AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Warren Suzuki

This study sought to understand how post-secondary students experience and process issues of diversity, to discover what those views of diversity are, and how those views might change. The two issues that participants felt most strongly about were homosexuality and scholarships for students of color. Their views on homosexuality ranged from admitted homophobia, to ambivalence, to tolerance, to full acceptance. Religion seemed to play a part among those who were ambivalent, but not for those who were homophobic. Views were not static, but shifted depending on the circumstances. A participant who might object to a homosexual serving in the military might have no problem having a homosexual as a neighbor.

Regarding scholarships for students of color, some of the 27 White students agreed that this was fair, while others seemed to resent the idea and questioned its need. Two of the four multi-racial students were somewhat sympathetic to the latter view. A high degree of acceptance on one diversity issue did not necessarily

mean high acceptance on other issues. A participant who advocated for gays to have equal admittance and acceptance in the military was against scholarships for students of color.

Participants' views were most influenced by their personal experiences. Interventions such as coursework, workshop, panel presentation, and social contact seemed to have a less influence than personal experiences. Those pivotal moments, as discussed by Young Y. Kim, seemed to have caused stress, adaptation, and growth, which resulted in a greater awareness of an issue, of themselves, and of others. The rejection of experiences and interventions might be explained by encapsulation, as proposed by C. Gilbert Wrenn. Encapsulated individuals seem to choose to reject information or experiences that might challenge their views. The implication for educators is to provide more opportunities for students to have personal experiences involving diversity that might lead to pivotal moments.

Thirty-one undergraduates at a small, liberal arts university in the Pacific Northwest were interviewed three times over an average of seven weeks. All had participated in a nationally known diversity workshop and had also participated in regular courses that addressed diversity issues.

Exploring College Students' Understanding of Diversity:
The Effect of Experience, Interventions, and Encapsulation

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I. INTRODUCTION

Focus

The term "diversity" has expanded in recent years from defining race and ethnicity to encompassing group differences such as gender, language, sexual orientation, age, ability, and economic class (Grant & Ladson-Billigs, 1997). Research on college students' views on diversity issues has primarily been based on positivists' world views. This study sought to understand how students experience and process issues on diversity, to discover what post-secondary students' views are of diversity, how they might change, and what is the substance of that change. The two issues which students felt most strongly about were related to race and sexual orientation.

Racism

Forty years after the civil rights movement there is a sense among some of the general public that programs such as Affirmative Action and bilingual education are no longer necessary and that racism has decreased or is no longer an issue. Although surveys (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 1991; Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986) suggest a shift toward less racist views in the last fifty years, some researchers believe the change may be in appearance rather than substance. Covert, rather

than overt, racism appears to be present today. Modern racism according to McConahay (1986) is the belief that discrimination is a thing of the past and that a colorblind perspective, where race is not relevant to the way individuals are treated, is in place. This attitude reduces the potential for conflict and minimizes discomfort. It also perpetuates the refusal to recognize and deal with the existence of intergroup tensions (Schofield, 1986).

There is some evidence that interracial tensions have led to a rise in incidents against minorities on college campuses (Ponterotto, 1991). A campus survey at an eastern university found that "old fashioned prejudice seems to have evolved into a new type that is resistant to traditional attitude change remedies" (Yang, 1992, p.11).

<u>Homophobia</u>

The campus climate for students who are not heterosexual has not reached the point of full acceptance. Students who are openly gay experience harassment and physical assaults on some campuses (Cage, 1993; D'Augelli & Rose, 1990; D'Augelli, 1992; Franklin, 1998; Lease, 1996), and lesbians and their children face stigmatization (King & Black, 1999). Gay and lesbian students also experience a higher level of alienation (Abbott & Liddell, 1996) and a greater sense of marginalization (DeSurra & Church, 1994). A survey of two campuses, one a large university and the other a small rural college (Malaney, Williams & Geller, 1997) found some difference in attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Students at the small

college exhibited more conservative responses. The expected attitude difference between freshmen and seniors, however, was "disappointing" (p. 371). Seniors did not exhibit more tolerance toward gay, lesbian, and bisexual rights than freshmen did. In another study (Simoni, 1996), negative attitudes toward homosexuals were found to be associated with being younger, having less education, and being male.

Fragmented Views

In a survey of studies on prejudice, Pate (1995) found that "most intervention efforts have used some measurement immediately following the treatment and frequently have gotten positive results" (p. 1). He cites one of the problems of research on prejudice as the lack of studies using delayed post-test measures. Pate further identifies the reliance on paper and pencil type assessments as one of the most acute problems of prejudice research.

The term "multicultural education", more frequently used since the 1980s, is an "umbrella term for an educational reform movement [that] addresses issues of race, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic class, language, and disability" (Banks, 1995). The literature on multicultural and diversity awareness courses and workshops shows a continuing trend of both immediate post evaluations and quantifiable assessment. Research on racial identity development in psychological counseling has also leaned heavily on psychological measurement. Ponterotto (1998) calls for more qualitative research in that field, "specifically, intensive life histories, oral histories, and case studies. . . would be welcome" (p. 55). Pope and Reynolds

(1997) suggest multiple research methods, including qualitative interviews to improve our understanding of multicultural education and training efforts.

