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# The Effects of Race and Socioeconomic Status on the Acceptance of Biracial Individuals

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THE EFFECTS OF RACE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS ON THE  
ACCEPTANCE OF BIRACIAL INDIVIDUALS

by

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B.A. May 1993, Loyola of New Orleans

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## ABSTRACT

### THE EFFECTS OF RACE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF BIRACIAL INDIVIDUALS.

Erika Lela Gilyot

The Virginia Consortium Program in Clinical Psychology, 1997

Chair: Dr. Abaineh Workie, Norfolk State University

The present study investigated the effects of race and socioeconomic status on the acceptance of biracial individuals having one Black and one White parent. A sample of 153 Black and 114 White college students were divided into high- and low-socioeconomic status based on demographic information. Acceptance of biracial individuals was measured by 2 modified versions of the Social Distance Scale (SDS1 and SDS2) developed by Bogardus (1928), a shorted version of the Scale To Measure Attitudes Toward Defined Groups (AS) developed by Grice (1934), and a measure of Perceived Commonality (PC) developed by Feather (1980). The Marlowe-Crowne (1960) Social Desirability Scale (SD) was also included to assess for socially desirable response tendencies. Results of the 2 x 2 ANOVA, indicated no statistically significant differences between groups on SDS1, SDS2, and PC. On AS, however, Whites reported more acceptance of biracial individuals than Blacks, with both groups reporting high levels of acceptance. No significant differences were found for the main effect of SES. Group means on SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC indicate that both Blacks and Whites reported acceptance of biracial individuals.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Researchers of race relations have often wondered if racial prejudice is rooted in ethnicity or socioeconomic status. Many researchers believe that anti-Black behavior is a result of racial tensions between Blacks and Whites (Fairchild, 1985; Folaron & Hess, 1993; Jewell, 1985; Shackford, 1984). Others, however, attribute much of anti-Black behavior or prejudice to socioeconomic status (Blalock, 1967; Case, Greeley & Fuchs, 1987; Giles, Gatlin & Cataldo, 1976; Pavlak, 1973). These investigators maintain that as socioeconomic status increases (e.g., education and occupation) the importance of race significantly declines, and that racial prejudice will be substantially reduced (Giles, Gatlin & Cataldo, 1976; Wilson, 1978; Pavlak, 1983). Although race relations in the United States reflect animosity of Whites and Blacks towards each other, interracial marriages between Blacks and Whites have been rising steadily (Aldridge, 1978; Kalish, 1993; Kalmijn, 1993). The biracial offspring of such marriages are a concern to researchers because of their ambiguous position in Black and White race relations (Brandell, 1988; Brown, 1990; Bowles, 1993; Motoyoshi, 1990; Root, 1990). Some researchers have maintained that as a result of this ambiguity, biracial offspring face rejection by both Black and White groups (Bowles, 1993; Brown, 1990; Herring, 1992; Gibbs, 1987; Motoyoshi, 1990; Root, 1990; Shackford, 1984).

Historically until today, the social climate in America has been negative with respect to Black and White interracial relationships. Even after the abolishment of slavery, interracial dating and marriage continued to be condemned and the established

social norms against interracial contacts remained intact. A "no social equality" doctrine formalized in legislation segregated the races by separating their public facilities (Jim Crow laws) and their marital contacts (antimiscegenation laws) (Kalmijn, 1993). Some researchers argue that despite such legislation and social persecution, interracial contacts and marriages occur and have been increasing, especially in recent years (Kalish, 1993; Kalmijn, 1993; Root, 1996).

According to statistical abstracts of the United States, in 1980, there were 167,000 Black and White marriages on record out of 651,000 interracial marriages reported. That number increased to 211,000 in 1990 and to 242,000 in 1994. According to the Population Reference Bureau, births for Black and White parents increased from 8,700 in 1968, to 25,284 in 1980, and as high as 45,000 in 1989 (Kalish, 1992; Sandor, 1994). In 1990 that number rose to 49,479 as reported by the National Center for Health Statistics (Sandor, 1994). Thus, during the 1980-1990 decade, relative to the 8% increase in both the Black and White population, Black/White marriages increased 26% while Black/White births almost doubled to 96% indicating the presence of interracial relationships. According to Root (1996), the U.S. Census Bureau (1992) reported that while the number of monoracial Black babies has increased 27% and the number of monoracial White babies 15%, the number of Black/White biracial babies has grown almost 500%. Some researchers contend that the increase in interracial marriages and births is an indication that the social meaning of race in the United States may be declining, and the racially prejudiced attitudes that attempted to preserve the purity of the European immigrants may be changing (Baptiste, 1985; Kalish, 1993; Wilson,

1978).

Nonetheless, in an attempt to preserve White supremacy and purity, Whites have relegated people of color to a lower caste by enforcing the "one-drop rule," a system of race classification that socially and legally defines all mixed children as Black (Davis, 1991; Poussaint, 1984; Wardle, 1990; Hirschfeld, 1995). Biracial offspring have been forced by America's racial classification system to identify themselves as Black despite their dual heritage (Brown, 1990; Motoyoshi, 1990; Root, 1990). Motoyoshi (1990, p. 85) asserts, "Being racially caste, society in the United States forces categorization where none can be made and thus, leaves the racially mixed person confused." Consequently, biracial offspring have difficulty determining their status, role, and position relative to both Black and White groups (Brown, 1990; Gibbs, 1987; Freeman & McRoy, 1986; Motoyoshi, 1990; Overmier, 1990; Root, 1990). Researchers also maintain that degrees of social acceptance or rejection deeply influence the biracial identity not only in the early formative years, but throughout life (Bowles, 1993; Brown, 1990; Brown, 1995; Herring, 1992; Overmier, 1990; Root, 1990).

### **Socialization of Biracial Individuals**

According to Phinney and Rotherham (1987, p.11), "ethnic socialization refers to the developmental processes by which children acquire the behavior, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group and come to see themselves and others as members of such groups." A dilemma in the biracial ethnic socialization process is that an identification with one ethnic group leaves out the other group to which the biracial individual has a legitimate claim (Bowles, 1990; Brown, 1990; Root, 1990). Researchers

have found that in order to form a unified ethnic identity such a person must be able to feel accepted by both ethnic groups and perceive himself/herself as belonging partially and wholeheartedly to both ethnic and cultural groups (DeVos, 1980; Overmier, 1990; Root, 1990). It is important, therefore, that biracial adolescents feel accepted by both Black and White peer groups and cultures if they are to achieve biracial identity cohesion (Brown, 1990; Gibbs & Moskowitz-Sweet, 1991; Freeman & McRoy, 1986; Root, 1990).

The belief that biracial persons are perceived as having identity problems as a result of their mixed racial heritage was researched by Owusu-Bempah (1994). The study presented 102 master level social work students with a scenario describing a child having emotional and behavioral problems at home and school. All participants were presented with the same scenario, however, the child in the story was randomly identified as being either Black, White, or biracial. Based on the content of the story, participants attributed a greater portion of the biracial and Black child's problems to identity conflict and family circumstances, as compared with the White child. Also, the biracial child's problems were perceived to be inherent in his/her mixed heritage. Root (1990, p.188) asserts, "It is the marginal status imposed by society rather than the objective mixed race of biracial individuals which poses a severe stress to positive identity development."

In a study by Winn and Priest (1993) 15 families, 11 of which were Black and White unions, were interviewed using open-ended questions in order to address a variety of potentially sensitive issues concerning racial heritage. Biracial children consistently reported that their parents had not sufficiently prepared them for the racial intolerance they would experience from both Black and White cultures (also supported by

Schackford, 1984). Wilson (1987) also argued that whether or not the biracial child experienced conflict was largely dependent on whether or not the parents had amply prepared their child for the prejudices to be encountered in society. Furthermore, Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, and Harris (1993) found that White parents of biracial children emphasized the need for their children to know, "people have difficulty with people," while Black parents of biracial children identified a need to more actively prepare their children to deal with racial prejudice. Despite social pressures, parents of biracial children believe that both parents' backgrounds are, in fact, represented in their children (Wardle, 1990). Researchers confirm that the best identity for biracial individuals is a "biracial" identity (Bowles, 1993; Brown, 1990; Root, 1990).

### **Biracial Individuals' Perceived Acceptance by Blacks and Whites**

The main focus of empirical research about biracial individuals has addressed identity formation and biracial individuals' perceived acceptance by Blacks and Whites. Researchers consistently find that biracial individuals report experiences of acceptance and comfort from both Black and White peer groups and communities (Brown, 1995; de Anda & Riddel, 1991; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson & Harris, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1991).

In a study by de Anda and Riddel (1991), a nonclinical, multiethnic sample of 70 adolescents, containing 23 Black/White biracial participants, responded to the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale and a 47-item closed-ended measure developed by the researchers to assess sociodemographics, ethnic identification, and family and peer relationships. Participants reported minimal conflict between the values and beliefs of Black minority

and White majority cultures. The adolescents expressed comfort in both White and non-White peer groups. They also reported perceived acceptance in both minority and majority communities, however, 30% of the Black/White biracial group stated that they felt most comfortable around predominantly minority groups. Interestingly, 69.9% of these participants believed that they were perceived as being multiethnic, with only 30% indicating they were viewed as minority. The results also suggests that biracial individuals identify themselves and feel comfortable with members of the minority group, even though they believe that others perceive them as multiethnic. De Anda and Riddel (1991) conclude that multiethnic adolescents indicate a strong preference for multiethnic friends, peer groups, and communities.

Brown (1995) conducted a study of 119 Black/White biracial individuals, ages 18 to 35 years, from mostly middle-class backgrounds. All participants were given the Brown (1991) Interracial Young Adult Interview. The semi-structured interview consisted of 67 open-ended questions and measured variables such as demographics, choice of ethnic identity, conflict with regard to ethnic identity, resolution of ethnic identity, social experiences (i.e, contact and acceptance by Blacks, Whites, or interracial people, and so forth). The researcher found that biracial identity was not a linear journey toward blackness, rather biracial identity was a multidimensional process that varied among participants. The majority, 64.7%, of participants identified themselves as Black, but more than 66.4% indicated that they would identify themselves as interracial if given a choice. Furthermore, participants who chose a Black identity reported some conflict reduction, while those who chose a White identity reported significant degrees of conflict.

Only those individuals who chose a biracial identity reported significantly less identity conflict.

Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, and Harris (1993) had similar findings from their study in which 6 families, consisting of a Black and White union with biracial children ages 5 to 16 years, were given a semi-structured interview to assess identity development and family dynamics. The majority of participants were highly sensitive to the views, cultures, and values of both the Black and White communities and perceived more commonalities than differences between them (also supported by Kerwin, 1992).

Stephan and Stephan (1991) compared single-heritage students of White, Asian or Hispanic heritage (n=317) with mixed-heritage students (n=180) in Hawaii and New Mexico to determine the effects of bicultural socialization on personality, adjustment, and intergroup relations. Findings suggests that bicultural socialization does not result in lower self-esteem, alienation, or negative intergroup relations. In contrast, mixed-heritage students had more favorable relations with single-heritage groups than the single-heritage groups had with one another.

