

WHEATON COLLEGE
Norton, Massachusetts

This is to certify that Lacrosha Simpson has fulfilled the
requirements for graduation with Departmental Honors in

Psychology.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts was awarded on

May 21, 2011

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The Influence of Racial Identity and Ideology
on Future Neighborhood Preferences

BY

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A Study

Presented to the Faculty

of

Wheaton College

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for

Graduation with Departmental Honors

in Psychology

Norton, Massachusetts

May 21, 2011

Acknowledgements

Words cannot express the gratitude I feel for the guidance and support provided throughout this journey. First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Peony Fhagen-Smith for providing me with the opportunity to work with someone as exceptional and talented as she is. Thank you for your motivation, knowledge, passion, support and dedication. I feel very fortunate and blessed for how much you have helped me grow this year.

I would also like to thank my committee members, Michael Berg and Karen McCormack for being a part of the defense team. Each of you dedicated time to read and provide great feedback on my research. I would also like to thank my faculty advisor, Derek Price whom was unable to be a part of the committee, but was a great support as an advisor for my four years at Wheaton.

I would also like to thank Alex Trayford, Margaret Gardner, Elliot Brandow and other Wheaton faculty, staff and administrators for supplying advice and access to various resources for this project, ranging from research assistance to presentation development. I am appreciative for the time taken to supplement my project.

I would also like to thank my family, especially my parents, Audley and Eileen Simpson, for always believing in me and teaching me to be an independent thinker. I may not have agreed with all of your life lessons, but in the end, they served a great purpose into make me the individual that I am today.

My Wheaton friends and close friends from home have always been nurturing, supportive and understanding, even when I was stressed. You all have pushed me to keep going through constant encouragement and praise. To Jennifer Park, we did this together!

A special thank you goes out to James Roberts for constant love and support. Without you, there would have been days that I would think to give up. You reminded me of the bigger picture and the ultimate goal of this research project. Thank you.

Finally, this project is dedicated to my mom, Hillary Hall, a fallen angel to breast cancer. I know this would have made you proud of me.

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Abstract

This study investigated the relationship between personal worldview ideologies (colorblind, monocultural and/or multicultural), White racial identity, and future neighborhood preferences among White high school and college students. Using a quasi-experimental design, participants chose pictures of families that varied by race to create “desirable” and “undesirable” neighborhoods in an imagined future community. Personal worldview ideologies and White racial identity were assessed through responses on four questionnaires. The results provided evidence of a relationship between racial ideology and identity. The study also found that autonomy and reintegration racial identity statuses were predictors of neighborhood preferences.

The Influence of Racial Identity and Ideology on Future Neighborhood Preferences

The United States is becoming increasingly diverse; however, people from different racial groups have limited connection and interaction with people of a different race. Attitudes about race have an impact on the behaviors people display. Whether it is the doctor's lack of acknowledgement of a Black woman in the waiting room or the real estate agent's choice to bring their Hispanic client to certain areas and not others, many of the underlying causes in behavior stem from attitudes people hold about others. Most interactions, and lack thereof, are complicated by differing racial realities stemming from racial beliefs and attitudes. One of the ways to improve interactions is through contact with people of a different race (Allport, 1954); therefore close proximity with racially different individuals could improve these interactions (Pettigrew, 1998). However, neighborhoods throughout the country are homogeneous and divided along racial/ethnic lines (Gardner, 2010). Thus, interracial interactions are limited partially due to social and residential distance. The major question is how does limited interaction and residential segregation continue in such a multicultural environment such as the U.S?

Psychologists are constantly trying to understand how attitudes and beliefs manifest into behaviors. Researchers understand that attitudes become exemplified in behavior, whether the individual is consciously aware of this or not (ex. Dovidio et al., 2002). One of the ways to understand behavior has been through developing theories and conducting empirical research on identity,

worldview and attitudes (Dovidio et al., 2002; Branscombe, Schmitt & Schifffhauer, 2007; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson & Casas, 2007). For example, Steele (2010) suggests that averting communication with other races occurs because of a lack of interracial interaction social skills and not wanting to be criticized for biased attitudes. The result is avoidance as a coping mechanism for uncomfortable social interactions (Steele, 2010). People may maintain living in homogenous communities to avoid interactions that are uncomfortable and unfamiliar. Further, Tatum (1995) states that people do not interact with different racial groups because of difficulties understanding race relations that include devaluing interactions with racial/ethnic minorities. Their attitudes on race relations affect interracial interactions and stem from stereotypes, racial attitudes, and/or limited exposure to different cultures (Charles, 2000; Emerson, Chai, Yancey, 2001; Krysan, Couper, Farley, Forman, 2009).

European Americans are more likely to have limited or no contact with people of color, mainly due to being majority in terms of population numbers. How does being in the majority group racially impact behavioral choices? Thus, the present study investigated the relationship between racial ideologies, racial identity and future neighborhood preferences in order to understand processes involved in White people's decisions to live in neighborhoods with own race and/or different race people.

Definition of Terms

Race is based upon physical characteristics that are associated with characteristics, values and behaviors of a given person. On the other hand,

ethnicity is a cluster of people who have a common heritage, customs, language, beliefs and traditions. Unlike ethnicity, race has no biological basis; therefore people with similar physical characteristics share no apparent common heritage (Mio, Barker-Hackett & Tumambing, 2008). However, based upon the social construction of race in the U.S, same-race people have clustered themselves, and/or been clustered by others, based on similar experiences in education, the workplace and residential locations. Therefore, when racial identity is discussed, it is referred to as one's "sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990, p. 3).

Worldview can be defined as the "psychological perception of the world that determines how we think, behave and feel" (Mio et al. 2008, p. 60). The term ideology can be interchangeable with worldview; therefore racial ideology or worldview is how an individual's perception of race influences their feelings, thoughts and behaviors. For the purpose of this study, we will discuss three main components of racial ideology; multiculturalism, monoculturalism and colorblind ideology- each of which represents specific worldviews. Multiculturalism can be defined as having an inclusive attitude, valuing differences and global understanding of the interconnectedness between all cultures. In addition, this viewpoint encompasses an individual who is conscious of diversity and understands that all individuals are fully human (Harrell & Gallardo, 2008). In contrast, colorblind ideology is the belief that differences are insignificant and that everyone should assimilate to the dominant viewpoint of the environment.

Furthermore, people should not acknowledge differences in heritage, culture and tradition and should also ignore skin color (Harrell & Gallardo, 2008). Finally, monoculturalism is the belief in individualism and the adherence to the norms of the dominant worldview. Those who do not follow that worldview are considered deviant and unacceptable in society. Further, the values of monoculturalism encompass autonomy, competition and the acquisition of materials resources (Harrell & Gallardo, 2008).

One's level of consciousness of one's own thoughts, feelings and behavior in regards to race is often discussed in the literature. Humans interact with their environment on both a conscious and unconscious level (Freud, 1912). Implicit racial attitudes operate on a subconscious or unconscious level, so that a person can be unaware of their positive and/or negative thoughts and feelings about a particular racial group. On the contrary, explicit racial attitudes are operating in the realm of awareness and are controlled and/or expressed based on perceived social desirability of racial attitudes.

Research Paradigm

This study was constructed and developed around the post positivist paradigm which assumes that the racial statuses and ideologies are from an objective perspective that can be categorized. Through this paradigm, the goal was to ensure that the research is observable, universal, and objective and that racial identification can be observed from multiple perspectives. As a part of the post-positivist paradigm, hypotheses were established preceding the experiment and the hypothetical constructs of racial identity and racial ideology were clearly

defined. This viewpoint embodied the most reliable and logical paradigm that allowed for objective and universal conclusions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Improving race relations in social settings, such as in the workplace and higher education, has been the focus of research on the impact of diversity in Americans' lives (Hostager & De Meuse, 2008; Denson & Chang, 2008). Few studies have considered residential integration/segregation and interracial friendships (Charles, 2000; Steams, Buchmann & Bonneau, 2009; Emerson et al. 2001). This literature review will explore what research has been conducted on attitudes, racial identity, racial ideology and behavioral choices.

Residential Segregation

In our ever evolving multicultural American society, residential integration is still very limited. Many individuals continue to live in racially homogenous locations with minimal residents of other racial/ethnic groups (Charles, 2000). However, college and universities tend to have a heterogeneous racial/ethnic environment in close proximity to each other. Koehler and Skvoretz (2009) assessed residential housing on a college campus to determine the factors that impact residential segregation. Their study included using a particular university as a case study, which observed an increase in campus segregation. Students generally make housing choices based on preferences without fully knowing the extent of what other students may have chosen for housing. Through mathematical analysis of the housing application, they found that both Black and White students ranked housing locations that were predominately Black as higher than any other housing locations. Koehler and Skvoretz (2009) found that junior and senior class White students were more likely to move off campus and

live in rental homes, increasing the racial segregation of the students. In addition, many of the predominately Black dorms were historical and older, and less expensive than the newer dorms. Overall, Koehler and Skvoretz (2009) found that housing cost and minor differences in preferences led to residential segregation of students.