Geasler, Croteau, Heinemann, and Edlund (1995) analyzed more than two hundred student writings following a gay panel presentation. The strong positive results of their study showed empathy, self reflection, and unacknowledged change. Their rationale for a qualitative study is that paper-and-pencil scales measuring attitudes along a positive to negative dimension might not pick up subtle changes. The strength of the qualitative approach is that it "provide[s] more specific exploration of the change that occurs from the perspective of those experiencing the change" (p. 488).

A study by Parker and Wittmer (1976) found no significant result following communication training on racial attitudes. The researchers suggest that the instruments were not sensitive enough to pick up changes that occurred due to the treatment. The trainers reported various kinds of positive behavior and attitudinal changes; however, "these changes would be difficult to quantify on any objective scale" (p. 502). In another multicultural course, Robinson and Bradley (1997) found little significant difference using the Multicultural Awareness, Knowledge, Skills Survey (MAKSS). According to the researchers, the self-reporting instrument may not accurately reflect a true understanding of the concepts.

Researcher's Disclosure

Data, even seemingly "objective" data, are open to interpretation. A simple example is the glass containing 50% water. It could be described as a glass that is "half full" or a glass that is "half empty." In this classic example, it is said that the optimist uses the first phrase and the pessimist, the latter. This paper includes objective data in the form of quotes from the participants, as well as my interpretation of that data. It would seem beneficial, perhaps even necessary, for the reader to know something about me.

The constructivist paradigm as described by Guba and Lincoln (1994) and Schwandt (1994) of interactivity, subjectivity, interpretation, and of multiple and conflicting meaning best reflects my world view. The interview is one area where differences in perspective arise. In formal interviews, the interviewer's opinions and ideas are not usually shared with the interviewee. The norm is for questions about the interviewer's own life or opinions to be deflected. An opposing point of view is the emphasis on "a collaborative, dialogic seeking of greater mutual understanding" (Lather, 1991, p. 60). To achieve this, interviews need to be conducted "in an interactive, dialogic manner that requires self-disclosure on the part of the researcher [to] encourage reciprocity" (Lather, 1991, p. 60). To understand students' perspectives, my interviews took the form of conversations guided by a set of questions. Throughout the conversations, each student and I exchanged ideas and shared thoughts.

There is no way to isolate the effects of on-going interviews on the students' views. The interviews serve as a reinforcement, reminder, or catalyst for reflection that might not otherwise occur--thus my affinity with the transformational aspects of critical theory. Praxis-oriented research (Lather, 1991) recognizes that people change when encouraged to engage in self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their particular situation. In addition, as the researcher and participant negotiate meaning, both are changed in the process. As such, the interviews become, not just a means of gathering information, but an emancipatory inquiry where both researcher and participant can reach a higher level of understanding. Lather (1991) suggests that ". . .we consciously use our research to help participants understand and change their situation" (p. 57). As a teacher, this orientation has great appeal to me.

As the term "emancipatory" would indicate, this research approach encourages participants to "understand the world and the way it is shaped in order for them to transform it" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 152). The emancipatory part of this study is in helping students, in particular culturally encapsulated students, see beyond their limited way of thinking and eventually take action to build more inclusive environments.

The constructivist and criticalist approaches are congruent with my views on adult learning as articulated by Mezirow (1996). In transformational theory, Mezirow sees learners transforming their frame of reference ". . .to allow a perspective that is more inclusive, differentiating, critically reflective, open to other

points of view, and more integrative of experience" (p. 119). Lather (1991) asks,

"Insofar as we have come to see that evolving an empowering pedagogy is an

essential step in social transformation, does not the same hold true for our research

approaches?" (p. 56). I have answered in the affirmative.

Data and statistics allege an objective and aggregate picture of an event or

group of people. These address our intellectual curiosity. But it is the human side

of the story that addresses our need to understand and make sense of the world. As

such, investigating a social experience like prejudice and tolerance is best done

through a naturalistic paradigm, a view that supports multiple realities, is inter-

related and interactive, is context-bound, and value-bound (Guba & Lincoln, 1983).

In a phrase, my paradigmatic lens might be called multicultural-colored, critical-

constructivist.

My Identity

The subject of research epistemologies with regard to race has been

addressed by several writers. Stanfield (1993) takes issue with the fact that

mainstream researchers rarely reflect on "what the effects of their racial and ethnic

identities and consciousness might have on what they see and interpret in race and

ethnicity studies" (p. 25). "The autobiographies, cultures, and historical contexts of

researchers matter; these determine what researchers see and do not see, as well as

their ability to analyze data and disseminate knowledge adequately" (p. 176). Grant

and Tate (1995) call for recognition that a scholar's previous experience and

personal convictions will have an impact on the research. Lather's (1991) position

that "ways of knowing are inherently culture-bound and perspectival" (p. 2)

supports the notion of disclosure and reflection on the part of the researcher. And

from Banks (1999), "All knowledge reflects the values and interests of its creators".