The study by Gibbs and Moskowitz-Sweet (1991), which used a clinical sample of biracial adolescents, found that biracial participants reported feelings of rejection by both Black and White groups. Twelve biracial/bicultural adolescents, ages 14 to 18 years, were selected from a clinical sample that met the following criteria: (1) client seen at least three times in order to obtain sufficient clinical information; (2) client given DSM-III diagnoses of identity disorder; (3) client reported feelings of ambivalence, confusion or rejection of racial/ethnic background. Participants were questioned concerning their dual

heritage, social marginality, and so forth. The adolescents stated that they had often compromised their own interests and values in order to be accepted by a peer group they considered desirable. They reported not only feeling rejected by ethnically homogeneous groups but also feeling anxious about social acceptance because they did not fit the preferred profile with regard to their unusual physical appearance, atypical family background, and conflicting norms and values with particular peer groups.

Studies about biracial individuals have focused on their perceived acceptance by Black and White groups and on their identity formation. It seems clear that biracial individuals experience acceptance by both Black and White groups and prefer to interact with multiethnic social groups. However, there is no empirical study that addresses Black and White acceptance of biracial individuals.

### **Race and Acceptance of Biracial Individuals**

Research about biracial acceptance result from anecdotal observation of professional people working with these individuals and case studies.

#### Acceptance of Biracial Individuals by Whites

It is important for the identity development of biracial persons that they be accepted by White peer groups and communities because they bear a legitimate claim to membership in both Black and White groups (de Anda & Riddel, 1991; Bowles, 1993; Brown, 1995; Folaron & Hess, 1993; Gibbs & Moskowitz-Sweet, 1991; Herring, 1992; Miller & Miller, 1990; Motoyoshi, 1990; Winn & Priest, 1993; Overmier, 1990; Poussaint, 1984; Root, 1990). It was demonstrated by Durojaiye (1970) that biracial children are more popular with their White peers than are Black children, and more



popular with Black children than are White children.

Researchers agree that biracial individuals regardless of the lightness of skin and texture of hair have no choice but to accept a Black identity because the White community is unwilling to accept them as White (Poussaint, 1984; Porterfield, 1978). According to McRoy and Zurcher (1983), those biracial individuals who consider themselves mixed or White are typically confronted by both Black and White peer groups who either jeer at them for trying to be something they're not or for thinking of themselves as being "better than other Blacks" because of having a White parent. According to Payne (1977), biracial children are often rejected by both majority and minority peer groups because their physical features are unusual (also supported by Gibbs, 1987). Brown (1990) contends that the biracial person is perceived by the White community as having characteristics that are closer to, but not "as good as" White characteristics. White groups, instead of acknowledging their own prejudices and ethnocentrism, project negative attributes onto the biracial person (Poussaint, 1984).

Based on the clinical experience and case studies of Ladner (1984), children of Black/White parentage experience greater acceptance within the Black community than within the White community. Lyles, Yancey, Grace, and Carter (1985) present a case in which the biracial person being raised by her White grandmother, experienced rejection by her White family who felt embarrassed by her physical features, i.e. curly afro and brown skin. Root (1990, p.197) contends, "to assume that the biracial person will racially identify with how they look is presumptive, but pervasive; however, the reality is that the biracial person has to fight very hard to exercise choices that are not congruent with how

they may be visually and emotionally perceived." Furthermore, researchers insist that biracial persons raised in a predominantly White neighborhood will have difficulty with racial identity and develop a poor self-concept (Motoyoshi, 1990; Field, 1992).

#### Acceptance of Biracial Individuals by Blacks

It is particularly important for biracial persons to be accepted by Black peer groups and communities because they are legally classified and socially labeled as Black. In a study by Jewell (1985), 87 Black college students responded to questionnaires consisting of both structured and open-ended questions about demographics, social perceptions, social awareness, and social experiences. In regard to social perceptions, when asked about the acceptance of interracial marriage and dating, 72.2% and 78.5% respectively were in favor. It could be deduced that respondents might also respond favorable towards biracial individuals, if they responded favorably towards interracial marriage and dating.

Ladner (1984) argues that the biracial person functions more comfortably within minority groups than majority groups. The acceptable range of physical, social, and cultural characteristics is much broader within the Black community than it is within the White community. Since by definition, Blacks in the U.S. are biracial, the overall level of tolerance for ethnic and cultural differences is often higher within the Black community (Brown, 1990; Ladner, 1984; Shackford, 1984; Wardle, 1992). In as much as biracial persons are themselves a minority, researchers concede that they must be taught survival skills that will enable them to face societal discrimination and prejudice experienced by ethnic minority groups (Bowles, 1993; Brown, 1990; Folaron & Hess,

1993; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson & Harris, 1993; Miller & Miller, 1990; Winn & Priest, 1993).

According to Poussaint (1984), biracial persons are accepted by the Black community if they choose to identify with Blacks. Benson (1981) found that identity conflict of biracial persons is most frequently experienced in attempts to deny their Black heritage. According to Thrasher (1994) a Black racial identity for biracial individuals is consistent with well being. Those biracial persons who reject their Blackness will experience conflict because they are not offered full acceptance into the White community as a result of their often physical and social identification as Black. Sebring (1985) asserts that full acceptance of biracial persons into the Black community is dependent on the acceptance of a Black identity and commitment to the values of the Black community. Furthermore, Brown (1990) concludes that biracial persons report a higher degree of social acceptance among Blacks when their physical appearance and socialization are more identifiably Black.

In general, researchers and professionals agree that although biracial individuals report acceptance by both groups, Blacks are more accepting of biracial individuals than Whites. It would also seem that perceived similarity of biracial individuals by both Black and White groups (e.g., physical characteristics, shared views, norms, cultures, and so forth) is an important indicator of acceptance.

### **Socioeconomic Status and Acceptance**

A number of studies have looked at the effects of socioeconomic status on acceptance and found that socioeconomic status (i.e., combinations of occupation,

education, and income) is inversely related to racial prejudice (most often operationalized in terms of social distance), meaning that the higher an individual's socioeconomic status, the lower his/her racial prejudice would be (Case, Greeley & Fuchs, 1989; Giles, Gatlin & Cataldo, 1976; Li & Yu, 1974; Pavlak, 1973; Payne, 1976; Riedesel & Blocker, 1978). These researchers contend that anti-Black behavior primarily represents class prejudice rather than race prejudice. The concept of class prejudice is based on the assumption implicit in many current theories of status relationships, namely, that individuals prefer to interact with others of equal or higher socioeconomic status (Beshers, 1962; Blalock, 1967; Laumann, 1966; Westie & Westie, 1957).

#### Socioeconomic Status and Acceptance among Whites

Research addressing socioeconomic status and acceptance among Whites supports the theory that individuals of higher socioeconomic status are more accepting of ethnic minorities as compared with individuals of lower socioeconomic status.

Earlier findings of Westie and Westie (1957) indicate that high-status Whites would maintain least social distance between themselves and high-status Blacks and vice versa, as opposed to individuals of low-status regardless of race. Li and Yu (1974) compared the effects of socioeconomic status and interpersonal contact on prejudice with groups of Chinese (n=257) and White (n=295) college students using Katz and Braly's (1933) adjective list. Family status was determined by father's level of educational attainment; high-status indicated more years of education and low-status indicated few years of education. The researchers found that for Chinese and White college students, family socioeconomic status is a more significant reducer of prejudice than interpersonal

contact. The findings of Giles, Gatlin, and Cataldo (1976) also support the view that those with a higher income and education are most likely to display class prejudice while those with lower income are more likely to display racial prejudice.

In a study by Pavlak (1973) interviews were conducted of 353 members of five major ethnic groups in a predominantly working and lower-middle-class White ethnic community in Chicago. Acceptance was operationalized as social distance, indicating respondents' willingness to interact socially with Blacks. Findings suggests that racial prejudice may be less a function of ethnicity than working and lower-middle-class socioeconomic status among White Americans. Pavlak (1973) also found an inverse relationship between racial prejudice and each of the three indicators of social status being occupation, education, and income.

A survey of 349 self-identified White residents in Tulsa, Oklahoma, were asked to report their willingness to accept (defined as social distance) the hypothetical White and Black families as neighbors after a vignette was read specifying families of various occupations and educational levels (Riedesel & Blocker, 1978). Findings indicate that as the respondent's social status increased, along with an increase in social status by the hypothetical families, salience of race declined. Whites were significantly more willing to accept Black neighbors that were well educated and employed in high-status occupations. Riedesel and Blocker (1978) offered an explanation for the prejudice of low-socioeconomic status Whites by pointing out two strong beliefs they hold. First, Whites assure themselves that all people of color are inferior. Secondly, low-status Whites believe that associating with even high-status Blacks would be abandoning this

one slim claim to social honor. In contrast, high-status Whites are more accepting of non-racial distinctions when the identified subject is of equal or higher status.

In a study by Dion (1985), 77 Canadian college students responded to the social distance scale and Rokeach's (1960) Dogmatism Scale as it referred 16 different stimulus persons representing two levels of race (Black and White); nationality (Canadian and American); religion (same or different from subject); and occupational status (architect, lawyer, physician, and banker representing high-status and unskilled laborer, truck driver, coal miner, and janitor representing low-status). Results showed that occupational status had the most statistically significant effect, accounting for 90% of the variance in social distance, whereas race and nationality controlled for less than 3% and 1%, respectively.

Lambert and Taylor (1988) carried out interviews with ethnically diverse parents whose children attended one of two large urban public schools in Detroit, Michigan. All respondents were from lower working-class backgrounds except for the middle-class Whites used as a reference group. The parents participated in addressing questions of multiculturalism, bilingualism and attitudes toward other ethnic groups in the community. The researchers concluded that all groups, including the White middle-class reference group, supported the idea of bilingualism and multiculturalism with the exception of the working-class White American sample which rejected multiculturalism and held negative attitudes toward other ethnic or racial groups.

Case, Greeley and Fuchs (1989) analyzed data from the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, concerning seven questions about equal treatment of or equal social interaction with Blacks ranging from marriage to nomination

as president. Respondents also reported on their social class, family income and occupation. Results of the study indicate that persons with higher levels of education and highest income categories are most egalitarian. Based on findings, Case, Greeley and Fuchs (1989, p.473) maintain that "The higher the levels of educational attainment, the more cosmopolitan the cultural outlook, and the less likely it is that out-groups [in this case Blacks] are denied equal rights and life chances. Education improves the opportunities to encounter diverse social groups and cultural lifestyles, exposes members to more universalistic and cosmopolitan cultural traditions, and institutionalizes written communication that extends one's experiences beyond particular reference groups."

Furthermore, Dyer, Vedlitz and Worchel (1989) conducted phone interviews of three ethnic groups (Whites=70, Blacks=249 and Mexicans=256) and asked respondents to report levels of acceptance or rejection of the other ethnic groups as measured by social distance items. The results suggested that Blacks and Mexicans were more accepting of contact with Whites than with each other; and Whites of high-status (more education and income) were more accepting of contact with the minorities than were Whites of low-status.