Survey data collected from the 1970s to 1990s is informative in terms of White attitudes about residential integration, housing laws and social distance (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo & Krysan, 1997). For housing integration, participants were asked to respond to an item about a White person's rights to keep Blacks out of predominantly White residential areas. Overall, there had been a substantial increase in participants who disagree with the statement, suggesting that individuals have become accepting of residential integration. Data on attitudes toward housing laws also reveal increasing support for both the rights of Black people and the implementation of residential integration laws in American communities. This question received the highest level of support than any other implementation question on the survey. Thus, statistical trends suggest that White Americans became willing to extend rights to Black Americans through housing laws.

Schuman et al, (1997) also discuss social distance and the choice to move out of a neighborhood if one Black American family moved in next door, on the same block, or a mass of Black Americans integrated into a neighborhood at one time. White participants show a steady increase in the willingness to stay on the same block and next door to Black American families, as well as, increasing

support for Black Americans to move in mass numbers into the neighborhood. Nevertheless, White individuals would still prefer to live in mostly White neighborhoods. In fact, between the 1970's to the 1990's, the percentages of White people living in predominately White neighborhoods were consistent throughout the two decades. The relationship between these three questions illuminates the increasing acceptance of residential integration. Attitudes on residential integration and social distance changed, yet White Americans' preferences suggest otherwise.

Various studies have explored if race is an important component in racial segregation (Charles, 2000; Emerson et al., 2001; Krysan, Couper, Farley, Forman, 2009). Charles (2000) replicated a study in which participants were asked to formulate their ideal neighborhood by writing down any of the four major racial groups onto each of the fifteen houses. Their results concluded that White individuals prefer a higher percentage of same-race neighbors and are more likely to desire all-White neighborhoods. The study also included other variables, such as homeownership and parenting. The researchers found that other factors increased the preference for White individuals to exclude Black Americans in their neighborhood composition. This conclusion is consistent with the belief that Black Americans moving into a neighborhood is assumed to lead to an increase in crime and a decline in property values (Charles, 2000). Unfortunately, their research was not able to determine the potential reason for the preferences that individuals chose. One of the standing questions that remained was if an

individual's preference/choice was based upon positive attachment to in-group individuals or negative stereotyping of out-group individuals (Charles, 2000).

Other researchers decided to use a different experimental tool to assess preferences in residential choices (Krysan, Couper, Farley & Forman, 2009). Through the use of video stimuli, the experimenters assessed if neighborhood preferences were colorblind or race-based. They also explored if neighborhood racial composition and social class had an influence on preferences. As seen in the previous study on university housing, cost became the major contributor for the residential segregation. Krysan et al. (2009) formulated videos that incorporated actual neighborhoods with different combinations of social class and racial compositions. Individuals were able to see an actual neighborhood with people interacting; similar to when someone is "house hunting". There were five social class levels, ranging from lower working class to upper middle class. The videos showed three variants of each social class, where all the residents were either all Black, all White, or a mixture of the two. They found that social class affected the desirability of certain neighborhoods; however, when controlled for social class, race also independently played a significant role in the desirability of certain neighborhoods. Similar to Charles' study (2000), race contributed to White Americans' preferences based on the composition of the neighborhood.

Emerson, Chair and Yancey (2001) also evaluated residential integration using a telephone survey. Participants were asked to imagine communities that varied in terms of the percentage of people of color. Findings indicated that Hispanic and Asian neighborhood compositions had no independent influence on

the likelihood that White participants would buy a house in the imagined community. However, when the percentage of African Americans increased beyond fifteen percent in an imagined community, participants were less likely to buy a home in the community. In addition, no individuals were willing to buy a home when any of the minority groups' percentage reached sixty-five or higher. These results also suggest that race has an important role in neighborhood preferences among European Americans.

Research on residential segregation/integration and behavioral preferences/choices indicate that European Americans may support residential integration, but their own choices/preferences indicate a desire to live in predominantly White communities or communities that have a low percentage of African Americans. While research on residential segregation/integration is informative, it does little to help us understand variability among European Americans in terms of neighborhood preferences/choices and the relationship between these choices and racial identity and ideology. If an individual has either explicitly or implicitly debunked racial stereotypes about minorities, would it lead to a greater likelihood of White Americans wanting to live in a minority dominated environment? Could racial ideology and/or their racial identity contribute to the choices an individual makes on interacting with minority groups?

Whiteness and White Racial Identity

Helm's (1992) most current White racial identity model includes six statuses, ranging from an unawareness of differences in racial/ethnic groups to multicultural, inclusive attitudes. The first status, contact, entails a lack of

understanding of racial issues and minimal experiences with people of color. Racial and ethnic differences are considered unimportant to acknowledge. People of color are evaluated based on White criteria for what is acceptable. In addition, attempts to acculturate persons of color into being more White is a predominant strategy of interaction (Helms, 1990). The second status, disintegration, consists of desiring strong in-group attachment with same-race individuals through awareness of Whiteness. Race relation issues become evident and cognitive dissonance influences the process of questioning the current racial climate. Within the reintegration status, strong identification with Whiteness and White superiority becomes more pronounced. White culture, norms and traditions are believed to be more superior than other racial groups. Any dissonance from the disintegration status is transformed into anger and frustration with people of color. Behaviorally, Helms (1990) states that passive expression of this status involves avoiding interactions with people of color. Active expression of this status is stated to be in discriminatory behaviors that protect White privilege, such as in not hiring a qualified person of color over a less qualified White individual.

The pseudo independent status is based on redefining White identity into a positive relationship with both people of color and White Americans (Helms, 1990). Responsibility to racism is acknowledged, as well as, the abandonment of White superiority ideals. Behavior still unconsciously perpetuates White superiority by attempting to transform people of color into the White culture. The fifth status, immersion/emersion, is the continuation of redefining and solidifying a

positive White identity that is more conscious of racial issues. The goal is no longer to change people of color, but to change European Americans into understanding racial issues from an affective, emotional and intellectual manner. Finally, the sixth and last status, autonomy, is the solidification of a positive White identity. There becomes more willingness to be more multiculturally conscious by exploring other social identities outside of race.

Helms (1992) defines information processing strategies that are related to each status and describe to responses to environmental stimuli, specifically, contact (denial, obliviousness or avoidance of anxiety evoking information), disintegration (disorientation, confusion and suppression of information), reintegration (distortion of information in an own-group enhancing manner), pseudo-independence (reshaping racial stimuli to fit one's own "liberal" societal framework), immersion/emersion (reeducating and searching for internally defined racial standards), and autonomy (flexible analyses and responses to racial material) (Helms, 1990, p. 188).

Attitudes represented in each status suggest progress in terms of understanding discrimination and prejudice for oppressed racial/ethnic groups.

The statuses can be categorized into two components: abandonment of racism (contact, disintegration, and reintegration) and nonracist White identity (pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion and autonomy) (Helms, 1990). Individuals can encompass more than one status; the dominant status that is expressed is dependent upon the environment that the individual is involved in and if interpretation of the racial event is consistent with the status that "protects the person's sense of well being and self esteem" (Helms, 1990, p. 187).

Secondary statuses may become present if the dominant status is not useful for

coping with a particular racial situation. Even the most diversity oriented/multi-culturally sound individual can retreat back to a lower status, such as reintegration, in a racially charged situation (i.e., discussing immigration laws or in a predominately minority setting).

A part of conceptualizing Whiteness is emphasizing the point that White people have racial identities. Theorists have thought that White individuals are unaware of their racial identity, which is supposed to aid in perpetuating invisibility, innocence and denial of oppression for minority groups. Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll (2009) conducted a survey to assess White Americans awareness of their racial status, their privileges, as well as, the colorblind ideals that are associated with their racial group. They found that White individuals are connected and aware of their racial status, as well as, aware of some of the advantages of being a part of their race. Thus, the awareness portion of Whiteness may not be as invisible as the theories suggest. They also established that the theoretical frameworks on Whiteness are limiting; in fact, the researchers determined that only twenty eight percent of the participants fit into the theoretical definitions of Whiteness. This potentially means that there could be other undefined components, such as racial ideology, and a broader spectrum of Whiteness than originally conceived.

Privilege. McIntosh (1988) is highly noted for defining Whiteness as being intersected with having an “invisible knapsack of White privilege” that allows for the prejudicial views and the expression of discriminatory behaviors. She states that “White privilege [is] an invisible package of unearned assets which [she] can

count on cashing each day” (McIntosh, 1988, p. 292). She then describes twenty-six factors that White Americans do not have to come across in their daily interactions with their environment. This ranges from individual behaviors not being credited to the White race, curriculum materials centered on the Eurocentric perspective and not being harassed while shopping. Further, she states White American’s behaviors will not be attributed to the race as a whole, making it more difficult for people to see the relationship that their race may have on the choices they make and the actions they conduct. Thus, White privilege allows the behaviors of White Americans to be subtle, normative and average in relation to other racial groups.