Scheurich and Young (1997) write of a new category of racism, epistemo-

logical racism, which reflects and reinforces the social history and culture of the

dominant group and which excludes the epistemologies of other races and cultures

(p. 4). Anderson (1993) suggests that "White scholars doing research on race and

ethnicity should examine self-consciously the influence of institutional racism and

the way it shapes formulation and development of their research rather than assume

a color-blind stance" (p.43). Stanfield (1994) notes that no comprehensive text has

yet been written about where the dominant population is "investigated and inter-

preted through the paradigmatic lenses of people of color" (p. 183).

The focus of my study involves racial prejudice and other kinds of biases.

The participants are predominantly White students. It would seem appropriate

then, following from Stanfield, Lather, Banks, and Anderson, that I disclose my

background and the biases I bring to the study.

Asian-American

"One's status in a given society as either a 'majority' or 'minority' (as

defined by power and status, not numbers) person plays an important role in one's

own racial and ethnic identity development and in one's attitudes toward other

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ethnic groups" (Ponterotto, 1991, p. 218-219). As an Asian-American, I may be expected to bring a minority's point of view and bias to the research, but as a member of an ethnic group that was one-third the population of Hawaii, this also led to a multicultural perspective. In general, Japanese-Americans hold a relatively high socio-economic standing in my community. I was part of that majority culture and now recognize dominant cultural biases I hold. I was also educated in the U.S. American system and my family's religious affiliation was Protestant. As such, I was part of two dominant cultures that were not in conflict--rather of one nested in the other.

Although I identify myself as Japanese-American, I think of myself as American with many of the attitudes and biases of a middle-class liberal. The Asian American Identity Development model (AAID) (Kim, 1981) does not seem a good fit for me, as the model is based on women who either spent formative years in a predominantly White neighborhood or a predominantly ethnic one, nor does the Minority Identity Model (MID) (Atkinson, Morton & Sue, 1983), to describe people of color other than African-American. What model should I use on myself? The fallacy of a monolithic identity (Stanfield, 1993) highlights my dilemma.

Impact of Researcher's Racial Identity

Anticipating that my race might be a factor in the research, the students were asked to be cognizant of times when that fact influenced their responses. Might they hedge on their answers when talking about minorities, since I appear to

be one? Only one participant said she was briefly conscious of my race during the first interview. Another student, talking about the international Asian students on campus described them "like robots." By contrast, he said, "You're very American . . . expressive." For him, our shared modes of cultural behavior were more important than genetic makeup in his defining of my identity.

There is no way to clearly separate and identify all the influences, such as the researcher's ethnicity, the study, academic classes, students' experiences on and off campus, taking part in a diversity workshop, or events such as the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, that may affect the students. The influences, whether one event, one person, or the cumulative effect of several factors, are important only in that they serve as stimuli. What I seek to learn is what a student thinks about issues of diversity and how those views might change.

Substantive Disclosure

In the initial stages of this investigation, I researched a broad but related range of topics. Multicultural education and multicultural competence were a good beginning, which led to cognitive approaches to prejudice reduction, social contact theory, social judgment theory, racial identity development theory, communication studies, and interventions to decrease homophobia. This literature review was expected to provide reference points and substantiation for the results, or a means by which to gauge whether my data differed from previous findings. During the data collection and analysis it became clear that I needed to review additional

concepts and theories in order to make sense of the data. In keeping with a chronological narration of my research, that literature is discussed in Chapter 3.

Diversity and plurality are the heart of multicultural education (Gay, 1995). Banks (1995) has identified five dimensions of multicultural education using the terms: content integration, knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture and social structure. The dimension of prejudice reduction examines attitudes, investigates strategies to help students develop more democratic attitudes and values, and evaluates the results of interventions. This study focused primarily on the first element, identifying the issues most important to students and documenting changes in their views, if any, throughout the study period.

The majority of the studies in multicultural education came from pre-service teacher education and psychological counseling. Researchers on prejudice reduction in both education and psychology based their work on some of the same models and theories. However, psychology used the terms "awareness," "knowledge," and "skills" to describe the components of multicultural competence (D'Andrea, Daniels, & Hect, 1991; Pedersen, 1994; Pope & Reynolds, 1997), while the terms "cognitive," "affective," and "behavior" were used in education (Pate, 1995; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997).

The research on college students' knowledge, skills, and awareness (defined as "beliefs and attitudes" by Ponterotto, 1998) with regard to prejudice and multi-culturalism dealt primarily with race and were largely quantitative investigations.

Interventions were courses, workshops, panels, simulations, and experiential activities. The literature initially investigated were social contact theory, cognitive approaches, racial identity models, and social judgment theory.

Social Contact Theory

Social identity comes from the social categories to which an individual sees himself/herself belonging. Individuals not only categorize themselves, but others into social groups and evaluate the worth of their social identities by comparing the groups (Brown, 1995; Wolfe & Spencer, 1996). Categorization is useful when an individual needs to deal with the hundreds of stimuli in life. According to Allport (1958), "orderly living depends on it" (p. 19). Yet categorization can lead to ingroup/outgroup distinctions. Perceptions of outgroups as more homogeneous can lead to stereotyping, prejudice, and rejection of those in outgroups. However, some caution was advised (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986) because ". . .the outgroup homogeneity hypothesis has become almost a truism" (p. 175). The results of their examination of the empirical evidence of that hypothesis was "mixed" (p. 175).