In general, the research on socioeconomic status and acceptance among Whites indicates that affluent Whites have more positive attitudes towards Blacks and ethnic minorities than Whites who are of a lower social class (Case, Greeley & Fuchs, 1989; Giles, Gatlin & Cataldo, 1976; Li & Yu, 1974; Pavlak, 1973; Payne, 1976; Riedesel & Blocker, 1978). From the review of the literature, it might be reasoned that if Whites of high-socioeconomic status are more accepting of Blacks and other minorities than Whites

of low-socioeconomic status, biracial individuals might also be more accepted by Whites of high-socioeconomic status as compared with Whites of low-socioeconomic status. In an article by Sandor (1994) she concludes, "The bottom line is that more-educated, more-affluent adults are more likely to see racial tolerance as an important social goal."

### Socioeconomic Status and Acceptance Among Blacks

Researchers of Black history and social status contend that historically, high-status Blacks tended to have lighter skin tones than low-status Blacks as a result of preferential treatment that Whites awarded to Blacks of mixed parentage (Blackwell, 1985; Dollard, 1957; Landry, 1987). Results of studies by Mullins and Sites (1984) and Keith and Herring (1991) support the notion that socioeconomic advantage along with educational attainment occurred more frequently among lighter skin Blacks. According to Blackwell (1985), during the 60's cultural nationalism and Black pride flourished, and the term "Black" became a unifying description of the entire race resulting in a decline of the significance placed on lighter skin color. Landry (1987) reported that with the increase in intermarriage between Blacks and biracial persons, the complexion of the Black elite darkened. Other researchers, however, argue that despite the rise in cultural nationalism and intermarriage among Blacks and biracial persons, skin tone continues to affect socioeconomic status among Blacks (Ransford, 1970; Seltzer & Smith, 1991).

Findings of an earlier study (Westie & Howard, 1954) indicate that as Blacks increased in social status they expressed less social distance towards Whites in general; high-status Whites were accorded the least social distance compared with low-status Whites. Dyer, Vedlitz, and Worchel (1989) measured social acceptance among Whites,



Blacks, and Mexicans as affected by demographic variables and intergroup prejudice. Significant within-group difference for Blacks indicated that higher educated Blacks were significantly more accepting of both outgroups than were less educated Blacks. Thus, Blacks with higher education and income level were more accepting of Whites and Mexicans than were Blacks with less education and income level.

Hughes and Hertel (1990) collected data from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) in which 2,107 face to face household interviews were conducted. Interviewers rated each respondent on skin color and participants responded to questions of age, gender, socioeconomic status, Black consciousness, and racial self-esteem. Results indicate that although there continues to be a substantial amount of lighter skin Blacks of high-socioeconomic status, Blacks overall continue to suffer economic disadvantage relative to Whites. Hughes and Hertel (1990) further contend that "the effect of skin color on black consciousness is weak and inconsistent and that sociocultural divisions among blacks are based more on social structural variation - primarily socioeconomic status - than directly on color (p. 1115)."

In a study by Seltzer and Smith (1991), based on data collected by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in its 1982 General Social Survey (GSS), 510 Blacks (ages 18 and older) were analyzed based on color differences and attitudinal responses to questions of ideology, alienation and civil liberties. Findings suggested that lighter-skin Blacks tended to be more advantaged in terms of social class, that is, higher educational and occupational attainments, than their darker-skin counterparts.

Historically, Blacks of mixed parentage have maintained higher levels of

socioeconomic status (Keith & Herring, 1991; Mullins & Sites, 1984; Seltzer & Smith, 1991). Blacks with higher levels of education and income are also more accepting of outgroups (Dyer, Velitz & Worchel, 1989). Thus, it would seem that Blacks of high-socioeconomic status would be more accepting of biracial individuals than Blacks of low-socioeconomic status because biracial individuals are largely represented in high-status Black groups (Keith & Herring, 1991).

### **Gender Differences and Prejudice**

Research on gender differences and prejudice generally indicate that women are less prejudiced than men (Bierly, 1985; Moore, Hauck & Denne, 1984; Qualls, Cox & Schehr, 1992; Hoxter & Lester, 1994). In a study by Qualls, Cox, and Schehr (1992) 490 college students, mean age of 19.2 years, 54% male, and 98% White, responded to a questionnaire measuring levels of racism, sexism, and anti-lesbian/gay attitudes. The study's findings indicate that women were more accepting of racial minorities, equal gender roles, and lesbians/gays as compared with men. In regard to attitudinal consistency, however, the study's finding failed to reveal a gender difference.

In the most recent study by Hoxter and Lester (1994), 59 White college students, ages 17 to 26 years, responded to eleven different ethnic groups using the social distance scale. Results indicate that for items of friendship and neighbor females were less prejudiced than males, but for items of marriage there was no gender difference.

Although researchers have found some gender differences in racial prejudice (Moore, Hauck & Denne, 1984; Qualls, Cox & Schehr, 1992; Hoxter & Lester, 1994), this study will not include gender as a main effect. The ratio of men to women, however,

will be proportionate, decreasing any intervening effects of gender that may arise.

### Summary

In summary, Americans born of Black/White parentage is an increasing subgroup. Clearly defined categories of race are becoming more blurred and America's traditional racial classification system is being challenged socially and politically by these individuals (Brown, 1995; Root, 1990; Sandor, 1994). Researchers assert that White Americans report acceptance of outgroup minorities that hold high-socioeconomic status levels (Giles, Gatlin & Cataldo, 1976; Pavlak, 1983; Sandor, 1994).

In general, Blacks have come to accept the array of colors and physical features that characterize Blacks (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Jewell, 1985; Keith & Herring, 1991). Whites have also extended more social and economic privileges to Blacks of mixed parentage and "White looking" physical characteristics (Blackwell, 1985; Dollard, 1957; Landry, 1987). Blacks and Whites who accept biracial persons and perceive them positively acknowledge also the true multiethnicity of American culture. Biracial adolescents are categorized legally and socially as Black despite their dual parentage (Davis, 1991; Wardle, 1990). Researchers maintain that when biracial persons are forced to choose between their races this causes internal conflict and ultimately identity crisis (Bowles, 1993; Gibbs, 1987; Gibbs & Moskowitz-Sweet, 1991). Being forced to accept their Black identity only, even though they are of both Black and White parentage, is psychologically unhealthy, causing many biracial adolescents to seek psychological services (Gibbs, 1987; Gibbs & Moskowitz-Sweet, 1991; Freeman & McRoy, 1986; Sebring, 1985).

### **Purpose of Study**

The review of relevant literature suggests that biracial persons are more accepted by Blacks than by Whites, and by high-status than by low-status Whites. It would also seem that high-status Blacks are also more accepting of biracial individuals than low-status Blacks. In the past, there seems to have been no empirical study that considered the effects of these two factors on the acceptance of biracial individuals. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate empirically the effects of race and socioeconomic status on the acceptance of biracial individuals.

Such a study has significant theoretical implications and practical values. One theoretical implication is that what presently passes as racial prejudice may to a large extent be class prejudice as well based on educational and economic differences. A practical value of this theoretical orientation is that improving the educational and economic conditions reduces the "class" aspect of prejudice. Furthermore, a reduction of this aspect of prejudice may lead to the reduction of the racial aspect of it as the extent of racial prejudice is qualified by socioeconomic status, resulting in a substantial overall reduction of prejudice.

A study of this kind may also contribute to the understanding of the separate effects of race and socioeconomic status on the social acceptance or rejection of biracial persons by Blacks and Whites leading to the development of a more positive identity and better overall psychological health in biracial persons. It may also have a beneficial effect on the treatment of these biracial individuals who may have serious adjustment problems and seek professional assistance. The outcome of such a study may help in facilitating

the resolution of biracial individuals' social dilemma, the choice between two social groups, and the clinical treatment of those biracial individuals that may need psychological counseling.

Furthermore, a better understanding of social attitudes toward biracial persons along with the determinants of these attitudes may be beneficial in raising biracial children who are equipped with better coping and survival skills in a society that rejects them. The findings of the study may also provide a basis for challenging prejudicial social practices, such as the racial classification system in which a "drop of Black blood" categorizes biracial persons as Blacks, thereby facilitating their identification with Blacks or Whites or their viewing themselves as a unique "biracial" group with both Black and White parentage.

### **Rationale of Study**

Biracial individuals, specific to this study, are identified as having one Black and one White parent. From this union various combinations of physical characteristics such as skin color, eye color, hair color, hair texture, and bone structure may characterize the biracial individual. It would, thus, appear that these individuals could identify with both ethnic groups. But such is not the case for a number of reasons. The racial divide in America between Blacks and Whites upholds a system of racial classification that labels anyone with "one drop" of Black blood as Black, forcing biracial individuals to identify themselves both legally and socially as Black, despite their mixed parentage.

Blacks are more accepting of biracial individuals than Whites because Blacks are themselves a mixed people (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991; Wardle,

1992). Blacks possess an array of physical characteristics such as skin tones, eye color, hair color, hair texture, and bone structure which biracial individuals can see and identify with. For example, many Black American families will have a member with light skin, straight hair and brown eyes, and another member with dark skin, curly hair and green eyes. The variety of physical characteristics of Blacks in America represent their multiethnic ancestry.

Blacks are more accepting of biracial individuals than Whites because the social prejudices towards interracial marriage forces many biracial families to raise their children in Black neighborhoods thereby increasing Blacks' contact with and exposure to biracial individuals. Biracial individuals socialized into the Black community typically adopt a Black identity (Sebring, 1985). This process occurs more easily among biracial individuals with physical characteristics that are more identifiable as Black (Brown, 1990). Nevertheless, acceptance occurs more easily among those individuals who identify as Black and support the values and norms of the Black community.

Blacks are more accepting of biracial individuals because White groups are not fully accepting of these individuals and they must claim the part of their parentage that will accept them (Brown, 1990; Motoyoshi, 1990). The sense of rejection that biracial individuals feel by White social groups is often less severe when these individuals have "White looking" physical characteristics (i.e. natural blonde hair color, finer hair texture, eye color other than brown, lighter skin color, etc.) (Poussaint, 1984).

Blacks are more accepting of biracial individuals than Whites because both Blacks and biracial groups are regarded as minorities (Bowles, 1993; Brown, 1995). As

minorities, both are subjected to institutional racism and discrimination. Both are at a disadvantage socially and economically relative to Whites. Both are treated as second-class citizens and need survival skills in order to overcome the prejudices of American culture (Folaron & Hess, 1993). Consequently, biracial individuals adopt a social group that welcomes them and is more similar to them physically, and this is often the minority group (i.e., Blacks).

Individuals of high-socioeconomic status are more accepting of minorities (including biracial individuals) than individuals of low-socioeconomic status for various reasons. The educational attainment of high-socioeconomic status individuals broadens their world view (Dyer, Vedlitz & Worchel, 1989; Giles, Gatlin & Cataldo, 1976). Higher levels of education expose individuals to a greater variety of people, places, cultures, languages, and so forth (Case, Greeley & Fuchs, 1989). It would seem that higher levels of education reduce the ignorance that creates prejudices among people.

Individuals of high-socioeconomic status are more accepting of minorities (including biracial individuals) than low-socioeconomic status individuals because their prejudices are focused more on social class than on ethnicity (Pavlak, 1983). Individuals belonging to the upper class associate more often with individuals of similar or higher social class (Blalock, 1967). In this sense, these individuals are more tolerant of race differences than class differences.