Parallel with the idea of privilege is also the concept of innocence, which speaks to lack of awareness for the advantages that all White individuals have, regardless of their other social identities. Ross (1990) defines innocence as, “freedom from guilt or sin” (Ross, 1990, p. 27) and suggests that individuals take on the role of innocence to show that they are not responsible for their actions or the actions of others. Much like covert, unintentional racism, innocence can be used to absolve responsibility of oppressive behavior. The person is unaware of their contribution to racism, thus taking the position of an innocent individual inadvertently perpetuates the production of racism. Ross (1990) notes that “when our culture teaches us to be racist and our ideology teaches us racism is evil, we respond by excluding the forbidden lesson from consciousness” (Ross, 1990, p. 29). This particular idea is important as it may help us understand the preferences and behavior of individuals. Their understanding of their behavior

may be under the premise that the decision was “innocent” and not influenced by prejudice attitudes or stereotypes. As a result, White individuals may be less likely to take responsibility for their actions while developing racially homogenous neighborhoods.

Bush (2002) discusses mechanisms that influence the structure and maintenance of racism. One of them speaks directly to the structures that exist for limiting interactions amongst individuals; she states this as “the rigid regulation of discourse reinforces and reproduces racialized patterns within society’s structures” (Bush, 2002, p. 39). These discourses limit the relationships between races, the acceptable amount of minorities allowed in a predominately White area, as well as, acceptable exploration of issues in government, the classroom and other settings. In essence, these patterns set a template that structures our daily interactions, hindering the ability for individuals to transcend the frameworks that already exist. This also speaks to White privilege and how racist templates make it difficult for White individuals to go against these patterns, particularly when they are able to benefit from White privilege.

Beyond the relationship between racism and White privilege, Branscombe, Schmitt and Schiffhauer (2007) have explored the relationship between privilege and racial attitudes. White participants were separated into three groups, two experimental and a control group. Participants in the experimental groups were asked to write about how being White benefited (privileged condition) or did not benefit (non-privileged condition) them in their daily life; the control group was asked to just write about life events they have experienced. At the conclusion of

the writing portion, students completed a scale assessing modern racism.

Branscombe et al., (2007) found that participants who were primed to write about the benefits of being White showed stronger endorsements of modern racism than participants primed by being asked to write about life events.

In a second study using the same research methodology, Branscombe et al, (2007) considered the impact of priming participants by asking them to write about their White racial identity. Similar to the first study, participants who were primed with writing about their White racial identity showed stronger endorsements of modern racism than participants primed with writing about life events. Additional findings indicated that White participants who did not identify strongly with being White endorsed less modern racism than participants who identified strongly with being White. The researchers indicated that modern racism is used as a protection of White identity (Branscombe et. al., 2007).

Some of the issues with the study are the measures that were used. The article states that there are not many empirical studies on the theoretical constructs of Whiteness and very little measures that are valid to be used for research. Their group decided to use a five item scale that has not be assessed for reliability or validity. Based on the questions, they only seem to assess a particular dimension of Whiteness, since the items all loaded on a single item. Therefore, there is lack of clarification as to how well this scale can assess the multifaceted dimensions of White identification.

Overall, racial reality falls under the worldview of an individual, which can be defined as “the set of beliefs and assumptions that describe reality” (Harrell &

Gallardo, 2008, p. 114). In essence, innocence, White privilege and White racial identities shape people's perceptions of reality. For example, an individual in the contact status believes that equal opportunity exists for all, thus their reality of the academic achievement gap is that Black people are unmotivated. Racial ideologies or worldviews are constructs separate from, but related to, racial identity.

Racial Ideology

Racial ideologies are beliefs an individual holds that can affect interactions with other members of society; the two dominant ideologies are colorblind and multicultural. Colorblind ideology evolved as the mainstream racial belief system after the Civil Right Movement (Wander, Martin & Nakayama, 1999). During this time period, overt racism was impacting the lives of people of color through Jim Crow laws and residential/school segregation. Amendments were passed that restricted discrimination towards people of color and Jim Crow laws were eventually considered unconstitutional. With the change in laws, people evolved into a more colorblind approach as a means to avoid being considered racist. Thus, the colorblind ideology emerged, which can be defined as ignoring skin color and valuing people in the dominant group (Harrell & Gallardo, 2008). However, the American Psychological Association (APA) found that ignoring differences is not an effective method, as implicit bias and negative stereotypes can lead to discriminatory actions and prejudices against individuals of color (APA, 2004). Based on the research conducted on the impact of multiculturalism,

the academic realm has begun to take on the ideals of multiculturalism, which will be discussed in further detail.

Multiculturalism as an ideology is defined as being inclusive of all racial/ethnic groups, an awareness of privilege and its impact of persons of color as well, and expressing behaviors contradictory to discrimination and oppression (Harrell & Gallardo, 2008). Holding a multicultural worldview means having a consciousness of the sociopolitical structures of racism and seeing beyond the cultural narratives that are written from an ethnocentric viewpoint. APA is emphasizing the importance of a multicultural viewpoint in order to get beyond the covert racism of our society (APA, 2004). Thus, this racial ideology suggests being cognizant of differences when interacting with other racial/ethnic groups.

Individuals may not go beyond the surface level of the information enough to change their racial worldview. European Americans generally know about multicultural views, but do not leave the comfort zone of knowledge to understand on an affective and emotional level (Thompson, 2003). Lewis (2001) conducted an ethnographic, qualitative study, which emphasized the importance of critical multiculturalism in all schools, particularly in predominately homogenous settings. As stated previously, lessons of racism are still taught, even if the colorblind ideology is the dominant perspective. She states the need for multicultural education in all schools, but emphasizes the existence of “tourism curriculum”, which only explores the surface of cultural differences, still aids in the development of our current racial structure (Lewis, 2001). She also found similar results to the previous study in a predominately White school

setting, in which individuals stated colorblind ideals, but developed stereotypes of the students of color and other environments. What she noticed is the contradictory nature of the colorblind ideals and how limited contact developed stereotypical assumptions of people of color.

The concept of meritocracy operates under the monocultural and colorblind ideology, which Sue (2004) emphasizes as a product of cultural conditioning. He states that Americans learn three myths, “a) meritocracy (the cream of the crop will rise to the top), b) equal opportunity (everyone has a change to succeed in this society), and c) fair treatment (equal treatment is fair treatment)” (Sue, 2004, p. 766). As a result of these myths, Americans in power positions believe that their opportunities and choices are based on hard work and an equal playing field. However, that belief system is considered ethnocentric monoculturalism, which is a “belief in the superiority of one group’s cultural heritage, history values, language, beliefs, religion, traditions, and arts and crafts” (Sue, 2004, p. 764). Under this ideology, individuals believe that certain religions, languages, cultural history are superior to those of others. One of the main questions this study asked was if ideologies, such as ethnocentric monoculturalism, and White racial identity influence choices, preferences and behaviors. The following studies on racial ideology aid in conceptualizing the influence of racial attitudes on choices and behavior.

One particular study examined the effect of multicultural, colorblind ideologies and intergroup perceptions of White and Black Americans (Ryan et. al., 2007). Their results suggest that White Americans are more likely to believe

that a colorblind ideology will improve race relations. In addition, they found that stronger endorsement of a colorblind ideology was associated with exhibiting stronger stereotypes on out-group individuals. Endorsement of a multicultural ideology was correlated with “greater internal motivation to control prejudice” (Ryan et al., 2007, p. 632).

Racial stereotypes are the keys factors that influence prejudicial attitudes and discrimination on minority groups. A more recent study explored racial ideology, particularly multicultural and colorblind, on the influence of intergroup attitudes in college students (Karafantis, Pierre-Louis & Lewandowski, 2010). Their experiment was formulated to assess whether multicultural and colorblind conditions influenced intergroup attitudes. Through three conditions of colorblind, multicultural and control, students were provided fictitious messages that embodied the two ideologies; the control group was given minimal instructions that did not associate with either ideology. They found that individuals in the multicultural group were more likely to have prejudicial and discriminatory attitudes, particularly towards Asians. In essence, the finding suggested that the multicultural ideology increases the likelihood of prejudiced views based on the availability of a diverse number of racial indicators (Karafantis, Pierre-Louis & Lewandowski, 2010, p. 701). One of the major issues is the temporary nature of the message; even with the multicultural message, individuals may not have become any more knowledgeable about multiculturalism. The other issue is priming individuals with a particular ideology and ignoring the personal ideologies that they believe. Without understanding the personal beliefs of an individual,

priming may only temporarily pose as an influence, in addition to possibly not affecting the racial ideology of the individual at all. Therefore, it is difficult to say which one truly had more of an influence, the priming message or one's personal ideology. Thus, this study assesses the racial ideology and identity of each individual to determine the effect on neighborhood preferences.

