclusion

There has been very little written regarding racial identity development as it relates to interracial dating among various populations, particularly among college and university students. Even less literature has examined the interracial attitudes and racial identity of African-American students at the nation's predominately African-American institutions. This study will, one hopes, add to the body of literature regarding African-American (racial) identity development and interracial dating contact. Study

of interracial dating and racial identity in conjunction with each other may have some vital implications for counselors, marriage and family therapists and university administrators, as well as for individuals who contemplate the decision of whether or not to date someone outside of their race.

The researcher believes that any findings from this population, whether significant or not, is a success. Research has not attempted to understand the African-American college student's attitudes on many of the beliefs and ideas that White students are asked on a consistent basis. Deriving 9.6% of the total student population, African-American college students represent a section of the American population where significant findings could be measured.

APPENDIX A
PERSONAL DATA SHEET

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

General Instructions: Please read each question carefully before answering. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. All responses are confidential.

For this section, please put an X next to the blank that corresponds with you.

Race/Ethnicity: _____

Gender: Male _____
 Female _____

College Class Level: Freshman _____
 Sophomore _____
 Junior _____
 Senior _____
 Unclassified _____

Age: _____

Marital Status: Single _____
 Married/Partnered _____
 Divorced _____
 Separated _____
 Widowed _____

Racial Ethnic Makeup of your neighborhood prior to college:

Predominately Black _____
 Mix of Several Ethnic Groups _____
 Predominately White _____

Racial Ethnic Makeup of where you currently live:

Predominately Black _____
 Mix of Several Ethnic Groups _____
 Predominately White _____

APPENDIX B
INSTRUMENTATION

RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES SCALE

Instructions: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes about social and political issues. There are no right or wrong answers. Different people have different viewpoints. So, try to be as honest as you can. Beside each statement, circle the number that best describes how you feel. Use the scale below to respond to each statement.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.				1	2 3 4 5
2. I know through my personal experiences what being Black in America means.				1	2 3 4 5
3. I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White environments.				1	2 3 4 5
4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.				1	2 3 4 5
5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.				1	2 3 4 5
6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.				1	2 3 4 5
7. A person's race does not influence how comfortable I feel when I am with her or him.				1	2 3 4 5
8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.				1	2 3 4 5
9. I feel uncomfortable when I am around Black people.				1	2 3 4 5
10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.				1	2 3 4 5

	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	
11. When I am with people I trust, I often find myself referring to Whites as "honkies", "devils", "pigs", "white boys", and so forth.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I believe that being Black is a negative experience.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I believe that certain aspects of "the Black experience" apply to me, and others do not.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I frequently confront the system and the (White) man.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theater, and so forth.)	1	2	3	4	5
16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways that are similar to White people's ways.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black or Afrocentric perspective.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I am changing my style of life to fit my new beliefs about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I speak my mind about injustices to Black people regardless of the consequences (such as being kicked out of school, disappointing my parents, being exposed to danger.)	1	2	3	4	5
27. I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I am determined to find my Black identity.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
30. I believe that I have many strengths because I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5
31. I feel that Black people do <u>not</u> have as much to be proud of as White people.	1	2	3	4	5
32. Most Blacks I know are failures.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.	1	2	3	4	5
34. White people can't be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	
35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.	1	2	3	4	5
36. The most important think about me is that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5
37. Being Black just feels natural to me.	1	2	3	4	5
38. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.	1	2	3	4	5
39. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.	1	2	3	4	5
40. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race.	1	2	3	4	5
41. The people I respect most are White.	1	2	3	4	5
42. A person's race usually is not important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
43. I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race.	1	2	3	4	5
44. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.	1	2	3	4	5
45. A person's race has little to do with whether or not he or she is a good person.	1	2	3	4	5
46. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy.	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
47. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.				1	2 3 4 5
48. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.				1	2 3 4 5
49. I am satisfied with myself.				1	2 3 4 5
50. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black.				1	2 3 4 5

WOULD YOU DATE INTERRACIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

51. I would date a person of another race.				1	2 3 4 5
52. I would date a person of another race secretly.				1	2 3 4 5
53. If I were in love, I would marry a person of another race.				1	2 3 4 5
54. Dating a person of another race is morally wrong.				1	2 3 4 5
55. My friends affect my decision to date interracially.				1	2 3 4 5
56. Marrying interracially is morally wrong.				1	2 3 4 5
57. I am a virgin.				1	2 3 4 5
58. People in general are becoming more accepting of interracial dating.				1	2 3 4 5

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VITA

I am a 1992 graduate of the University of Kansas with a bachelor's degree in psychology. Upon acceptance from Loyola, my main goal was to work with underrepresented populations. One of the ways I intend to contribute to the field of psychology, is through the thesis that I am submitting for approval.

Upon completion of this thesis and my confirmation of graduation from Loyola University, I plan to continue my education by obtaining my doctorate degree. I also intend to continue my work in research and further develop my clinical skills.

THESIS APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Russell Chad Hancock has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given the final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master's of arts.

H-6-95
Date


Director's Signature