Social contact theory posits that tension and hostility between groups can be reduced by bringing those groups into contact with each other. However, contact is not enough. Allport (1958) described the conditions under which positive attitudes can develop from positive contact experiences. Those conditions are: social and institutional support, close interpersonal relationships, equal status of the partici-pants, and an activity that requires cooperation. Conversely, anxiety could be

heightened by a lack of contact "and this, in turn, might lead to greater stereo-typing" (Brown, 1995, p. 231).

Pate's (1995) review of the literature on prejudice found four studies in support of social contact theory. A fifth study, which found no positive relationship between contact and reduced prejudice, lacked the condition of equal status. In addition, the duration of the activity was deemed inadequate to foster positive results. The negative finding could be seen as reinforcement for the argument of the conditions necessary in social contact theory. Two studies suggested that other conditions may be factors. Ashmore (1969) found that contact also needs to be successful or at least pleasant for positive attitudes to develop. Social identity was found to be another important condition (Brewer, 1996).

In a study involving graduate counseling students, Mio (1989) reported that supplementing factual knowledge with cross-cultural contact, enhanced cross-cultural sensitivity. More recent studies have explored how contact prompts positive changes. Vendley (1998) describes an experiential program involving a diverse group of students who met for several months preparing for eight days of immersion in a rural part of Mexico. The personal contact among the team members, as well as their contact with people from another culture raised students' self-awareness and increased their intercultural sensitivity. In another study, Boyle-Heimann (1997) found students gained awareness of the role identity plays in inter-personal relationships during a year-long program of cross-cultural contact between white students and students of color.

<u>Cognitive Approaches</u>

Cognitive approaches rely on knowledge and information processing to reduce prejudice. The most common form of the approach were courses in multicultural education and multicultural counseling. Pate's (1995) review of the research from 1958 to 1990 found that "the acquisition of facts may not be enough to reduce prejudice" (p. 4). Two studies (Pearlin, 1972; Sneed, 1979) demonstrated that courses can produce positive results, but a third (Amodeo & Martin, 1982) showed that although knowledge increased, attitudes did not change, nor did stereotypes lessen.

Two studies examined situations where college students used their knowledge to plan and teach activities to reduce gender and ethnic stereotyping. The experimental group demonstrated a lower level of prejudice following the exercise than the control groups (Moore, 1979; Bennett, 1979). A similar result of decreased prejudice was found among students who attended workshops in addition to their regular classes (Baker, 1977). Two more recent works (Brooks & Kahn, 1990; Davine, 1994) found positive results following coursework.

A study by Bidell, Lee, Bouchie, Ward, and Brass (1994) reported that young adults needed both exposure to accurate information about race and racism, as well as structured opportunities where they can reflect on their ideas and experiences. Among their conclusions was that "in addition to the affective or identity issues that confront white students in their attempts to come to grips with racism, there is a very real cognitive dimension to the problem (p. 28). A similar finding

by Hasslen (1993) is that both cognitive and affective changes in perceptions of cultural diversity were brought about by a single multicultural course. Guthrie (1996) concluded that there was positive support for an interrelationship between intellectual development and levels of tolerance.

Multicultural Competence

Multicultural competence was the subject of other research. Greater sensitivity and increased awareness and knowledge of issues were the results of courses and workshops (Warring, Keim & Rau, 1998; Carrell, 1997; Brooks & Kahn, 1990; Iasenza & Troutt, 1990). The use of hypemedia to impart knowledge about diversity and provide a point of discussion for students (Powers, 1995) was interesting because of the combination of technology with personal interaction. Knowledge plus a facilitated discussion proved to be more effective than an individual working alone at the computer, even with self-reflection prompts.

Some studies used the Multicultural Awareness-Knowledge-and Skills Survey (MARKSS) (D'Andrea et al., 1991), an instrument to measure multicultural competence. Two of the studies (D'Andrea et al., 1991; Warring et al., 1998) found significant increases in multicultural competence as a result of coursework. Robinson and Bradley (1997) found no significant difference between the treatment and control groups. However, that result is attributed to the fact that this was the students' first exposure to multicultural issues and the course was offered as a three-week summer school session.

In contrast to Pate's (1995) review that the acquisition of facts may not be enough to reduce prejudice, this review found a number of studies with positive results following coursework. One possible explanation is that courses in recent years have included more than factual information. The inclusion of pair and small group discussions, workshops, and experiential activities appeared to have boosted the effectiveness of coursework.

Racial Identity Development

The work on racial identity development in the 1970s by Cross, Helms, Hardiman, Jackson, and others focused on how individuals develop "their social group identification and affiliation within the social context of racism" (Hardiman & Jackson, 1992 p. 22). The models described a series of five or six stages or states, from naïveté about the differences between races, to higher levels of consciousness resulting in an internalized racial identity, respect for other racial and ethnic groups, and a commitment to promote change in society. The stages are not necessarily sequential. Individuals can skip stages, be in several stages simultaneously, move in either direction from one stage to another, or not move at all.