Table 1

Summary of Helms (1990) White Racial Identity Model

Status	Attitudinal Themes
Contact status	Lack of understanding of racism, minimal experiences with people of color, racial differences are important to acknowledge
Reintegration Status	White culture and traditions are superior, anti-minority feelings, Whiteness becomes more pronounced, racial/ethnic minorities are to blame for their own problems
Pseudo- Independent	Redefining White identity into positive relationship with all racial groups, acknowledges responsibility to racism, abandons ideals of White superiority, understands racial issues on conceptual and intellectual level
Autonomy	Increasing awareness of Whiteness, acceptance of one's role in perpetuating racism, knowledgeable about racial issues, not fearful of experiential reality of race, non-racist White identity develops

Table 2
Summary of the Three Racial Ideologies

Types of Worldviews	Attitudinal themes
Multicultural Ideology	Inclusive attitude, values differences, global understanding of the interconnectedness between cultures, all individuals are fully human, conscious of diversity
Colorblind Ideology	Belief in individualism, should not acknowledge differences in skin color, heritage, culture and tradition
Monocultural Ideology	assimilation to the dominant worldview, individualism, competition, value people similar to the dominant worldview

Goals

The overall literature review provided information on the research and theoretical structures that already exist in the research field. The studies suggest the connection between racial ideology and racial identity; therefore this study attempts to connect the relationships between these constructs. In terms of behavior and choices, White racial identity mainly exists as a theoretical level and there has been research on the impact of racial ideology and behavior; however conclusions were based on methodology or the exclusion of other variables within race relations. This study delved into the utilization of both racial identity and racial ideology to assess preferences and choices of White Americans.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Based on the previous research conducted, this study attempted to understand whether there is there a relationship between racial ideology and White racial identity. On a behavior level, this study explored the influence of racial ideology on the choices and preferences a White individual decides in relation to residential locations. Are explicit racial attitudes consistent with implicit racial attitudes? How does this correspond with behavior in terms of preferences? The following hypotheses were tested:

- 1) stronger contact racial identity will be related to a strong colorblind ideology
- 2) stronger reintegration racial identity will be related to stronger monocultural and colorblind ideologies
- 3) stronger pseudo-independence racial identity will be related to strong monocultural and multicultural ideologies
- 4) stronger autonomy racial identity will be related to a strong multicultural ideology.
- 5) stronger multicultural views will be predictive for less White families chosen for imagined future neighborhood
- 6) stronger monocultural and colorblind views will be predictive for more White families chosen for imagined future neighborhood

Chapter 3: Methods

Participants

Forty eight White high school and college students between the ages of 16-22 were participants in this study ($M=18$, $SD= 1.72$). Parental consent was required for students under the age of 18 to participate. Of the sample, 36% were males and 64% were females. Thirty-eight percent were college students and 62% were high school students. The students ranged from high school juniors (11th grade) to college seniors. The class year demographics of the participants included: 24.4 % 11th graders, 42.2% 12th graders, 4.4% college first-years, 6.7 % college sophomores, 4.4% college juniors, and 17.8 % college seniors. Students also reported demographics on their communities with 73% living in suburban environments and 93% of participants reporting the communities encompassing mostly White inhabitants.

Community Background. Both schools are set in a predominately White (92%) suburban town in southern Massachusetts. The town's population consists of approximately 20,000 inhabitants. The college is a small liberal arts school with a population of over 1,500 students. Both the college and the high school are predominately White (90%) (Buzz Newspaper, 2007).

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the college through class announcements and emails. Participants were required to send emails with information about their race, gender and class year to assist with identifying White students for participation. The high school students that submitted a consent form to school

personnel (see Appendix B) were selected to be a part of the study. Three non-White high school students were permitted to complete the task, but were exempt from completing the questionnaires and were not included in the sample. The basis of the procedure consisted of participants completing two portions of the study; a neighborhood task and questionnaires. The entire study took about 20-30 minutes to complete, with the task consisting of 5-7 minutes and the questionnaires requiring 10-20 minutes.

The first portion consisted of the task, where participants entered a designated room in isolation. A White research assistant was waiting to provide participants with further instructions from a pre-developed prompt sheet (see Appendix A). A research assistant was hired to minimize the influence of race on participants' choices and preferences on the neighborhood task. Participants were asked to sit at a desk away from the neighborhood task research materials in order to complete a consent form (see Appendix C) before beginning the task. The research assistant discussed the consent form with the participant and answered any questions. Participants were provided a pre-task sheet layout (see Appendix D), which explained the basis of the neighborhood task and instructions before participants viewed the pictures of the families.

Participants were then taken to the opposite side of the room where eight paper printed houses were displayed on the left side of the table and thirty-two family color photos on the right (see Appendix E for pictures). The families consisted of Asian, Black, White and Hispanic families of four people: a heterosexual couple with two children (a boy and a girl). There were two families

of each race that were duplicated four times to make eight families for each race. This allowed the individual to have the option to make a neighborhood exclusively of one race if desired. Participants were informed to view the duplicate pictures as similar families to minimize confusion.

Participants were then asked to develop an ideal neighborhood that they would want to live in the future. They were given one minute to complete the first part of the neighborhood task. For the tasks, the research assistant stood away from the participant in order not to see their results. Once the first part was completed, the participant was asked to turn over the pictures and write down the number assigned to the families they chose on the corresponding scoring sheet (see Appendix F). Once the results were written, the participant discarded the used family pictures into a cardboard box on the table. Students were then asked to select eight families for a neighborhood that would be least desirable to live in. The participants completed the same scoring method as the “most desirable” part of the task and were asked proceed to a different location to complete the questionnaire portion of the study.

There were some slight differences in the procedure for the high school sample. The differences in procedure were mainly around the degree of exposure to outside variables. For the college environment, students were scheduled at specific dates and times. They were informed via email to meet at a designated room, in a school building, during the weekend during off peak hours. This allowed them to be greeted by only the research assistant. As for the high school sample, students were greeted and instructed by the both the head

researcher, who is Black, and a research assistant, who is White, before the task. Students were informed, by the head researcher, when to go into the designated room to complete the task; therefore students were exposed to a person of color before entering the room which may have impacted participants' choices. Instructions for completing the questionnaires were given by the head researcher for both samples, however college participants were in an isolated room with a provided laptop, while high school participants were in the school's library where other activities were occurring.

Pilot Testing

A pilot study was required to establish the research procedure. The first pilot study consisted of using racially different plastic dolls and a five minute time frame. First, participants were asked to identify which dolls closely related to them. Then participants were asked to choose families that they would want to have in their neighborhood, the families excluded were assumed to be a part of the "least desirable" neighbors groups. Based on the pilot, the dolls were found to be inappropriate for the neighborhood task because their gender and race were unclear.

A second pilot was conducted with thirty-two color photos of families and the time for administering the task was reduced from five to two minutes. For this pilot participants were asked to choose families that were considered least desirable for participants' future neighborhood. Through this pilot, participants were not aware to use duplicates of the families to complete the task. Therefore, clarifications were made in the script so that participants clearly understood that

the duplicates should represent separate families for the purposes of the task. Participants were also looking at the families and making decisions while instructions were provided. This was necessary to change because the goal of the study was to have individuals make immediate decisions. Therefore, the procedure was changed to provide the participant with a pre-sheet so that they had an idea of what the study consisted of without seeing the families. Overall, the pilot studies helped to clarify the type of materials that can be used in the study, as well as clarifying the instructions needed for participants to correctly complete the task.

Measures

Questionnaires were completed by participants online through Survey Gizmo. Four questionnaires were used; White Racial Consciousness Development Scale (WRCDS-R), Miville, Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (MGUDS-S), the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDOS), and the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (COBRAS).

White Racial Consciousness Development Scale (WRCDS-R). The WRCDS-R assesses White racial identity statuses based upon Helm's (1995) conceptual framework on White racial identity. Lee et al, (2007) evaluated the reliability and validity of the measure using exploratory factor analysis and found that the items divided into four constructs reflecting contact, reintegration, pseudo-independent and autonomy statuses. The scale is constructed on a five point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Sample questions for the scale are: I have had little or no contact with Black

people other than seeing them on campus (contact status); Whenever I witness it, I confront people with racist comments (autonomy status) (see Appendix G). Higher scores on any the subscales indicate an association between the individual and the identity status. Cronbach alphas for the subscale items were all 0.78 and higher. For this study Cronbach alphas for each of the subscales are as follows: contact (.76), reintegration (.88), pseudo-independent (.80), autonomy (.83).

Miville-Guzman Universality- Diversity Scale- Short Form (MGUDS-S).