Individuals of high-socioeconomic status are more accepting of minorities (including biracial individuals) as opposed to individuals of low-socioeconomic status because low-status individuals are often prejudiced as a result of economic threat

(Riedesel & Blocker, 1978). Low-status White groups are more prejudiced against minorities because both compete for the same economic resources. On the other hand, individuals from high-socioeconomic status possess professional skills that allow them better job mobility and higher job satisfaction (Case, Greeley & Fuchs, 1989). As a result, the jobs that these individuals hold are less threatened by qualified others regardless of race.

The foregoing review of relevant literature and the integration of the findings of various past studies lead one to believe that race and socioeconomic status are each related to the acceptance of biracial persons. In order to test these notions the following hypotheses have been proposed.

### **Hypotheses**

- I. Biracial persons are more accepted by Blacks than by Whites.
- II. Biracial persons are more accepted by members of high-socioeconomic status than by members of low-socioeconomic status.



## CHAPTER II

### METHOD

#### Participants

Employing a 2 x 2 factorial design, 267 undergraduate college students, 153 Black and 114 White, were drawn from the student population at two historically Black Universities, one historically White University and a predominantly White University in the Southeastern part of the country. Among the historically Black Universities, one state and one private, 136 participants were Black and 5 participants were White. Among the historically White University and predominantly White University, 109 participants were White and 17 participants were Black.

Research participants were recruited from undergraduate psychology classes and credited with extra points by their instructors for participation. The Black sample consisted of 153 (38 male and 115 female) undergraduate students ages 17 to 25, ( $M = 19.42$ ,  $SD = 1.50$ ). The White sample consisted of 114 (30 male and 84 female) undergraduate students ages 17 to 25, ( $M = 19.09$ ,  $SD = 1.48$ ). The number of males to females were proportionate with respect to Race and Socioeconomic status. All participants in the Black and White samples were classified into high- and low-socioeconomic status based on their report of parent(s) levels of education and income provided on the demographic measure.

The initial total number of participants was 401. However, individual cases were eliminated based on three criteria. Participants were eliminated; (1) if they reported racial categories other than Black or White; (2) if they did not fall within the age range of 17 to

25; (3) and if they did not fall within the high- or low- socioeconomic status categories.

### Instruments

A demographic measure was developed by the researcher to assess race, sex, age, parents' annual income and highest level of education. The educational scale was taken from Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position (1957) and is divided into seven levels of education ranging from less than seven years of school to graduate professional training. Educational levels were assigned a numerical value from 1 to 7 as follows; (1) less than seven years of school education; (2) junior high school education; (3) partial high school education; (4) high school graduation education; (5) partial college training education; (6) standard college or university graduation education; and (7) graduate professional training education.

The five income categories are grouped based on family income census data from Statistical Abstracts of the United States (1995). Income levels were assigned a numerical value from 1 to 5 as follows; (1) income range of \$10,000 and under; (2) income range of \$11,000 - \$24,000; (3) income range of \$25,000 - \$49,000; (4) income range of \$50,000 - \$75,000; (5) income range of \$76,000 and over. The Demographic Information form was used to divide participants into high- and low-socioeconomic status. The high-socioeconomic status group reported parent(s) income of \$50,000 or more and college or graduate school education. The low-socioeconomic status group reported parent(s) income of \$49,000 or less income and partial college or less education. The Demographic Information form is found in Appendix G.

A version of Bogardus' (1928) Social Distance Scale, as modified by Triandis and

Triandis (1960), was used to assess participants' acceptance of biracial individuals into their social and personal spheres of interaction. The 15-item questionnaire measures prejudice or the degree of acceptance between members of different ethnic groups. Each statement is assigned a weighted value and participants are asked to place a check beside each statement they endorse. The scale values on the instrument range from 0 to 100. A high score indicates greater social distance (less acceptance) and a low score indicates less social distance (greater acceptance). A group opinion quotient (G.O.Q.) is derived by adding together the values of items endorsed by all group members, and then dividing the sum by the total number of group members. The scale is gender neutral, and its Guttman coefficient of reliability is .90 (Triandis & Triandis, 1960). The Social Distance Scale (SDS1) is found in Appendix B.

The Triandis & Triandis (1960) version of the Social Distance Scale, further modified by Dion (1985), was also used in the study. According to Dion (1985), the 13-item Social Distance Scale was standardized using Edwards' (1957) graphic rating procedure for deriving Thurstone scale values. Each statement was rated on an 11 cm scale ranging from 11 (extreme favorableness) to 0 (extreme unfavorableness), with 5.5 cm indicating a neutral point. A high score (above 5.5 cm) indicates low social distance, thus, more acceptance, and low scores (below 5.5 cm) indicates more social distance thus, less acceptance. Triandis and Triandis (1960) reported the Guttman coefficient of reliability is .90. The Social Distance Scale (SDS2) is found in Appendix C.

The Triandis & Triandis (1960) version of the social distance scale has been most recently used in the methodology of O'Driscoll and Feather (1983) and Feather (1980)

yielding statistically significant results. In the study by O'Driscoll and Feather (1983, p.244), 170 college students were asked to "select those statements which best expressed their behavioral intentions toward the specified stimulus group." Also, in the study by Feather (1980) 114 high school students were asked to decide how they would behave towards a person of specific ethnicity. For this study, the same methodology was used.

The Scale to Measure Attitudes Toward Defined Groups, developed by Grice (1934) and shortened by Remmers (1960), was used to assess Black and White attitudes towards biracial persons as a group. Participants were asked to place a check by each statement they endorse as being descriptive of biracial persons as a group. The 17-item form of the scale lists favorable, unfavorable and neutral statements about a defined group. The scale values on the instrument range from 1.0 to 10.3. According to Remmers (1960), a score of 6.0 represents a neutral attitude, thus a score above 6.0 indicates a favorable attitude and a score below 6.0 indicates an unfavorable attitude. The reliability coefficient of the scale is .84 (Remmers, 1960). The Scale to Measure Attitudes Toward Defined Groups (AS) is found in Appendix D.

Remmers' (1960) version of the scale was most recently used by Barkley (1985) and Spillman (1979) yielding statistically significant findings. In both studies, respondents (i.e., college and high school students) were asked to complete the scale in reference to the defined group named immediately above the list of scale items. Barkley (1985) and Spillman (1979) also used Remmers's recommended cutoff of 6.0. This study followed the same methodology.

The Social Distance Scales and The Scale To Measure Attitudes Towards Defined

Groups used here were originally constructed and scored using Thurstone's (1931) scaling method. In this method of Thurstone, a pool of items about the attitudinal object were developed incorporating favorable, unfavorable and neutral items. A group of 10 or more judges rated all items on degree of favorableness. Those items that were not agreed upon by the judges were eliminated. Scale values for each item were assigned by computing a measure of dispersion of the judges' ratings for each item (the scale value of the item is simply the average categorization of that item by all judges). Based on scale values, a select number of equidistant items were chosen. Finally, each respondent was asked to mark the items with which they agree and the respondent's attitude score was determined by calculating the mean of the scale values of all items marked (Mueller, 1986). The same methodology of scoring was used in the present study for SDS1, SDS2, and AS.

An additional question of perceived commonality developed by Feather (1980) was also incorporated. One item concerning perceived similarity asks, "In general, how much do you think individuals of mixed Black and White parentage have in common with you?" This question is scored in a Likert format from 1 to 5 as follows: (1) They don't have anything in common, (2) They don't have much in common at all, (3) They have a little bit in common, (4) They have a fair amount in common, (5) They have a great deal in common. The item's validity data was unavailable. The measure of perceived commonality (PC) is found in Appendix E.

Reynolds' (1982) abbreviated version of the Marlowe-Crowne (1960) Social Desirability Scale is used to assess the degree to which participants' responses are influenced by socially desirable response tendencies. The short form contains 13 items

which have been drawn from the 39-item Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Subjects respond true or false to a list of statements. The product-moment correlation coefficient determined by Reynolds (1982) is .93. The Social Desirability Scale (SD) is found in Appendix F.

### Procedure

Participants either signed-up to meet in a classroom for a scheduled 30-minute period or were assigned a 30-minute period of their class time to participate in the study. One research assistant was assigned at each University to distribute and collect the questionnaire packets. The research assistant distributed a questionnaire packet to each participant upon entrance into the classroom. The research assistant read the instructions verbatim from a script (verbatim instructions found in Appendix G).

Participants were instructed to read and sign consent forms before answering any questions. Respondents were then instructed to complete all questionnaires without consulting anyone else. They were asked to regard the task seriously and to respond honestly. Participants were also asked to remain in the classroom until they had completed their packet. The participants' questionnaire packets were collected.

Two comparison groups, one Black and one White, were each separated into high- and low-socioeconomic status. Participants were classified as high-socioeconomic status if they reported parent(s) income levels of \$50,000 or over and education levels of college or graduate school. They were classified as low-socioeconomic status if they reported parent(s) income levels of \$49,000 or under and education levels of partial college or less.

The four instruments used to measure acceptance were the Social Distance Scale

(SDS1) modified by Triandis and Triandis (1960), the Social Distance Scale (SDS2) revised by Dion (1985), The Scale to Measure Attitudes Toward Defined Groups (AS) revised by Remmers (1960), and the question of Perceived Commonality (PC) developed by Feather (1980). The Social Desirability Scale (SD) shortened by Reynolds (1982), was used to examine respondents tendencies to present themselves in a positive way. The Social Distance Scales and the Attitude Scale were scored using Thurstone's (1931) scaling method. The question of Perceived Commonality was scored on a likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5.

The statistical analyses used to test the hypotheses were "2 x 2" (Race by Socioeconomic Status) ANOVA computed for SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC. Correlations were computed with each instrument and the social desirability factor. Group means were also computed for SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC to assess overall acceptance of biracial individuals. Dion (1985) reported 5.5 to be the neutral cutoff value for SDS2, and Remmers (1960) recommended 6.0 to be the neutral cutoff value for AS. That is, statements above the point of neutrality reflect positive attitudes or favorableness, and statements below the point of neutrality reflect negative attitudes or unfavorableness. For SDS2 and AS cutoff values were established at the point of neutrality.

The same methodology was used to determine the cutoff value for SDS1. For SDS1, statement values ranging from 0 to 57.50 are considered favorable and statements values ranging from 63.10 to 100 are considered unfavorable. The mean value between 57.50 and 63.10 yielded a cutoff point of 60.30. Thus, the neutral cutoff value for SDS1 is 60.30, such that scores less than 60.30 indicate favorableness and scores greater than

60.30 indicate unfavorableness.



## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

All respondents completed a demographic information form, two Social Distance Scales (SDS1, SDS2), an Attitude Scale (AS), a question of Perceived Commonality (PC), and the Social Desirability Scale (SD). The results presented and analyzed are based on 267 participants (153 Blacks, 114 Whites).

On the basis of the demographic data obtained, 74 Blacks (19 men, 55 women) and 85 Whites (23 men, 62 women) were classified as relatively high-socioeconomic status, while 79 Blacks (19 men, 60 women) and 29 Whites (7 men, 22 women) were classified as relatively low-socioeconomic status. Educational levels were assigned a numerical value from 1 to 7 as follows; (1) less than seven years of school education; (2) junior high school education; (3) partial high school education; (4) high school graduation education; (5) partial college training education; (6) standard college or university graduation education; and (7) graduate professional training education.