The Nigrescence racial identity development (NRID) model (Cross, Parham & Helms, 1991), the White racial identity development (WRID) model (Helms, 1990), and a minority identity development model (MID) for people of color other than African-American (Atkinson et al., 1983) are the models used in this study. In

order to keep consistency in language descriptions, Helm's (1994) summaries of the Nigrescence, White, and Minority identity models is used (Appendix A).

Research focusing on racial identity development found improved multi-cultural competence among students during and following coursework. Positive attitude change and an increased sensitivity about race were found as a result of coursework (Davine, 1994; Parker, Moore & Neimyer, 1998). However, Parker et al. reported the limitations of that study as an attrition rate in both groups of 40% and the nonrandom assignment of participants into treatment and control groups.

Three studies used students' writings as a means to document their racial identity development during a Multicultural Education course and two courses on the Psychology of Racism. The multicultural education class was a blend of read-ings, discussions, experiential activities, and writing assignments. In Lawrence's (1998) study, students' writings were coded and categorized using descriptors of attitudes and beliefs in Helms' model. At the beginning of the term, the researcher found students at the initial stage: "most students were fairly oblivious to the racial realities in this society" and "a belief that racism is a thing of the past or the work of only a few whites" (Lawrence, p. 45). By the end of the course, 18 of the 21 students had developed characteristics of the pseudoindependent stage (fourth of six stages). A concern Lawrence noted is about the honesty of students' writings. Students may have wanted to please the instructor and wrote what they assumed she wanted to hear. However, Lawrence believed the participants were truly

engaged in the process, judging by the candid responses about discomfort and confusion.

Throughout several courses on the Psychology of Racism, Tatum's (1992) predominantly White, female students wrote journals and essays. Student writings and in-class discussions were the means by which Tatum followed the progress of the students in their racial identity development. Tatum also used Helm's (1990) model for White students and Cross et al.'s (1991) model for students of color. Students' heightened awareness and understanding of internalized oppression were among the results of the course. Following Tatum's lead, Khan's (1999) course on the same subject produced similar positive results.

<u>Communication Studies</u>

A number of studies in communications have been conducted over the last three decades. The studies, investigating media's influence on racial attitudes (Armstrong, Newendorf & Brentar, 1992; Kraemer, Bercini & Harris, 1975; Simonson et al., 1985; Ballinger & King, 1992; Shatzer, Korzenny, Griffis de Korzenny & Cannon, 1982), found varying degrees of a positive relationship. An important component in awareness and attitude is the role of discussion. Studies in cross-cultural communications (Powell & Harville, 1990; Collier & Powell, 1990; Milhouse, 1996) found correlations between improved communications and increased awareness. Powers (1995) found that formal facilitated discussion was

most beneficial, and Carrell (1997) concluded that classroom discussions guided by trained faculty "may be crucial, particularly for homogeneous populations" (p.242).

One study found no significant difference following communication training on racial attitudes (Parker & Wittmer, 1976). However, the researchers noted that the three-week period may have been too short, the instruments not sensitive enough to pick up changes, and that students may not want to admit they are racially prejudiced.

<div align="center">Sexual Orientation</div>

In examining the pre-service teacher education literature, Grant and Tate (1995) reported workshops as having the smallest long-term impact on college students when compared to coursework, programs, or field experiences. The immediate impact, however, was positive in two studies. A panel presentation and discussion on the experiences of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people was a study by Geasler et al. (1995). Four-hundred pages of textual data from 200 students were analyzed. The result was an "almost exclusively 'positive' attitude change" (p. 485). The researchers noted the analogous relationship of the development of sexual orientation awareness to Helms' (1990) racial awareness model. The feedback from a second study using a panel presentation (Burkholder & Dineen, 1996) was "overwhelmingly positive" on a Likert scale. A third investigation (Reinhardt, 1994) on the effects of a panel presentation involving over three hundred students found a decrease in both cognitive and affective homophobic

attitudes. However, the study concluded that behavior change may not have occurred as a result of the presentation.

Contact and interaction with homosexuals have reduced heterosexuals' discomfort and created greater understanding and empathy (Simoni, 1996; Lance, 1987). Training in gay and lesbian issues through in-person and internet training also proved to be successful (Guth, Lopez & Fisher, 2000). In the Pink Triangle experiment (Rabow, Stein & Conley, 1999) students wore a pink triangle in support of gay rights and experienced the stigma from others. Many of the students advanced through stages of identity development resulting in more positive ways of thinking about others.

Social Judgment Theory

According to social judgment theory, people rarely hold an extreme position on an issue. Further, when the issue is divided into sub-issues, attitudes to each sub-issue will vary along a continuum of acceptance, non-commitment, or rejection. The position where an individual feels strongest on an issue is considered the "anchor point." Messages that are more consistent with that anchor point will be assimilated, while information that is farther from the anchor point will be rejected. Attitude change can be accomplished by providing information that is close to the anchor point and which can then be assimilated (Constans, 1982). The assimilation-contrast effects (Sherif, Sherif & Nebergall, 1965) can be affected by the individual's degree of involvement and commitment on the issue

and the individual's relationship with the communicator. Although the theory

focuses on attitudes toward other races, by extension, the theory could be applied to

attitudes toward other diverse groups.