This scale was used to assess multicultural views and diversity. Originally the scale consisted of forty five items, however through confirmatory factor analysis; researchers determined that the five highest items in each subscale have the ability to assess the same constructs as the long form (Fuentes et. al., 2000). A strong correlation was found between the long and short forms, suggesting the short form is viable for use. An example of a scale item consist of the following: getting to know someone from another race is generally uncomfortable for me (see Appendix H). The multicultural scale operates on a six point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). Higher scores imply stronger multicultural views. Cronbach's alpha for the current study is .84, indicating strong reliability.

Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDOS). This scale was designed to assess social dominance orientation, which is extent to which one desires group dominance and superiority in relation to other societal groups (Pratto et. al., 2004). This orientation is based on attitudes in intergroup relations that

perceive societal groups as either equal or unequal. Those who have a high social dominance orientation are more likely to view societal groups in a hierarchal superior-inferior orientation. This scale has the ability to measure monoculturalism because of the superior and/inferior orientation that both constructs embody. The scale functions on a seven point Likert scale ranging from very negative (1) to very positive (7). Sample scale items are: if certain groups stayed in their place, we would have less problems; no group should dominate in society (see Appendix I). Higher scores indicate the support for inequality and the hierarchical orientation of societal groups. Pratto et al (2004) found that internal reliability throughout all the samples was a Cronbach alpha average of .83. The Cronbach alpha for this current study was .91.

Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (COBRAS). The COBRAS scale measured colorblind racial attitudes. Three structure factor model emerged from scale construction research; Racial Privileges, Institutional Racism, and Blatant Racial Attitudes (Neville et al. 2000). Reliability and validity have been established for the measure with past research demonstrating a .86 alpha (Neville, et. al., 2000). The colorblind attitudes scale is based on a six point Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). Examples for scale items consist of the following: it is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American; racism is a major problem in the U.S (see Appendix J). Higher scores signify stronger colorblind ideals. For this present study, the Cronbach alpha was 0.84.

Chapter 4: Results

Three statistics were used to analyze the data and investigate the relationship between racial identity, racial ideology and neighborhood preferences. First, correlations were used to assess the relationship between the three constructs of interest. Second, t-tests were used to assess mean differences between the number of White families selected for ideal and least ideal neighborhood preferences. Finally, multiple regression analysis was used evaluate which ideology and identity status constructs best predict neighborhood preferences. One case wise score was not used based upon being an outlier in relation to the rest of the results.

Relationship between Racial Identity, Racial Ideology, and Neighborhood Preferences

Table 1 provides the correlations between scores on the ideologies and identity statuses measures and the neighborhood tasks. No correlation was found between contact status and colorblind ideology scores [$r=.02, p\leq .87$]. A strong positive relationship was found between contact status scores and ideal neighborhood family preference scores [$r=.54, p<.0005$]. Reintegration status scores were positively correlated with both monocultural [$r=.62, p<.0005$] and colorblind ideology [$r=.77, p<.0005$] scores. Pseudo-independent status scores were not related to either multicultural [$r=.03, p\leq .84$] or monocultural [$r=.24, p\leq .19$] ideology scores. However, pseudo-independent status scores were negatively correlated with colorblind ideology scores [$r= -.63, p<.0005$]. Finally, autonomy status scores were negatively related relationship with both the ideal task [$r= -.64, p<.0005$] and a strong positive relationship with the multicultural ideology [$r= .58, p<.0005$].

Differences between Ideal and Least Ideal Neighborhood Preferences

T-test was conducted to assess the mean differences for the number of families used in the ideal and least ideal neighborhood task. The results display a higher number of White families included in the ideal neighborhood ($M=3.32$, $SD=1.19$) than the least ideal neighborhood ($M=1.07$, $SD=1.47$) [$t(40) = 18.80$, $p < .0005$].

Predictors of Ideal Neighborhood Preferences

Two regression equations with seven predictor variables from the racial ideology scale scores and the White identity subscale scores were used to evaluate the data. Regression equation for ideal neighborhood preference scores were significant ($F(7, 37) = 6.16$, $p \leq .0005$). The number of White families included in the ideal neighborhood was regressed against racial ideologies and racial identity status scores. The results demonstrate that higher autonomy scores were predictive of less White families preferred in the ideal neighborhood (see table 2). Higher reintegration scores were predictive of more White families preferred in the ideal neighborhood. Specifically, autonomy scores accounted for 6% of the variance ($\beta=0.06$, $p \leq .044$), where as the reintegration status scores accounted for 8% of the variance ($\beta=0.04$, $p \leq .022$).

Predictors of Least Ideal Neighborhood Preferences

The standard regression equation for the least ideal neighborhood preferences approached significance ($F(7, 39) = 1.89$, $p \leq .101$) (see table 3). Higher autonomy scores were predictive of more White families preferred in the least ideal neighborhood. Autonomy accounted for 11% of the variance ($\beta=0.91$,

$p \leq .026$). Approaching significance are the pseudo-independent scores in predicting a preference for less White families in the least ideal neighborhood ($\beta=0.41, p \leq .074$).

TABLE 1: Correlations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	M	SD
1 Multicultural		-.317*	-.536**	-.522**	-.396**	.032	.577**	-.623**	.219	68.02	9.36
2 Colorblind			.490**	.025	.773**	-.633**	-.298*	.221	.015	68.16	13.77
3 Monocultural				.215	.622**	-.236	-.485**	.421**	-.241	36.13	14.47
4 Contact					.047	.183	-.522**	.540**	-.225	20.11	7.08
5 Reintegration						-.523**	-.275	.409**	-.132	45.51	13.60
6 Pseudo-Independent							.153	-.021	-.194	34.36	9.00
7 Autonomy								-.643**	.361*	48.42	8.89
8 Ideal									-.417**	3.33	1.12
9 Least										1.07	1.47

Note: $N=42$

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

1=Multicultural; 2=Colorblind; 3=Monocultural; 4=Contact; 5=Reintegration; 6=Pseudo;

7=Autonomy; 8=Ideal; 9=Least

Table 2: Predictors of White Families Included in Ideal Neighborhood

Variable	B	Beta	95 % CI
(Constant)	6.21		[1.16, 11.25]
Multicultural	-0.02	-0.15	[-.06,.03]
Colorblind	-0.02	-0.30	[-.06,.01]
Monocultural	-0.00	-0.06	[-.03,.02]
Contact	0.03	0.20	[-.02,.08]
Reintegration	0.04*	0.52*	[.01,.08]
Pseudo	0.01	0.08	[-.03,.05]
Autonomy	-0.06*	-0.39*	[-.11,-.00]
R ²	0.48		

a. Dependent Variable: Ideal

b. * $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$

Table 3: Predictors of White Families Included in Least Ideal Neighborhood

Variable	β	Beta	95 % CI
(Constant)	1.27		[-6.89, 9.43]
Multicultural	-.03	-.18	[-.10, .04]
Colorblind	.02	.20	[-.04, .08]
Monocultural	-.01	-.07	[-.05, .04]
Contact	.02	.07	[-.07, .01]
Reintegration	-.04	-.39	[-.10, .02]
Pseudo	-.07	-.40	[-.14, .01]
Autonomy	.09*	.52*	[.01, .07]
R ²	0.13		

a. Dependent Variable: Least

b. * $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$

Chapter 5: Discussion

Many of the hypotheses have been supported with moderate to significant results, as well as other findings that were not expected. It was hypothesized that a stronger contact status racial identity would be related to a strong colorblind ideology which was not supported by the data. However, a stronger contact status racial identity was related to a stronger monocultural ideology. For hypothesis two, it was predicted that a strong reintegration status racial identity would be related to strong monocultural and colorblind ideologies, which was supported by the data. Pseudo-independent status was predicted to be positively correlated with monocultural and multicultural ideologies, but this was not supported by the data. Instead, a strong pseudo-independent status racial identity was related to a weaker colorblind ideology. Finally, hypothesis four was supported because a stronger autonomy status racial identity was related to a stronger multicultural ideology.

For the final hypothesis, it was predicted that a strong monocultural and colorblind ideology would be related to a higher number of White families for ideal neighborhood preferences while a strong multicultural ideology would be related to less White families chosen for ideal neighborhood preferences. The results indicate that a stronger autonomy status racial identity predicted the number of White families chosen for both ideal and least ideal future neighborhood. Stronger reintegration status also predicted the number of White families preferred for the least ideal neighborhood.

Racial Identity and Racial Ideology

A strong contact status racial identity entails a belief in societal stereotypes and limited to no contact with persons of color. Therefore, monocultural attitudes reflect placing racial groups in a hierarchy, where the White American culture is considered the highest level of the social hierarchy. Sue's (2004) concept of ethnocentric monoculturalism may be the relationship that links the contact status and the monocultural ideology together. Both concepts appear to deal with a state of superiority of one's culture and determining the hierarchy of other's heritage based on misinformed stereotypes from marginal interaction with other racial groups (Sue, 2004).