Income levels were assigned a numerical value from 1 to 5 as follows; (1) income range of \$10,000 and under; (2) income range of \$11,000 - \$24,000; (3) income range of \$25,000 - \$49,000; (4) income range of \$50,000 - \$75,000; (5) income range of \$76,000 and over. Education and income means for the high-socioeconomic status group were 6.64 and 4.55 with standard deviations of .48 and .50 respectively. Means for the low-socioeconomic status group were 4.40 and 2.41 with standard deviations of .79 and .72 respectively.

A 2 x 2 (race x SES) ANOVA was carried out to test hypothesis 1 that

respondents in the Black sample would score lower on SDS1 and higher on SDS2, AS, and PC, suggesting greater acceptance, than respondents in the White sample. The same ANOVA was also used to test hypothesis 2, that respondents of high-socioeconomic status would score lower on SDS1 and higher on SDS2, AS, and PC than respondents of low-socioeconomic status. The results of the 2 x 2 ANOVA are presented in four contingency tables: Race by SES for each dependent variable measure SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC (Tables 1.1 - 1.4).

Table 1.1

Mean scores on Social Distance Scale (SDS1) for Race by SES.

	SES	
	High-SES	Low-SES
Race		
Blacks	34.961	35.126
Whites	35.887	35.326

Table 1.2

Mean scores on Social Distance Scale (SDS2) for Race by SES.

	SES	
	High-SES	Low-SES
Race		
Blacks	8.219	8.116
Whites	8.202	8.252

Table 1.3

Mean scores on Attitude Scale (AS) for Race by SES.

	SES	
	High-SES	Low-SES
Race		
Blacks	7.188	7.015
Whites	7.353	7.403

Table 1.4

Mean scores on Perceived Commonality (PC) for Race by SES.

	SES	
	High-SES	Low-SES
Race		
Blacks	4.284	4.241
Whites	4.282	4.483

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed separately for Blacks and Whites, and separately for the high-SES group and the low-SES group, correlating measures of acceptance (SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC) with social desirability (SD). Correlations by Race between SD and SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC are presented in Table 2.1. Correlations by SES between SD and SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC are presented in Table 2.2. In addition, group means computed for SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC to assess overall level of acceptance towards biracial individuals. Group means are presented in Table 3.0 and Figures 1 and 2.

Table 2.1

Correlations by Race for Social Desirability and SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC.

	Race	
	Blacks	Whites
SDS1	.06	.12
SDS2	.01	.01
AS	.22**	.09
PC	.00	.07

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01

Table 2.2

Correlations by SES for Social Desirability and SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC.

	SES	
	High-SES	Low-SES
SDS1	.15	-.05
SDS2	-.01	.03
AS	.10	.21*
PC	-.00	.08

\*p &lt; .05

\*\*p &lt; .01

Table 3.0

Group Means by Race, SES, and Sex for SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC.

	Measures of Acceptance			
	SDS1	SDS2	AS	PC
<b>Race</b>				
Blacks	35.05	8.17	7.10	4.26
Whites	35.74	8.21	7.37	4.33
<b>SES</b>				
Higher-SES	35.46	8.21	7.28	4.28
Lower-SES	35.18	8.15	7.12	4.31
<b>Sex</b>				
Women	34.90	8.18	7.27	4.38
Men	36.65	8.21	7.06	4.03

Note. For SDS1, means less than 60.0 indicate low social distance (acceptance) and means greater than 60.0 high social distance (no acceptance). For SDS2, means greater than 5.5 indicate low social distance (acceptance) and means less than 5.5 high social distance (no acceptance). For AS, means greater than 6.0 indicate positive attitudes (acceptance) and means less than 6.0 negative attitudes (no acceptance). For PC, means of 4.0 and greater indicate "a fair amount in common with biracial individuals."

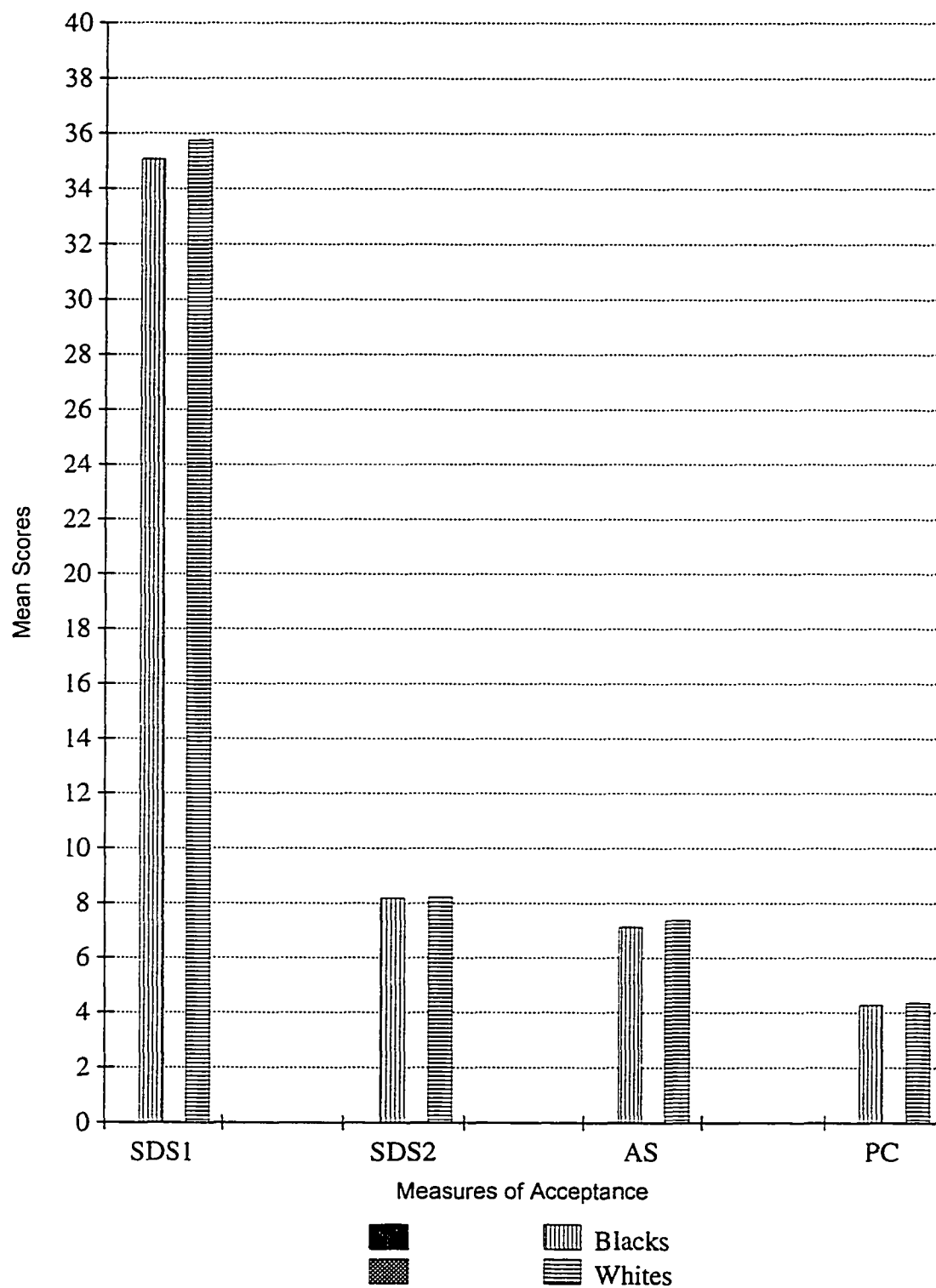


FIGURE 1. Group Means By Race



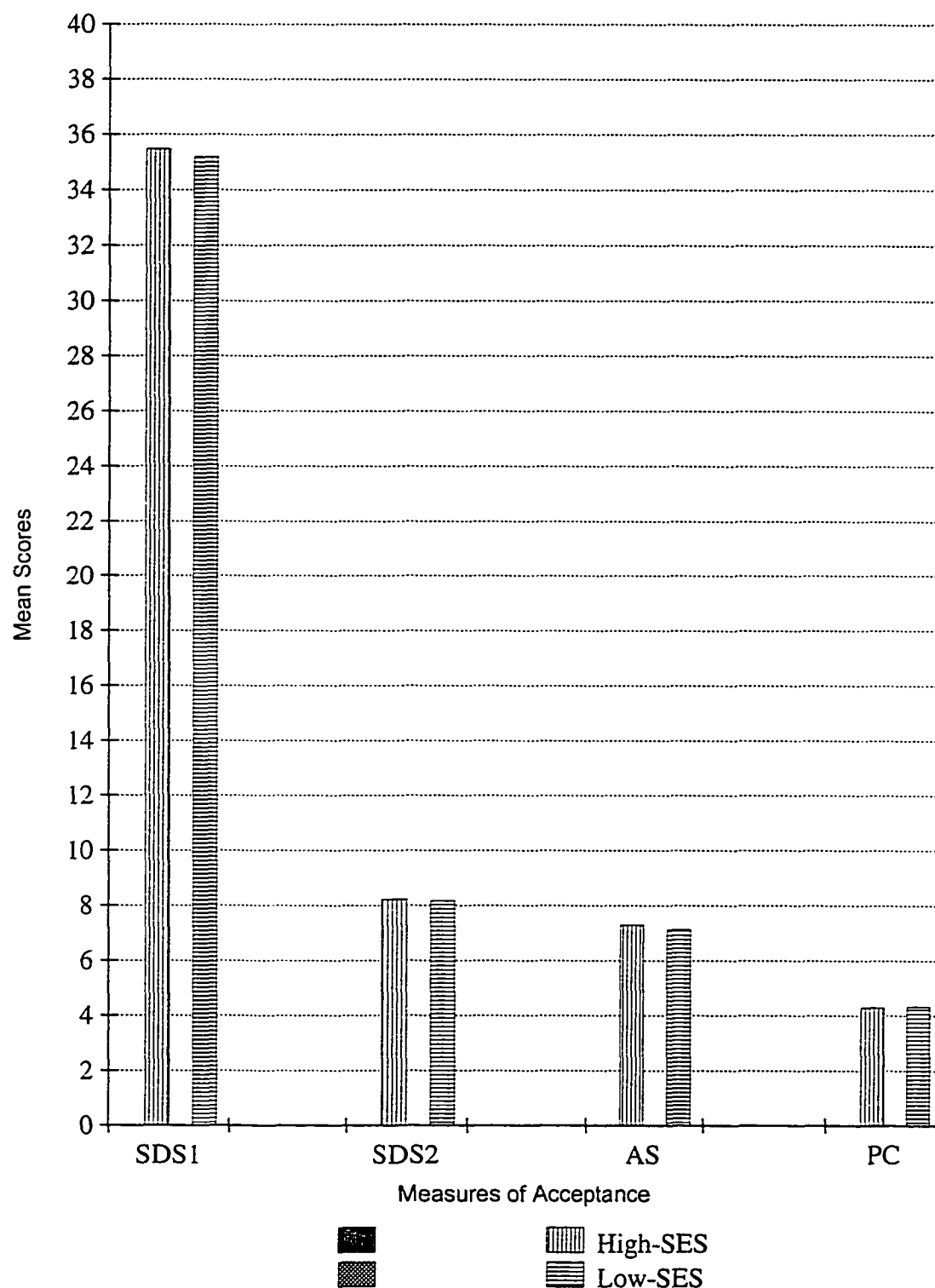


FIGURE 2. Group Means By SES

## **Hypothesis 1: Race and Acceptance**

### The Social Distance Scale (SDS1)

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on SDS1 showed no statistically significant main effect for race  $F(1, 263) = 1.407, p = .237$ . There was no significant difference between Black and White groups on their reported acceptance of biracial individuals. Group means on SDS1 of 35.05 and 35.74 for Blacks and Whites respectively, are below the 60.0 cutoff, indicating both groups endorsed items of low social distance and acceptance of biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 1). There were no significant correlations for Blacks or Whites between social desirability and SDS1 scores (refer to Table 2.1).