Methodology

Introduction

The research on diversity issues included a high percentage of quantitative

studies, the majority of which have focused on single topics, such as racial identity

development, attitudes towards gays and lesbians, or on multicultural competence.

My study used a naturalistic rather than a statistical approach in order to understand

the students' perspectives. The study also asked students about the issues that were

important to them. It is crucial to our understanding that students express in their

own words, their thoughts and feelings about those whom they perceive to be

different from themselves. Most studies have used a post-evaluation or pre- and

post-assessments. For this study, I interviewed students three to four times over an

average of eight weeks. Each of the interviews lasted approximately an hour. It is

modeled, in part, on Tatum's (1992) article on student racial identity development

during courses she taught on the Psychology of Racism. Through students' journal

writings and class discussions, the students chronicled, and Tatum observed, the

increased awareness of their own feelings about race and ethnicity, the tensions,

and the resistance they felt. If we can better understand how students learn to be

more inclusive of "others" it may help us as educators to find more ways to teach tolerance.

Participants and Setting

The thirty-one participants were undergraduates at a small liberal arts public university in the Pacific Northwest. The university town will be referred to as "Elmville" in future references by the participants to grant them some degree of anonymity. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 45 years. The average age was 26, the median age 22. The ten men and twenty-one women volunteered to participate in the study and received some type of credit from their instructors in Communication and English classes during winter and spring terms 2000. The classes were "Interpersonal Communication," "Intercultural Communication," "Negotiation and Conflict Management," "Multicultural Literature," and "World Literature."

The student body at the university reflected the predominantly white population of the area. Non-White students comprised eight percent of the student body. Of the 31 students, 27 self identified as Caucasian or White. All but one were American citizens. The exception was an international student from Eastern Europe, who has been at the university for two years. Four students self-identified as bi-racial or multi-racial: Hispanic-American, Mexican-American, African-American, and Japanese-American (Irish, Jew, Native American). All, except the European, are United States citizens who speak English as their first language.

<center>Process</center>

Interviewing for Data Collection

In seeking to learn what diversity issues were important to college students, to discern their varying degrees of acceptance or rejection on different issues, and to understand how and what changes in perception might occur, the interview was deemed to be the most effective and appropriate means of data collection. "At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they made of that experience" (Seidman, 1998, p. 3).

In order to comprehend a participant's experiences, three separate interviews were planned to allow the interviewer and participant an opportunity to "plumb the experience and to place it in context" (Seidman, 1998, p. 11). The three-interview series was selected because it allows enough time to cover several issues in depth, time for participants to reflect between interviews, and time for possible changes in attitudes and feelings to occur. Seidman suggests spacing the interviews three days to a week apart. This study spaced the interviews at least a week apart; maximum time between interviews varied depending on the participants' schedules. More time between interviews was encouraged in order for participants to have more time to reflect.

Lather (1991) cites researchers Laslett and Rapoport whose strategy is to interview at least three times in order to increase the depth of data content. Repeated interviews also allow for reciprocity, which moves the researcher from

stranger to friend and enables the researcher to gather personal knowledge from the participants more easily (Lather, 1991).

Seidman alerts researchers that different racial and ethnic backgrounds can create difficulties in establishing an effective interview relationship. The racial difference between the majority of the participants and myself, an Asian-American, was not expected to be a problem, and it was not. In general, there are few negative prejudices about Asian women. Stereotypes include "exotic," "quiet," "well-mannered," and "dragon-lady." The participants, students themselves, were often very interested in this thesis research.

Catalysts

To serve as a catalyst and a starting point for the study, participants took part in a nationally recognized workshop (NCBI, 1992) on improving campus climate. The six-hour workshop, offered several times each term and at no charge to any university student, addresses all visible and invisible differences that may lead to discrimination. Racism, classism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, ableism, and any other discrimination that the participants of the workshop have experienced are acknowledged.

A forty-question survey on diversity awareness and behavior, the Diversity Awareness Profile (DAP) (Stinson, 1991), also served as a catalyst (Appendix B). Reviews of the DAP in the Twelfth Mental Measurements Yearbook (1995) raise questions about the instrument's validity, but not it's value "as an ice-breaker to

start discussions" (p. 320). Questions such as, "How often do I challenge others on racial/ethnic/sexually derogatory comments?" (Stinson, 1991, p. 2). The answer choices ("almost never," "seldom," "usually," and "almost always") are given a rating from 1 to 4, respectively. The total score on the survey placed the individual in one of five categories: naive offender, perpetuator, avoider, change agent, or fighter. Some of the questions dealt with employment situations. This was not seen as a problem as students often work and go to school, have previously held jobs, or work in the summer.

Participant Recruitment

Selected instructors in the Communication and English departments were contacted about the study. The instructors agreed to give some type of credit to students who volunteered to take the workshop and be interviewed. In winter and spring terms 2000, I presented to each class information about the diversity work-shop, the purpose of the study, interviews and time commitment, and how results would be reported. The students were assured of anonymity and that their views would in no way affect their grades. The instructors made clear that participation was optional.

Volunteers were given a demographic form (Appendix B) and a DAP to complete. A schedule of three interview dates for each participant was arranged. Participants signed up for and took one of the diversity workshops.