Individuals can encompass either or both monocultural and colorblind ideologies through ignoring racial differences, including their own, yet believing in the superiority of one's racial group. For example, Lewis (2001) found that teachers who held colorblind ideologies taught Eurocentric perspectives as the superior view and developed stereotypes of their students of color by making judgments on behavior based on media and societal overgeneralizations. The intersection between the reintegration status and the monocultural/colorblind ideologies implies that these ideologies contain both distinct and overlapping elements. The reintegration status has a strong association with both ideologies, but it is unclear whether this status can include only one or a combination within a particular person. Helms (1990) discusses the active and passive expression of this status. Active expression of the reintegration status intends to treat people of color as inferior, which Helms (1990) indicates protects White privilege and in-

group identity attachment. This is related to monoculturalism as White superiority intends to maintain the dominant ideology through the belief of meritocracy (Sue, 2004). Passive expression of the reintegration status embodies ignoring differences and avoiding interactions with people of color, which draws similarities with the colorblind ideology. Colorblind ideals aim to ignore differences in order to avoid being perceived as culturally insensitive. The relationship between the reintegration status, and colorblind/monocultural ideology suggest that expression of this status is determined based upon the dominant racial ideology.

The pseudo-independent status is based on becoming more conscious of minority groups and societal inequalities. Although the pseudo-independent status was showed no relationship to monocultural and multicultural ideologies, the results suggested that individuals within the pseudo-independent have minimal colorblind viewpoints. Helms (1992) explains that White individuals beginning understand minority issues through racial dilemmas that cause them to conceptualize the inequalities of oppressed groups. The results are consistent with Ryan et al. (2007) study, where stronger endorsement of colorblind ideology was related to stronger stereotypes of out-group members. Individuals within this status are beginning to conceptualize racial inequalities and view people of color in a more positive manner. As Sue (2004) states, the denial of differences also involves denying the existence of unfair power and privilege balances in society. Bush (2002) also discussed the mechanism of racism as a rigid discourse that is reinforced and reproduced by prejudice and discrimination. At the pseudo-

independent status, one could advocate that the rigid discourse of racism is being redefined. Based on the relationship between the pseudo-independent status and the colorblind ideology, limited connection to colorblind ideals may aid in strengthening one's understanding of differences and diversity, maintaining their presence within two of the statuses (i.e., pseudo-independent and autonomy) of Helm's (1990) model.

The strong relationship between the autonomy status racial identity and multicultural ideology is not surprising. Individuals with competency in multiculturalism value differences and desire to learn about multicultural ideals. A multicultural worldview promotes exploration their own cultural background and determines their responsibility in perpetuating racial stereotypes and discrimination (Harrell & Gallardo, 2008). The autonomy status allows them to be acutely aware of their Whiteness and how innocence, invisibility and negative stereotyping affected their perceptions of people of color in the past. This is consistent with previous studies that found that endorsement of multicultural ideals provided a greater motivation to control prejudice (Ryan et al., 2007). The internalization of multicultural worldviews indicated a reduction in stereotyping other racial groups.

Future Neighborhood Preferences

Individuals with a strong autonomy status predicted less White families preferred for the ideal neighborhood and more White families for the least ideal neighborhood. The attitudes and beliefs that accompany a strong autonomy status racial identity may lead to a desire to live in an inclusive environment and

be comfortable with living in a neighborhood with less White Americans. Tatum (1994) found that students who embraced multicultural beliefs were more likely to have strong autonomy and pseudo-independent status racial identities. The students within this status continue to make decisions that sustained multicultural ideals (Tatum, 1994).

A strong reintegration status racial identity is related to preferring more White neighbors in one's future ideal neighborhood and less White neighbors in one's least ideal neighborhood. These preferences are related to beliefs associated with the reintegration status including avoidance, discomfort, and unwillingness to tolerate people that are different. Helms (1990) states that individuals with strong White superiority attitudes are more likely to have little to no intolerance and anger towards other racial groups. She also indicates that removal or avoidance from minority dominated environments is a common expression of individuals within this status. Furthermore, individuals with a strong reintegration status are likely to maintain a White in-group attachment by maintaining negative stereotypes of people of color. Cognitive dissonance at this status involves learning about moral dilemmas and issues relating to race. However, avoidance of discussions related to White privilege maintains mental equilibrium, which perpetuates racial stereotypes and discrimination. Finally, increased interactions with people of color can lead to a shift in attitudes, which might be perceived as deviation from one's racial group (Helms, 1990). Avoidance is the chosen solution for these individuals in order to not have to confront the experiential and affective aspects of racial issues.

For the overall sample, more White families were placed in the ideal neighborhood than the least ideal neighborhood, suggesting that individuals are comfortable placing higher numbers of White families into their ideal neighborhood and less likely to place White families in the least ideal neighborhood. For the ideal neighborhood preferences, White families were preferred 40.1% of the time, while only 16.9% for the least ideal neighborhood. When exploring the numbers from a minority perspective, Asian and Hispanic families were preferred least in the ideal neighborhood, 17.4 % and 16.9 % respectively. For the least ideal neighborhood preferences, Asian and Hispanic families were used the most, 25.1% and 43.4 % respectively. Preferences for African American families for the ideal and least ideal neighborhood were 14.6 % and 25.6 % respectively. Perhaps among the three groups, African Americans are more tolerated and accepted. In contrast, Hispanics may be least preferred in the ideal neighborhoods due to current immigration discourse. While the present study demonstrated that Hispanics were the least desirable group, other research using a telephone survey method found African Americans to be the least desirable group for neighborhood preferences (Emerson et al, 2001). This difference can be attributed to several factors including shift in racial climate from a decade ago, specific perceptions of racial groups, and regional differences (i.e., south, northeast, west, Midwest).

Steele (2010) discusses the idea of the “critical mass cue”, which is the amount of individuals that have a similar identity within the same setting (p. 140). He states that individuals who perceive a low population of people similar to them

will attempt to assess the likelihood of being marginalized within that particular environment. Marginalization can result in being questioned constantly about racial views and not having anyone to relate from a racial heritage perspective. More White families being preferred for ideal future neighborhood may indicate participants' needs for a critical mass in order to feel comfortable living and forming connections with potential neighbors, even within an imagined task scenario of forming a neighborhood. Research suggests that in-group attachment serves important functions for adaptation to one's environment (Cross & Cross, 2008) regardless of one's racial/ethnic background.

Implications

Majority of the implications involve the education of racial identity and ideology in institutions of learning. Lewis (2001) argues that critical multiculturalism is important to disentangle all levels of discrimination and break the surface of racial issues. From the diversity consulting and counseling perspective, incorporating the identity model into more training methods may help individuals to develop a stronger affinity to higher levels of the identity model. The use of the racial identity model within research studies may produce results that help psychologists' better understand people's behaviors.

Limitations

The number of participants was a major impediment to this study. The small sample affects the ability to generalize the results to a large population. Data collection was more effective at the high school than at the college. The high school students expressed interested in the study, yet the limited amount of

days that were provided to collect data affected the number of participants included. As for the college students, a limited amount of students signed up for the study because of lack of interest, scheduling conflicts, among other issues. This study also did not provide an incentive for participation, which might have drawn in more student engagement. Therefore, the study may not have been able to gauge an accurate representation. Another limitation was the length of the task and the questionnaire. There were approximately one hundred questions on the questionnaire, which took between fifteen to twenty-five minutes for each student to complete. Therefore, participants may have become fatigued from the lengthiness of the study.

Social desirability posed an issue. Precautions had been taken through hiring a research assistant; however participants were likely to the fact that an African American woman was the head researcher. This information may have primed individuals for the entire study, possibly leading to the percentages for the African American group. Other issues with social desirability included students potentially gauging the intentions of the study after the first portion of the task. Individuals may have been able to make snap decisions in the one minute time frame that projected a more diverse attitude. Participants could have answered questions or completed the task to not appear racist or prejudiced. In relation to the task and the questionnaire, both tasks might have primed individuals to answer questions on the questionnaire that confirmed their neighborhood choices and/or appear more diverse. Individuals may have indicated preferences that were more liberal, multicultural and egalitarian. Students could have also

expressed the ideals of multiculturalism in the questionnaire, while not doing so when actually selecting a future neighborhood, leading to an inconsistency with results.

The task only explores future selection in terms of intentions and preferences. People were able formulating their own neighborhoods, when in naturalistic settings, people choose a neighborhood to become a part of. Changes to the neighborhood task might reflect different decisions and preferences. Also, this task only looks at race and not other factors. This was intended to explore the implications on race in choosing a community; however race may not always affect neighborhood preference. Finally, the reintegration status for the ideal neighborhood and autonomy status for both tasks only account for a marginal percentage of the regression model, suggesting that there are other variables not included that could affect an individual's preference.