### The Social Distance Scale (SDS2)

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on SDS2 showed no statistically significant main effect for race  $F(1, 263) = .992, p = .320$ . There was no significant group difference between Blacks and Whites on their reported acceptance of biracial individuals. Group means on SDS2 of 8.17 and 8.21 for Blacks and Whites respectively, are greater than the 5.5 cutoff, suggesting both groups reported low social distance and acceptance of biracial individuals into their personal and social spheres of interaction (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 1). There were no significant correlations for Blacks or Whites between social desirability and SDS2 scores (refer to Table 2.1).

### The Scale to Measure Attitudes Towards Defined Groups (AS)

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on AS showed a statistically significant main effect for race  $F(1, 263) = 6.96, p < .01$ , with Whites reporting more positive attitudes towards biracial individuals than Blacks. Group means on AS, however, of 7.10 and 7.37 for Blacks and

Whites respectively, are greater than the 6.0 cutoff, indicating both Blacks and Whites endorsed positive attitudes and acceptance towards biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 1). A significant correlation  $r(153) = .22, p < .01$ , was found for Blacks between social desirability and AS scores indicating that Blacks' responses to the items on AS have been significantly influenced by the social desirability variable (refer to Table 2.1). There was no significant correlation found for Whites between social desirability and AS scores.

#### Perceived Commonality (PC)

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on PC found no statistically significant main effect for race  $F(1, 263) = 1.505, p = .221$ . There was no significant difference between Blacks and Whites on their perceived commonality with biracial individuals. Group means computed on PC of 4.26 and 4.33 for Blacks and Whites respectively, denote both groups identified themselves as having "a fair amount in common" with biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 1). There was no significant correlation found for Blacks or Whites between social desirability and PC scores (refer to Table 2.1).

### **Hypothesis 2: Socioeconomic Status and Acceptance**

#### The Social Distance Scale (SDS1)

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on SDS1 showed no statistically significant main effect for socioeconomic status  $F(1, 263) = .174, p = .677$ . There was no significant difference between the high-SES and low-SES groups' acceptance of biracial individuals. Group means on SDS1 of 35.46 and 35.18 for high- and low-SES groups respectively, are less than the 60.0 cutoff indicating both groups endorsed items of low social distance, thus,

acceptance of biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 2). There was no significant correlation for the high- or low-SES groups between social desirability and SDS1 scores (refer to Table 2.2).

#### The Social Distance Scale (SDS2)

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on SDS2 showed no statistically significant main effect for socioeconomic status  $F(1, 263) = .196, p = .659$ . There was no significant difference between participants of high-SES and participants of low-SES on their reported acceptance of biracial individuals. Means on SDS2 of 8.21 and 8.15 for high- and low-SES groups respectively, are greater than the 5.5 cutoff suggesting both groups endorsed items of low social distance (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 2). There was no significant correlation for the high- or low-SES groups between social desirability and SDS2 scores (refer to Table 2.2).

#### The Scale to Measure Attitudes Towards Defined Groups (AS)

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on AS showed no statistically significant main effect for socioeconomic status  $F(1, 263) = .339, p < .561$ . There was no significant difference between the high- and low-SES groups on their reported positive attitudes and acceptance towards biracial individuals. Group means on AS of 7.28 and 7.12 for high- and low-SES groups respectively, are greater than the 6.0 cutoff denoting both groups expressed acceptance of biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 2).

A significant correlation  $r(108) = .21, p < .05$ , was found for the low-SES group between social desirability and AS scores indicating that the low-SES groups' responses on AS were influenced by socially desirable response tendencies (refer to Table 2.2).

There was no significant correlation found for the high-SES group between social desirability and AS scores.

#### Perceived Commonality (PC)

A 2 x 2 ANOVA on PC showed no statistically significant main effect for socioeconomic status  $F(1, 263) = .641, p = .424$ . There was no significant difference between members of the high-SES group and members of the low-SES group on their perceived commonality with biracial individuals. Group means on PC of 4.28 and 4.31 for high- and low-SES groups respectively, indicate both groups identified themselves as having "a fair amount in common" with biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 2). There was no significant correlation found for the high- or low-SES groups between social desirability and PC scores (refer to Table 2.2).

#### Gender and Acceptance

A 3 x 2 ANOVA was computed for race, socioeconomic status, and gender. Statistical significance was found for the main effect of gender on both the SDS1  $F(1, 259) = 10.54, p < .01$ , and PC  $F(1, 259) = 12.88, p < .01$ . For women and men, group means found in Tables 3.0, while indicating both genders reported acceptance and positive attitudes towards biracial individuals, women did so more than men. Mean scores for men and women on SDS1 (34.90 and 36.65), SDS2 (8.18 and 8.21), AS (7.27 and 7.06), and PC (4.38 and 4.03) respectively, indicate both genders reported acceptance of biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0).

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

The objectives of this study were: 1) to examine the effect of race on acceptance of biracial individuals; and 2) to explore the effect of socioeconomic status on acceptance of biracial individuals.

#### Race and Acceptance

Hypothesis one, that Blacks would be more accepting of biracial individuals than Whites, was not supported. On SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC, both Blacks and Whites reported acceptance of biracial individuals into their personal and social spheres of interaction. On AS, both Blacks and Whites reported positive attitudes towards biracial individuals, however, Whites reported significantly more positive attitudes towards biracial individuals than Blacks. Respondents in the present study were asked to make judgements based on their subjective perceptions of biracial individuals. Clearly, both the Black and White samples responded with acceptance of biracial individuals on SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC, with the only statistically significant difference between the samples being their responses on AS. Group means on AS of 7.09 and 7.36 for Blacks and Whites respectively, are greater than the 6.0 cutoff, indicating both groups reported positive attitudes towards biracial individuals, with Whites reporting significantly greater positive attitudes.

The statistically significant finding on AS between the Black and White sample, however, should be interpreted with caution for several reasons. Relative to the Social Distance Scales and the Perceived Commonality item, the Scale to Measure Attitudes

Toward Defined Groups developed by Grice (1934) seems outdated. Although a shortened version of the scale by Remmers (1960) was used by Barkley (1985) and Spillman (1979) yielding statistically significant results, the scale's content has not been modified since its development in 1934.

Several items on the scale reflect its antiquity and poor word choices. For example, statement 17, "Are the most despicable people in the world," is not an expression currently used today and is identified as the most negative attitude on the scale and awarded the lowest score of 1.0. Also, statement 11, "Are of a gregarious nature," is identified as having a negative connotation and awarded a score of 4.5, falling below the 6.0 cutoff, indicating no acceptance. This statement might also reflect a positive attitude and if identified as such by the respondent, could pull down the respondent's overall score. A similar statement, "Are religiously inclined," might be interpreted as a negative attitude, although it has been identified as positive and awarded a high score of 8.5. Endorsement of this statement, assuming its negative connotation, could have increased the respondent's overall score and may not have accurately captured the respondents overall negative attitude towards the stimulus individual.

Furthermore, the scale has several statements that are identified as positive attitudes but seem to reflect neutral attitudes such as, "are on a level with my own group," and "should be regarded as any other group." Based on outdated expressions and poor word choices, the scale's content validity seems questionable. Although these concerns were considered prior to its use, the scale was included in the study to incorporate an attitude scale which would be another indicator of acceptance towards biracial

individuals, along with the social distance scales and the item of perceived commonality.

A modest correlation was found between AS and SDS1 ( $r(267) = -.31, p < .01$ ), AS and SDS2 ( $r(267) = .14, p < .05$ ), and AS and PC ( $r(267) = .34, p < .01$ ). The Social Distance Scales (SDS1, SDS2) and the Perceived Commonality item (PC) are modestly related to the Scale to Measure Attitudes Towards Defined Groups (AS). Three of the dependent measures (SDS1, SDS2, and PC) showed nonsignificant findings between Blacks and Whites acceptance of biracial individuals, and only one measure (AS) showed significant findings. Nonsignificant findings on SDS1, SDS2, and PC substantiate the high level of acceptance reported by both Black and White samples. The significant finding on AS should be interpreted with caution considering the scales questionable validity. On AS, social desirability scores were positively correlated with attitude scores for Blacks, suggesting that Blacks' responses on AS may have been influenced by social desirability. This significant finding further supports the questionable validity of AS, supporting the notion that AS should be interpreted with caution, such that, it pulls for socially desirable response tendencies.

The findings on SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC, based on group means, indicate that Blacks and Whites reported acceptance of biracial individuals in terms of their willingness to engage in personal and social relationships with these individuals, their positive attitudes about these individuals, and their perceived commonality with these individuals (refer to Table 3.0). Group means on SDS1 of 35.05 and 35.74 for Blacks and Whites respectively, are less than 60.0, indicating both groups endorsed items of low social distance, that is, acceptance of biracial individuals. Group means on SDS2 of 8.17



and 8.21 for Blacks and Whites respectively, are greater than 5.5, suggesting both groups reported acceptance of biracial individuals into their personal and social spheres of interaction. Group means on AS of 7.09 and 7.36 for Blacks and Whites respectively, are greater than 6.0, indicating both groups reported positive attitudes towards biracial individuals. Means computed on PC of 4.26 and 4.33 for Blacks and Whites respectively, denote both groups identified themselves as having "a fair amount in common" with biracial individuals.

The findings of acceptance from the White group may have several implications. First, it might imply that the significance of race is declining and that Whites in our sample, college students ages 17-26, hold less prejudiced attitudes towards biracial unions. Consistent with Thune, Webb, and Thune (1971), Whites of younger age groups have been found to be more racially tolerant. The younger generations may be experiencing the "browning of America" through exposure to cultural diversity in social institutions and within the mainstream culture (Root, 1996). Moreover, the current social climate supports political correctness and is therefore less tolerant of overt racism. Whites in our sample might have been more inclined to report acceptance of biracial individuals, possibly because they had abandoned prejudiced attitudes and acknowledged human diversity (Baptiste, 1985; Kalish, 1993; Wilson, 1978).

This finding might also suggest that the Whites in our sample reported positive attitudes towards biracial individuals because as a group they might have felt that they must defend themselves against the accusations of racism and holding prejudiced attitudes. Historically, Whites have been the oppressors of people of color for political

and economic gain by maintaining the ideas of White supremacy. In our sample of Whites, the endorsement of acceptance towards biracial individuals might have represented their wish to regard themselves as more accepting of mixed Black and White unions to counteract the existing social practices of racism and prejudice against people of color.