Interview Setting

The interviews were conducted at two sites for the convenience of the students. One was an office on the university campus, the other was a classroom at my institution twelve miles from the university. The interviews were conducted with the door closed to ensure participants could speak without concern about being overheard.

An audio tape recorder was set up near the participant, and a video camera was set up just behind the interviewer. At the second interview, the participants were asked if they were comfortable with the setting and the recording devices. Most said it posed no problem. A few of the participants said they were occasionally aware of the equipment, but none expressed discomfort.

Audio taping was selected for ease of transcription; however, I prefer working with video tapes during the review process. In my previous career in news and video production, I worked extensively with video. Reviewing the interviews on video tape can trigger impressions of the interview that may not have been noted at the time. In addition, viewing a participant's nonverbal behavior can add insight to the verbal data.

Interviews

Three to four interviews, averaging sixty minutes each, took place over a period of three to fourteen weeks. The average time from the first to the last interview was seven weeks. All thirty-one students completed three interviews. In

addition, three students volunteered for, and participated in, a fourth interview. The reasons they gave were to help me collect more data and because they found it beneficial to reflect on and discuss the issues.

A set of open-ended questions for each of the three interviews was used as a starting point and as a frame for the dialogue (Appendix C). The interviews were informally structured to allow for the natural flow of conversation. This allowed me to follow up to explore an issue further or pursue new topics. For example, the one participant who had served in the military was asked about his experiences and how they influenced his current attitude on the question of gays serving in the military. On occasion, to help clarify a participant's position, I supplied impromptu scenarios so the participant could respond to a hypothetical situation.

At the first interview, participants were given the consent form to read and sign (Appendix D). The interview began with a short debriefing of the diversity workshop, followed by a look at the participants' background as revealed on the demographic form. The remainder of the time was spent in a discussion of partici-pants' responses on the diversity survey. In addition to gathering data, this inter-view was also a time to establish a relationship and build a rapport so that the participants would feel comfortable giving honest answers rather than answers they thought were more socially and politically acceptable.

The second interview covered the topics of racial identity, discrimination, white privilege, and homosexuality. At this interview, participants were asked about their comfort level with the interview setting and the taping. They were also

asked whether the researcher's race affected the interview in general or their answers on questions about minorities. Only one participant said she was conscious of choosing her words more carefully during some parts of the first interview.

The third interview included questions about disabilities and religion. Some participants were asked about news events that had occurred the week prior to the interview. At the time of the interviews the three major breaking new stories were about the acquittal of four White police officers in the shooting of Amadou Diallo, a West African immigrant; an alleged homophobic attack at a local nightclub involving a university student; and a newspaper article about three hate groups in the local area. Finally, the interview centered on the participants' reflection of their experience during the study. They were asked of any changes in their perspective either as a result of the experience as a whole or of particular parts of the project.

Transcription

Seidman (1998) advises transcribing the entire taped interview rather than selected sections. The problem with selected transcription is that winnowing too early in the process may exclude important data. Once the decision of what not to transcribe has been made, that portion of the data is usually lost to the researcher. The more than 90 hours of interviews in this study would have required a massive transcription effort. I felt confident that my television news and video production experiences of viewing and selecting from many hours of taped interviews, plus the

use of a modified broadcast editing log, would not necessitate transcribing entire interviews.

Once transcription is done, Seidman describes the selection process as reading the text and marking passages that are interesting. He quotes Judi Marshall's (1981) confidence in being able to recognize and respond to "meaningful 'chunks' of transcript" when she sees them. So, too, can meaningful chunks be recognized upon hearing them. Rather than a reading process, I used an auditory process, followed by a rereading of transcribed passages.

I viewed the videotaped interviews and kept a running log of questions and answers using time code. Those portions of the interview that appeared to be of primary or secondary importance were transcribed.

Data Analysis

Preliminary data analysis began while the interviews were in session. Broad categories were tentatively identified. When all 31 interviews were completed, a participant's three (or four) interviews were reviewed in chronological sequence. Throughout the video review and transcription process, passages were coded and categories refined using the constant comparison method of comparing new information with old, of redefining categories, ". . .in a back-and-forth process of progressive understanding" (Crowson, 1993, p. 195).

The transcribed passages were then examined in the process described by Strauss and Corbin (1990), as ". . .of breaking down, examining, comparing,

conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (p. 61). Similarities and differences between participants or groups of participants, as well as the exceptions were noted. In addition, any patterns that developed over the course of the interviews were flagged for review.

Throughout the data analysis, I looked for participants who might be good candidates for in-depth profiles. The purpose of focusing on a few participants was to give a more complete picture of an individual's views, past experiences, and any movement in their perspectives brought about by their involvement in the study. Two participants at either end of the spectrum, one very inclusive and one highly resistant, were selected. Selecting the participants in between was a more difficult choice to make. Two participants, one with fewer life and work experiences and one with more life and work experiences were selected. The four are representative of the span of views among the 31 participants. Composite views and experiences of all the participants, followed by the four profiles, are reported in the following chapter.