Conclusion

This study found relationships between racial ideology, racial identity and the preferences of White individuals. The results suggested that autonomy status in the racial identity predicted preferences in an imagined neighborhood. Further, the reintegration status accounted for preferences for White families in the undesirable neighborhood choices. In regards to residential segregation, racial attitudes corresponded into preferences that affected the development of future neighborhoods. Residential segregation attributes to the social distance that impeded interaction with people of a different race. Options could consist of using the basic framework for other racial groups and seeing their identity development

in relation to their preferences. This could assess the use of identity models in more research studies, specifically for understanding behavior. Also, changing the type of behavior that is observed is another method for understanding the influence of racial identity, racial ideology and behavior.

In terms of racial identity and ideology, studies could assess the difference in racial attitudes and identity before and after multicultural education. This could also provide us with information on the types of effective education that impact behavior and preferences. Finally, a longitudinal study could assess preferences and behavior in naturalistic settings by examining preferences in college students and actual housing selection subsequent years after the initial assessment.

Within the longitudinal study, interracial communication could also be evaluated to determine if intercultural interactions occur between families of different races in a heterogeneous neighborhood. Overall, breaking racial barriers through awareness, education and consistent interaction may be the dosage of medicine that the U.S needs to build bridges between racial groups.

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Appendix A: Neighborhood Selection Prompts

Hello, my name is _____ and thank you for your participation. Before we get started, please read and sign the consent form for your participation in the study. If you have questions about the study, feel free to ask now.

Your name will not be associated with the results. You will now be identified by your participant number, which is (provide number for student)

Pre- Sheet and Part One: We will now move on to starting the study. I have provided a sheet that informs you of the layout of the table. Feel free to ask any questions you may have before you see the table set up using this sheet layout. On the right hand side of the table are 32 families that are representative of our current society. There are duplicates of each family, however think of the duplicates as similar individual families instead of as duplicates.

This task will consist of two parts: For the first part, I would like you to imagine an ideal neighborhood that you, personally, would feel most comfortable in raising a family. You will have one minute to choose 8 families and place each on top of a house in the neighborhood. You may use any families as many times as you please. Also, imagine that you are a part of this neighborhood.

There is no right or wrong answers and I will not be able to see your choices. Be sure to fill in all of the houses with only one family each. Finish this task as quickly as you can within the time frame- you will not be provided additional time. I will be timing you and will inform you when you have 30 and 10 seconds remaining. If you finish beforehand, please let me know. Do you have any questions?

(move to table)Please begin.

....30 seconds left...10 seconds

Part Two

Your time is now up for the first part. In order to not see your results, I will be standing away from view of the results you have chosen. On the back of each picture is a number. Turn over the pictures and write down the numbers exactly

as they appear on the table into the part I box on the scoring sheet. Let me know when you are done....

Once you finish writing your results, place the families used in the first part into the box on the floor. Let me know when you are done....

Part 3

We will move on to the second part. I would like you to imagine a neighborhood that you, personally, would feel least comfortable raising a family in. This neighborhood could be thought about as a neighborhood two towns away.

Again, you will have one minute to choose 8 families from the ones remaining on the table and place each on top of a house.

Same as before, there are duplicates, however think of the duplicates as similar individual families. Remember, there is no right or wrong answer and I will not see your choices. Be sure to fill in all of the houses with only one family each.

Again, finish this task as quickly as you can within the time frame- you will not be provided additional time. I will be timing you and I will inform you of the 30 second and 10 second mark. Again if you finish beforehand, please let me know.

Do you have any questions?Please begin....30 seconds

Part Four: Your time is now up for the second part. Again, in order to not see your results, I will be standing away from view. Similar as before, turn over the pictures and write down the numbers on the scoring sheet exactly as they appear on the table into the part II box on your sheet. Let me know when you are done. Once you finish writing your results, place all the families, both used and unused, into the box on the floor. Place your scoring sheet flipped over to the blank side on the table next to the consent form. Let me know when you are done...

Questionnaire: Thank you for completing the first part of the study. You will now complete the second half, which is an online questionnaire. This portion will be completed on the laptop provided in room 105 downstairs. This portion will take you about 20- 30 minutes to complete. Take this colored paper and show the research assistant in the lobby downstairs. This will inform her that you are a part of the study and ready to complete the final component.

Appendix B: Parent Consent Form

This research study is about the preferences and choices people make in a given situation. By conducting this research, I hope to gain a better understanding of the choices and preferences high school and college-aged students make when choosing neighborhoods to live in as adults.

Participation in this research will take approximately 40-50 minutes and will not interfere with their class work. Consent has been provided by principal, Mr. Raymond Dewar to utilize Norton High School students in the study. If you agree to have your child participate, he/she will be asked to complete a 10 minute task solitarily in a designated room. After the task is conducted, he/she will electronically complete a 20-30 minute questionnaire on social attitudes- a computer will be provided for their convenience. Both the task and the questionnaire will have a research assistant administering the instructions, in addition to answering any questions your child may have.

Participation in this research is confidential. To ensure your child’s confidentiality, only identification numbers will appear on the questionnaire and the data collection sheet. This signed consent form will be kept in a separate folder from the data and shredded at the end of the project. Approximately 50 students will be completing this study; their individual responses will not be shared, nor will individual data be recognizable by name by the researchers themselves or any outside individuals. Information that may be shared is a report of the results for the participant’s responses together. If you would like a report of the aggregate data, please contact Lacresha Simpson (contact information provided below).

Participation is voluntary. Your child is free to stop participation in the research as at any time, or to decline to answer any specific questions without penalty. Your signature on this form does not waive you or your child’s legal rights of protection. There are little to no risks with this study. The only anticipated risk is associated with choosing the neighborhoods, which can lead to the participant feeling temporary to mild discomfort.

A parent’s signature does not automatically imply that the child will be a participant. The child must be randomly selected and consent to the study in order to be a participant by completing an additional consent form. The child has the choice to not complete the study at their own discretion, regardless if parental consent was received.

If you have any questions about the study, feel free to contact the researcher in charge, Lacresha Simpson via cell phone: 646-851-7276, email: simpson_lacresha@wheatonma.edu, and/or mail: Wheaton College, W0939, 26 E Main St. Norton, MA 02766-2322. If you have any questions about your child’s rights as participants, you may contact the executive secretary of the Institutional Review Board, Joel Relihan at 508-286-3497 or jrelihan@wheatonma.edu.

____ I agree to participate have my child participate in this study

____ I do not agree to have my participate in this study

Parent/Guardian Signature

Participant’s Printed Name

Date

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

This research study is about the preferences and choices people make in a given situation. By conducting this research, I hope to gain a better understanding of the choices college-aged students make and the preferences when choosing neighborhoods to live in as adults.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a 10 minute task in a designated room. After the task is conducted, you will electronically complete a 20-30 minute questionnaire on social attitudes- a computer will be provided for your convenience. Both the task and the questionnaire will have a research assistant administering the instructions, in addition to answering any questions you may have.

Participation in this research will take approximately 40-50 minutes. Participation in this research is confidential. To ensure confidentiality, only identification numbers will be used during the study. The signed consent form will be kept in a separate folder from the data and shredded at the end of the project.

Approximately 50 students will be completing this study and the responses to the questionnaire and task will be used to understand preferences and choices of college-aged students. Your individual responses will not be shared, nor will individual data be recognizable by name by the researchers themselves or any outside individuals. Information that may be shared is a report of the results for the participant's responses together. If you would like a report of the aggregate data, please contact Lacresha Simpson (contact information provided below).

Participation is voluntary. You are free to stop participation in the research as at any time, or to decline to answer any specific questions without penalty. Your signature on this form does not waive your legal rights of protection. There are little to no risks with this study. The only anticipated risk is associated with choosing the neighborhoods, which can lead to the participant feeling temporary to mild discomfort.

If you have any questions about the study, feel free to contact the researcher in charge, Lacresha Simpson via cell phone: 646-851-7276, email: simpson_lacresha@wheatonma.edu, and/or mail: Wheaton College, W0939, 26 E Main St. Norton, MA 02766-2322. If you have any questions about your rights as participants, you may contact the executive secretary of the Institutional Review Board, Joel Relihan at 508-286-3497 or jrelihan@wheatonma.edu.