A third explanation may be that the Whites in our sample might have perceived individuals of mixed Black and White parentage as acceptable because they have one White parent. It may be that Whites feel less threatened by biracial individuals as compared with individuals of Black parentage because they are "closer to White." Whites may be more accepting of biracial individuals because they share a common ancestry with the values, culture, and traditions of their White parent. In our sample of Whites, having one White parent may have qualified biracial individuals as being "closer to White," hence more acceptable.

Whatever the reasons, the White sample reported similarly high levels of acceptance as the Black sample, and both groups consistently reported acceptance of biracial individuals. The finding that Blacks and Whites are accepting of biracial individuals is consistent with the literature of biracial individuals' perceived acceptance by both Black and White groups (Brown, 1995; de Anda & Riddel, 1991; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson & Harris, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1991). Studies by Brown (1995) and Stephan and Stephan (1991), concluded that individuals of mixed parentage had favorable relations with single-heritage groups and focused more on similarities between these groups than differences (also supported by Kerwin, 1992). Perhaps the sample of

Blacks and Whites in this study also focused on the commonalities between themselves and biracial individuals, and perceived biracial individuals as acceptable given their shared ancestry with both Black and White groups.

### Socioeconomic Status and Acceptance

Hypothesis two, that individuals of high-socioeconomic status would be more accepting of biracial persons than individuals of low-socioeconomic status, was not confirmed. There were no statistically significant differences between high- and low-socioeconomic status groups on SDS1, SDS2, AS or PC.

One confound might have been that participants in our sample had overall high levels of income and education, such that the distinction between high- and low-socioeconomic status among the sample groups might not have represented the real distinction in the true populations. Educational levels were assigned a numerical value from 1 to 7 as follows; (1) less than seven years of school education; (2) junior high school education; (3) partial high school education; (4) high school graduation education; (5) partial college training education; (6) standard college or university graduation education; and (7) graduate professional training education. Income levels were assigned a numerical value from 1 to 5 as follows; (1) income range of \$10,000 and under; (2) income range of \$11,000 - \$24,000; (3) income range of \$25,000 - \$49,000; (4) income range of \$50,000 - \$75,000; (5) income range of \$76,000 and over. Education and income means for the high-socioeconomic status group were 6.64 and 4.55 with standard deviations of .48 and .50 respectively. Education and income means for the low-socioeconomic status group were 4.40 and 2.41 with standard deviations of .79 and .72

respectively.

In our sample ( $N = 267$ ), Whites had higher levels of education and income compared to that of Blacks. Education and income means for Whites were 6.12 and 4.09 with standard deviations of 1.12 and 1.01 respectively. Means for Blacks were 5.44 and 3.38 with standard deviations of 1.29 and 1.26 respectively. Levels of education and income were overall high for both Whites and Blacks, perhaps representing a more middle-SES perspective as opposed to a low-SES perspective. Moreover, Whites were very heavily represented in the high-socioeconomic status group leaving only very few of them in the low-socioeconomic status group. This may, however, be expected from our country's history of racial inequality in areas of education, occupations/jobs, and economic opportunity.

Another limitation for the main effect of SES, is that respondents were not presented with the socioeconomic status of the stimulus individual. Some studies have found people of high-socioeconomic status to be more accepting of minorities including biracial individuals if they are aware of the high-socioeconomic status of the stimulus individual (Payne, 1976; Riedesel & Blocker, 1978; Dion, 1985). In this study, respondents could not take into account the socioeconomic status of the stimulus individual in forming opinions about biracial persons. The effect of SES on acceptance might have been qualified by the knowledge of the socioeconomic status of biracial individuals they were responding about.

Even though there were no statistically significant group differences for SES on SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC, group means were computed to examine the overall level of

acceptance towards biracial individuals (refer to Table 3.0 and Figure 2). Means on SDS1 of 35.46 and 35.18 for high- and low-SES respectively, are less than 60.0 indicating both groups reported acceptance of biracial individuals. Means on SDS2 of 8.21 and 8.15 for high- and low-SES respectively, are greater than 5.5 suggesting that both groups endorsed acceptance of biracial individuals. Means on AS of 7.28 and 7.12 for high- and low-SES respectively, are greater than 6.0 denoting both groups expressed positive attitudes towards biracial individuals. Means on PC of 4.28 and 4.31 for high- and low-SES respectively, indicate both groups identified themselves as having "a fair amount in common" with biracial individuals. Researchers claim that persons with higher levels of education and income are most egalitarian (Case, Greeley & Fuchs, 1989; Riedesel & Blocker, 1978). However, there were no such differences based on SES that were statistically significant. Perhaps, this is do to the high education and income levels for both the Blacks and Whites in this sample. Group means indicating overall acceptance of biracial individuals may suggest that the overall sample was more representative of the middle to upper class as opposed to the high and low classes. If it is true that socioeconomic status is a more salient characteristic than race for high-status individuals, then it would follow that these individuals would be more tolerant of biracial individuals, since they tend to consider racial tolerance an important social goal (Sandor, 1994).

On AS, social desirability was found to be positively related to attitude scale scores for individuals of low-socioeconomic status. This relationship would appear to suggest that the low-socioeconomic status group had been influenced by the social

desirability factor in their attitude toward biracial individuals. This significant finding further questions the validity of AS, such that it may be eliciting socially desirably response tendencies.

### Gender and Acceptance

Additional analysis was computed for the main effect of gender. Two statistically significant differences were found between men and women on SDS1  $F(1, 259) = 10.54$ ,  $p < .01$  and PC  $F(1, 259) = 12.88$ ,  $p < .01$ , such that women reported less social distance and more perceived commonality with biracial individuals than men. These significant findings are consistent with other research findings on gender differences and prejudice, indicating that women hold less prejudiced attitudes than men (Hoxter & Lester, 1994; Bierly, 1985; Qualls, Cox & Schehr, 1992). Although women endorsed significantly greater acceptance of biracial individuals than men on SDS1 and PC, mean scores for women and men on SDS1 (34.90 and 36.65), SDS2 (8.18 and 8.21), AS (7.27 and 7.06), and PC (4.38 and 4.03) respectively, indicate both groups reported acceptance, positive attitudes, and "a fair amount in common" with biracial individuals.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

The Black and White samples of undergraduate college students, ages 17 to 25, drawn from a population in the Southeastern part of the country, accepted individuals of mixed White and Black parentage. Blacks and Whites, irrespective of their socioeconomic status, reported overall acceptance of biracial individuals as shown by their responses on SDS1, SDS2, AS, and PC.

There are three major implications of this study. One implication of the findings suggest that because the sample of Whites and Blacks in this study were accepting of biracial individuals, perceiving them positively and having "a fair amount in common" with them, both groups might have acknowledged their shared ancestry with biracial persons and embraced what they have in common. Whites in this sample, appeared to be more tolerant of racial differences than was expected to be the case. Perhaps this reflects the changes that have taken place in the last three decades regarding racial attitudes towards interracial marriages and multiethnicity.

A second implication of the findings might be that biracial individuals may see the high acceptance levels of the Black and White samples as a positive development in knowing that they are accepted by both Black and White groups. Researchers contend that biracial individuals have difficulty with identity formation as a result of the dilemma in having to choose between White and Black peer groups (Gibbs, 1987; Motoyoshi, 1990; Brown, 1990). Acceptance of biracial individuals by Blacks and Whites in this study, may help facilitate the resolution of biracial individuals' social dilemma, as they

will be armed with the knowledge that whichever group they chose they might be met with acceptance. Research has also shown that having a biracial identity as opposed to a Black identity encourages positive identity development and contributes to the psychological health of biracial individuals (Bowles, 1993; Brown, 1990; Root, 1990). The finding of Whites' and Blacks' overall acceptance of biracial individuals might also have a beneficial effect on the clinical treatment of biracial individuals who may have serious adjustment or identity problems and seek professional assistance.

A third implication of this study's findings is the challenge it might pose to the prejudicial social practice and system in which a "drop of black blood" becomes the basis for categorizing a biracial person as Black. This racial classification system has served to maintain a division of the races and has emphasized differences among people. Biracial individuals argue that they should not be forced to label themselves as "Black" or "White." Biracial individuals contend that they should be allowed to acknowledge both their White and Black heritage by redefining themselves as biracial or multiracial (Njeri, 1991; Root, 1992; Root, 1996). Perhaps the outcome of this study will help researchers and clinicians understand more about the dynamics of race relations in that having similarities or sharing a common ancestry may be a way to encourage acceptance among people and improve racial/ethnic relations.

#### Future Research

In retrospect, one problem with the study is that high- and low-SES populations might not have been well represented in our sample. Using parent's education and income levels to assess socioeconomic status for college students in this study might not



have adequately captured socioeconomic status distinctions. Many college students are employed, seek financial assistance, and live independent of their parents. Perhaps parent's income and education may not provide a valid assessment of SES for college students. For future research it would be advisable to use a current standardized measure of SES based on occupation, income and education to get a better assessment of SES. Also, if college students are being used as the sample, it is best to recruit participants proportionately from state colleges and private universities in order to get a range of SES levels.

A Black and White sample of college students were asked to report on their subjective perceptions of biracial individuals. In this study, participants' judgements about biracial individuals, however, might not have been based on true experience but rather on racial or group stereotypes and their associations. For future research, it would be important to assess how much personal experience and contact one has with the identified person or in this case biracial individuals. Researchers have held that the more contact one has with outgroups, the more positively they respond to them (Ellison & Powers, 1994; Bullock III, 1978).

In addition, using college students as a sample might be an artificial representation of the population in general. College students are a unique group in that they come from different socioeconomic backgrounds, distinct ethnicities and cultures, and come from different parts of the country and world. College students might be expected to be more racially/ethnically tolerant because many of them may for the first time be experiencing an ethnically diverse social and academic environment. Using a sample from the general

population is advised for future research and is recommended in future replications of this study.

Furthermore, measuring attitudes and perceptions towards a specified group is becoming more difficult because prejudice and racism has become more implicit and embedded in sociopolitical issues (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). Pettigrew (1981, p. 252) noted that "white Americans increasingly reject racial injustice in principle but are reluctant to accept the measures necessary to eliminate the injustice."

Some researchers contend that Whites have discarded overtly racist statements in favor of more sophisticated or less obvious racial antipathies (Schuman, 1969; Sears and McConahay, 1973). Perhaps attitudes towards a variety of social issues such as welfare, affirmative action, fair housing efforts, equal funding for minority schools, "violent" crimes, problems of the inner city, and so forth, would be a better indicator of outgroup prejudices.

For the purpose of this study, however, The Social Distance Scales seemed to validly measure acceptance of biracial individuals by providing the respondent with degrees of acceptance ranging from intimate relationships and casual contact, to nonacceptance; such as, the exclusion of biracial individuals from the respondent's private and social sphere of interaction. The Perceived Commonality item also seemed to be a good measure of acceptance by allowing the respondent to choose whether or not he/she perceived the biracial individual as similar to him/herself. Clearly, individuals are more accepting of others if they perceived them as similar in ethnicity, beliefs, and sociability (Liebowitz & Lombardo, 1980; Eshel & Kurman, 1989).

Generalizability of research findings is always a challenge because variables such as age, gender, income, education, occupation, location, etc. are specific to the sample and may not be representative of the population. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this study will contribute to the study of biracial individuals and race relations in this country by encouraging continued study of mixed-race/mixed-ethnic individuals, by continuing to educate our youth and adults on our history of cultural diversity, and by challenging White notions of racial cataloging which for many minorities including biracial individuals blocks self-identification and serves to reinforce what racists have long advocated.