I have read the above description and understand the expectation as the participant of the study

____ I agree to participate

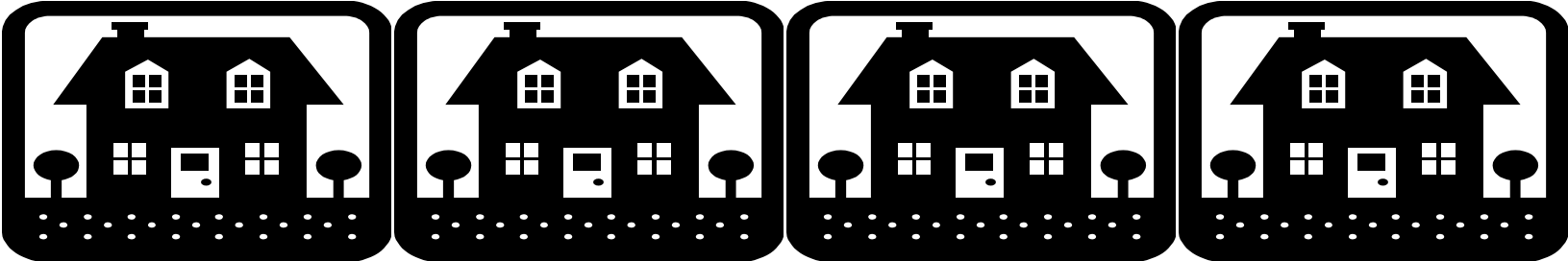
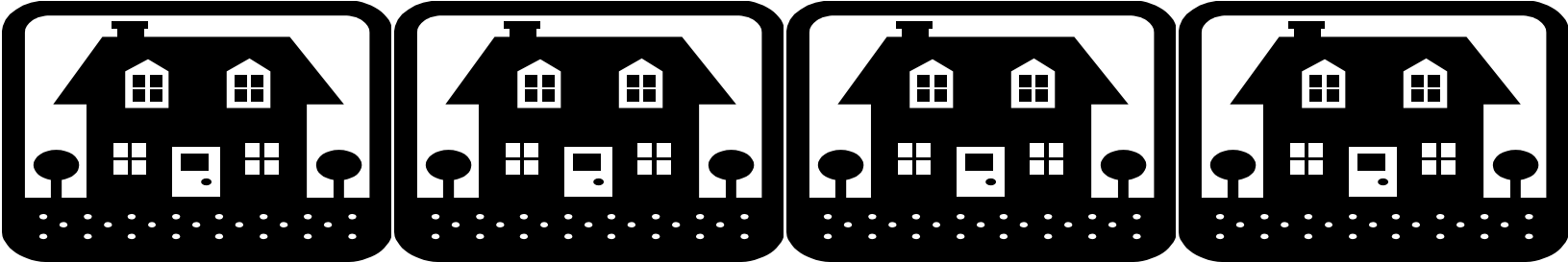
____ I do not agree to participate

Participant's Signature

Participant's Printed Name

Date

Appendix D: Table Pre-Task Sheet
Table Layout



Appendix E: Pictures

*Pictures were edited to meet the required numbers of family members



bcp041-51 fotosearch.com



bcp02589 fotosearch.com



bcp53315 www.fotosearch.com



cb040818a_0621
www.fotosearch.com



ks117474 www.fotosearch.com



w1747005 fotosearch.com



jr95388 www.fotosearch.com

Appendix F: Scoring Sheet

Participant ID # _____

Example

1	3	5	3
---	---	---	---



2	4	4	4
---	---	---	---

Please write your answers in the appropriate boxes below

Part I: Ideal Neighborhood

Part II: Least Ideal Neighborhood

Appendix G:
WHITE RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS DEVELOPMENT SCALE, REVISED
(WRCDS-R)

Choose the intensity that most fits you or your experience.

1 = Strongly Disagree (SD); 2 = Disagree; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Agree; and, 5 = Strongly Agree (SA).

1. I have had little or no contact with Black people other than seeing them on campus.
2. Blacks should not be allowed to continue in school unless able to perform at the same level as Whites.
3. White people think they are better than everyone else just because they are White.
4. Whenever I witness it, I confront people who make racist comments.
5. I greatly enjoy cross-racial (involving Blacks and Whites together) activities and I try to participate in them often.
6. Reversed discrimination is a big problem for Whites in America.
7. I support the idea of restitution for Blacks based on the history of slavery and oppression.
8. I do not understand why Blacks are so resentful of White people
9. As a White person, I feel it is my responsibility to help eradicate racism and discrimination in our society.
10. I am afraid that minorities are taking over American society.
11. I have lived in close proximity to black people.
12. My family would disown me if I married a Black person.
13. Dominance over others is a characteristic of White culture.
14. Black people have brought many of their problems on themselves.

15. I would feel comfortable dating a Black person.
16. I have Black friends.
17. Black people are responsible for their lot in life.
18. White people should provide some form of restitution to Black people.
19. Slavery stopped a long time ago, Black people should just get over it.
20. I have never had much contact with Black people.
21. Racism continues because Black people dwell on the past.
22. My family would support me if I married a Black person.
23. Throughout history, White people have been the dominant oppressor.
24. In America, people pretty much decide their own fate.
25. None of my friends would look down on me for having an interracial relationship.
26. I would feel uncomfortable living near Black people.
27. If Black people weren't so lazy, they wouldn't be in the position they're in.
28. If the media portrayed Black people more positively, racial tensions would end.
29. When I hear a racist joke, I say something to show my disapproval.
30. There are more Black people on welfare than Whites.
31. I do not have any Black friends.
32. White people are responsible for putting an end to racism.
33. I would feel comfortable with a Black physician.
34. Affirmative action is just reverse discrimination.
35. I am ashamed of what my Whiteness represents.

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36. When I hear someone make racist comments, I say something to them to show my disapproval.

37. If Black people wanted to change things, they could take action themselves.

38. I feel comfortable when I am in close contact with Black people.

39. I think White people should work hard to give up their advantages.

40. Blacks must get over the issue of slavery so that we can move on.

Contact Items: 1, 5, 11, 16, 20, 26, 31, 38

Reintegration Items: 2, 6, 8, 10, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24, 27, 30, 34, 37, 40

Pseudo Independence Items: 3, 7, 13, 18, 23, 28, 32, 35, 39

Autonomy Items: 4, 9, 12, 15, 22, 25, 29, 33, 36

Appendix H:

Miville-Guzman Universality Diversity Scale-Short Form (MGUDS-S)

The following items are statements using several terms that are defined below for you. Please refer to these definitions throughout the rest of the questionnaire.

Culture refers to the beliefs, values, traditions, ways of behaving, and language of any social group. A social group may be racial, ethnic, religious, etc.

Race or racial background refers to a sub-group of people possessing common physical or genetic characteristics. Examples include White, Black, American Indian, etc.

Ethnicity or ethnic group refers to a specific social group sharing a unique cultural heritage (e.g., customs, beliefs, language, etc.). Two people can be of the same race (i.e., White), but from different ethnic groups (e.g., Irish-American, Italian-American, etc.).

Country refers to groups that have been politically defined; people from these groups belong to the same government (e.g., France, Ethiopia, United States). People of different races (White, Black, Asian) or ethnicities (Italian, Japanese) can be from the same country (United States).

Instructions: Please indicate how descriptive each statement is of you by circling the number corresponding to your response. This is not a test, so there are neither right nor wrong, good nor bad answers. All responses are anonymous and confidential.

Indicate how descriptive each statement is of you by circling the number corresponding to your response.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree a Little Bit	Agree a Little Bit	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I would like to join an organization that emphasizes getting to know people from different countries.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Persons with disabilities can teach me things I could not learn elsewhere.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Getting to know someone of another race is generally an uncomfortable experience for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I would like to go to dances that feature music from other countries.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I can best understand someone after I get to know how he/she is both similar to and different from me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. I am only at ease with people of my race.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I often listen to music of other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Knowing how a person differs from me greatly enhances our friendship.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. It's really hard for me to feel close to a person from another race.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. I am interested in learning about the many cultures that have existed in this world.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. In getting to know someone, I like knowing both how he/she differs from me and is similar to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6

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Indicate how descriptive each statement is of you by circling the number corresponding to your response.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree a Little Bit	Agree a Little Bit	Agree	Strongly Agree
12. It is very important that a friend agrees with me on most issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I attend events where I might get to know people from different racial backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Knowing about the different experiences of other people helps me understand my own problems better.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. I often feel irritated by persons of a different race.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix I:
Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDOS)

Based on a 7 point Likert scale; 1 (very negative) to 7 (very positive)

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.
10. Group equality should be our ideal.
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
13. Increased social equality.
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
16. No group should dominate in society.

Appendix J:

Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (COBRAS)

Directions: Below are a set of questions that deal with social issues in the United States (U.S.). Using the 6-point scale, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers.

Based on a 6 point Likert Scale; Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (6)

- 1.) Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich
- 2.) Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
- 3.) It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.
- 4.) Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
- 5.) Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
- 6.) Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
- 7.) Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.
- 8.) Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.
- 9.) White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.
- 10.) Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
- 11.) It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.
- 12.) White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
- 13.) Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.
- 14.) English should be the only official language in the U.S.

15.) White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.

16.) Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.

17.) It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

18.) It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

19.) Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

20.) Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

21.) Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.