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## Appendix A.

**General Instructions**

**\* Please read and sign the consent form before continuing.**

Thank you for your participation!

Your participation in this study is voluntary and confidential. Your name is not requested. It takes less than 30 minutes to complete the enclosed questionnaires. During this time we ask you to remain in the classroom. Please regard the task seriously and respond as honestly as possible without consulting anyone else. Follow the instructions at the top of each questionnaire closely.

We appreciate your cooperation and participation in this project. For follow-up results of the study please contact Erika Gilyot at (708) 386-1288 or include an address in your consent form and results will be sent to you. Thank You.

## Appendix B.

*PLACE A CHECK (/) BESIDE EACH STATEMENT THAT DESCRIBES HOW YOU WOULD BEHAVE TOWARDS A BIRACIAL PERSON OF BLACK AND WHITE PARENTAGE.*

*REMEMBER TO GIVE YOUR FIRST FEELING REACTIONS IN EVERY CASE.*

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. I would marry this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. I would accept this person as an intimate friend.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I would accept this person as a close kin by marriage.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. I would accept this person as a roommate or I would date this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. I would accept this person as a personal chum in my club.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. I would accept this person as a neighbor.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. I would accept this person as my husband's or wife's friend.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. I would live in the same apartment house with this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. I would accept this person as one of my speaking acquaintances.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. I would rent property from this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. I would give asylum to this person, if he/she were a refugee, but I would not grant him/her citizenship.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. I would not permit this person to live in my neighborhood.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. I would not permit this person's attendance of our universities.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. I would exclude this person from my country.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. I would be willing to participate in the lynching of this person.

## Appendix C.

*Place a check beside each statement that describes how you would behave towards a biracial person of Black and White parentage.*

*Remember to give your first feeling reactions in every case.*

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. I would accept this person as an intimate friend.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. I would permit this person to borrow money from me.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I would accept this person as a personal chum in my club.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. I would accept this person to my street as a neighbor.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. I would attend dinner or party given by this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. I would publicly admit to a casual acquaintance with this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. I would have business dealings with this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. I would enter the residence of this person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. I would accept this person as a house servant.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. I would prohibit this person from purchasing firearms.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. I would refuse to accept this person as my boss.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. I would try to exclude this person from my neighborhood.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. I would exclude this person from swimming pools, parks, and playgrounds.

## Appendix D.

*PLACE A CHECK (✓) BEFORE EACH STATEMENT YOU AGREE WITH THAT DESCRIBES A BIRACIAL PERSON OF BLACK AND WHITE PARENTAGE.*

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Are honest.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Tend to improve any group with which they come in contact.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I consider it a privilege to associate with this group.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Are on a level with my own group.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Are religiously inclined.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Are considerate of others.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Can be resourceful when necessary.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Should be regarded as any other group.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. Are equal in intelligence to the average person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. I have no particular love or hatred for this group.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Are of a gregarious (social) nature.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. I suppose these people are all right, but I've never liked them.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Have a tendency toward insubordination.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Are envious of others.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Are discourteous.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. Are slow and unimaginative.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. Are the most despicable people in the world.

## Appendix E.

*Please answer the following question as honestly as possible.*

In general, how much do you think individuals of mixed Black and White parentage have in common with you?

\_\_\_\_\_ They don't have anything in common.

\_\_\_\_\_ They don't have much in common at all.

\_\_\_\_\_ They have a little bit in common.

\_\_\_\_\_ They have a fair amount in common.

\_\_\_\_\_ They have a great deal in common.

## Appendix F.

*Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally.*

1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.

True

False

2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.

True

False

3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.

True

False

4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.

True

False

5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.

True

False

6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.

True

False

7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.

True

False

8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.

True

False

9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

True

False

10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.

True

False

11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.

True

False

12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.

True

False

13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

True

False

## Appendix G.

## Demographic Information

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Sex \_\_\_\_\_

Race \_\_\_\_\_

Parent(s) annual income. Check one of the following.

1. \_\_\_ \$10,000 and under
2. \_\_\_ \$11,000 -- \$24,000
3. \_\_\_ \$25,000 -- \$49,000
4. \_\_\_ \$50,000 -- \$75,000
5. \_\_\_ \$76,000 and over

Parent(s) highest level of education. Check one of the following.

1. \_\_\_ **Graduate professional training:** Persons who completed a recognized professional course that led to the receipt of a graduate degree.
2. \_\_\_ **Standard college or university graduation:** All individuals who had completed a four-year college or university course leading to a recognized college degree.
3. \_\_\_ **Partial college training:** Individuals who had completed at least one year but not a full college course.
4. \_\_\_ **High school graduation:** All secondary school graduates, whether from a private preparatory school, public high school, trade school, or parochial school.
5. \_\_\_ **Partial high school:** Individuals who had completed the tenth or eleventh grades, but had not completed high school.
6. \_\_\_ **Junior high school:** Individuals who had completed the seventh grade through the ninth grade.
7. \_\_\_ **Less than seven years of school:** Individual who had not completed the seventh grade.

## Appendix H.

Verbatim Instructions

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_. Everyone will receive a questionnaire packet. Please complete the forms in the packet in the order they are presented. Included first in the packet is a consent form followed by an instruction sheet. Please read and sign the consent form before you begin answering any questions. I will be available during this 30-min. period and if you have any questions concerning instructions, definitions, and the like I will be happy to answer them. When you are finished with your packet please return it to me. Please do not discuss this study with anyone. Results of the study will be provided given you put your address on the consent form. Thank you. You may begin.



## VITA

**ERIKA LELA GILYOT**  
**622 Harrison St. Apt. 1S**  
**Oak Park, IL 60304**  
**(708) 386-1288**

### Academic

#### Virginia Consortium Program in Clinical Psychology

Full APA Accreditation, Clinical Psychology

Sponsored by: The College of William and Mary, Eastern Virginia Medical School, Norfolk State University, and Old Dominion University

Psy.D. expected December, 1997

Honors: Awarded the Black American Doctoral Fellowship by VCPP, 1993-1996

#### Loyola University of New Orleans

New Orleans, Louisiana

May, 1993 B.A., Psychology minor: Spanish

Honors: Graduated Cum Laude, Psi Chi National Psychology Honor Society, and Dean's List Student

### Postdoctorate

#### Alexian Brothers Lake-Cook Behavioral Health Resources

Elk Grove Village, Illinois

Staff Therapist: Conduct intensive outpatient program for adolescents, conduct children's program, and provide outpatient therapy.

### Clinical Training

#### Columbia Michael Reese Hospital and Medical Center

Chicago, Illinois

Full APA Accreditation, Internship

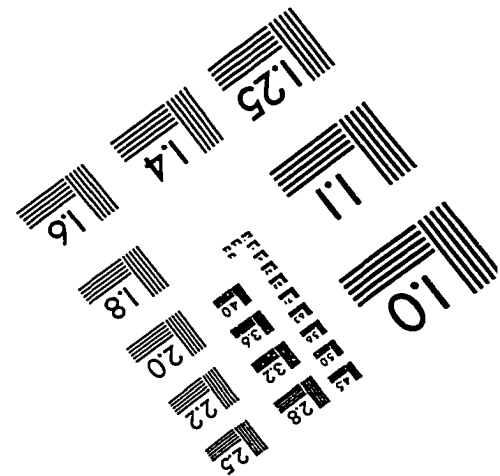
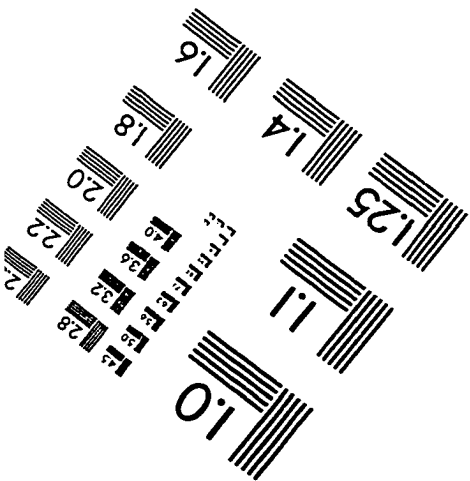
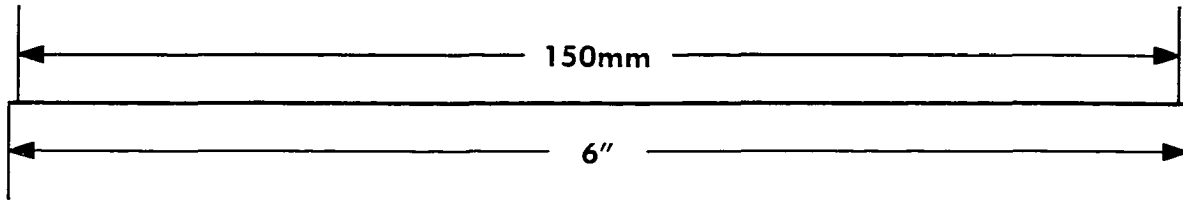
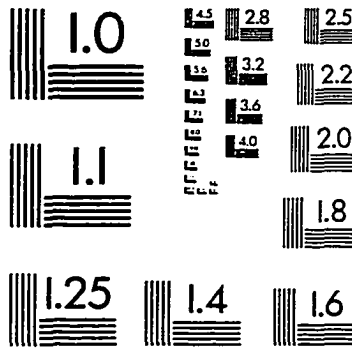
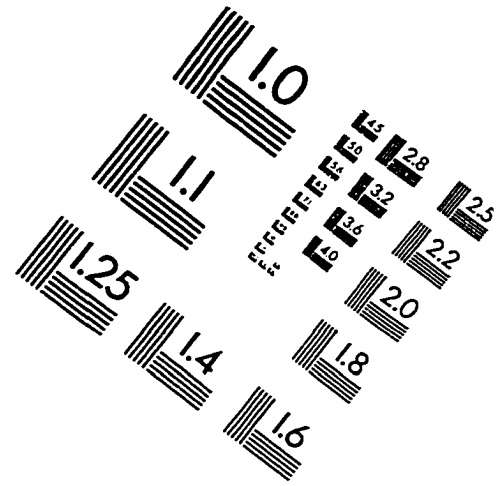
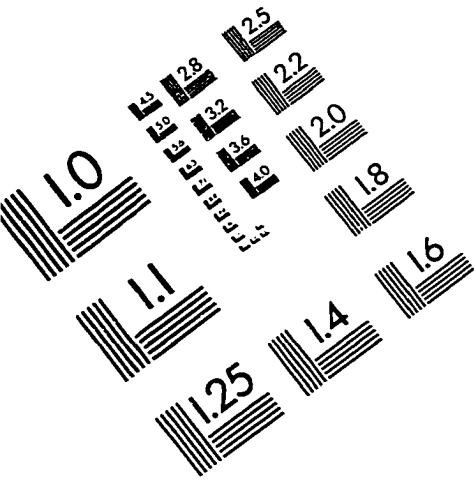
Psychology Intern: Provide outpatient therapy services to children, families, adolescents, adults, and older people.

### Professional Affiliations

American Psychological Association

Association of Black Psychologists

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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