II. RESULTS

Introduction

My study set out to understand what were the most important diversity issues for this group of college students and what, if any, changes in students' perceptions would occur over the course of three to four one-hour interview sessions spread out over an average of seven weeks. The participants were asked to report on experiences in the classroom, at home, at work, or in the community that provoked reflection or thoughts related to diversity between the interviews. Early on, it became clear that students' previous experiences were important in explaining their current views. For some, these appeared to be pivotal moments that had great impact on their world views.

My observations are organized, first, by some of the more interesting responses to questions about their awareness and behavior, followed by participants' discussions of diversity issues over the course of the interviews. The third section summarizes the changes students reported and the impetus for those changes, such as experiences, course work, interviews, and the diversity workshop. The final section profiles four of the more interesting and complex students in terms of where they are today, how their previous experiences have shaped their views, and the kinds of growth and resistance their stories represent.

There were 31 students in the study, and all of their contributions have been included to represent the spectrum of views within this sample. However, ten

students emerged as the primary spokespersons due to their compelling experiences, articulateness, and evidence of movement, or lack thereof, in their perspectives. In order to capture a sense of who they are, longer quotes from these ten students were selected, so the reader could "hear" the stories in the participants' own words.

Responses to Questions

The question of how often the participant challenged others on racial/ethnic/ sexually derogatory comments provoked much discussion. Some students who "seldom" spoke out said they did not feel the remarks they heard or used themselves were hurtful. One participant said: "A lot of people my age do use racial slurs, but it's not all related to them having prejudices. . . it's something kids do in their groups, it's accepted" [Kay, 1-A, 5:24:50]. A young male explained that in joking around with friends, "'Stop being gay' is like 'stop being an idiot.' It has no relevance to the actual meaning. . . it's just, they're being stupid" [Hans, 1-A, 6:30:22]. Another way of dealing with a derogatory comment is not giving it credence by "ignoring it [showing] I don't share your opinion. . . it's a nonverbal behavior, turning your back" [Carrie, 1-A, 5:43:31]. Another student told of her brother who calls his best friend, a Mexican-American male, "Beaner." She explained that the term is not used offensively, rather, it's a nickname between friends. The use of what would be considered a derogatory term used without prejudice among friends might be explained by pragmatics, the social context in

which language is used, in the field of linguistics. A consequence of being unaware

of language use in social contexts is reported in the profile of Peter later in this

chapter.

Not knowing how to respond to an offending comment kept some students

from saying anything. Some, who have not spoken out in the past, said they would

now, having learned listening and questioning techniques in the diversity

workshop. This is discussed in greater detail in the section on Evidence of Change.

Students who do speak out when racial, ethnic, or sexually derogatory

comments are made, said they understand the negative effect of such comments,

and several had family members who served as role models. Kathy, a 39-year-old

White student who was raised in a rural, conservative area, shared this memory:

> In the community where I grew up, there used to be an influx of
> migrant workers who would come in to do the harvests, and then
> they were gone. I remember how everybody would say things. . .
> the "wetbacks" are here and comments like that. And I remember
> my grandmother would just get right in their faces and say, "You
> know, that's not what you call them. Their backs aren't wet." I
> remember that as a little girl. . . my grandmother was pretty
> proactive. [2-B, 5:33:16]

The question of whether or not the participant refused to participate in jokes

that are derogatory to any group, culture, sex, or sexual orientation raised the issue

of humor. As one student put it, "We're laughing because it's stupid. . . if [a joke

is] creative, makes light of it, it's not a put down" [Lee, 1-A, 6:22:57]. But Ethan, a

20 year-old White male, discovered early on that not everyone finds those jokes

funny. This incident occurred when he was thirteen:

Ethan: I told my mom a racist joke, and I remember she said something like, "I can't believe I raised a bigot." She called me a bigot. I'm like, "Mom, I'm not a bigot." She said "Look at what you just said." I'm like, "It was a joke." She's like, "It doesn't matter. You meant it." And that changed a lot of my views. . . I mean it was my mom calling me a bigot. I was almost in tears because I couldn't believe that my mom would say something like that about me.

Diana: So it caused you to think about whether you were a bigot?

Ethan: I did. You get more defensive when something's true. . . It makes sense knowing myself that it was probably true. . . My mom's really forceful. She's a lawyer. She doesn't mince words. [1-A, 8:57:36]

Other participants also credited parents with teaching them, directly, as in Ethan's story, or by example, about not using derogatory terms or telling derogatory jokes. One exception is Leslie, a 21-year White student who grew up in an urban setting.

I've tried to figure out that part of me because my parents surely didn't teach me that. . . I grew up hearing a lot of racial slurs from my parents. My sister and I always talk about how did we become so liberal, how did we become so open-minded and sensitive, because it's funny. . . Maybe it's because we saw the mistakes our parents made and so we're just trying not to be like that. It's also probably where we grew up, too. We had a lot of different types of people and a lot of our friends were different. [1-A, 6:23:40]

White students had mixed reactions when asked about the need for members of a culture or ethnic group to socialize among themselves. Most understood the concept but there was no depth of understanding. Because of their membership in the majority culture they did not see the necessity for other cultural or ethnic groups

to find support among those like themselves. The following comment by Denise, a 22 year-old white woman, is an example: "This is the year 2000. Why can't we just all be equal and not need to be in groups. . . I don't think all white people should stick together, and I don't think Mexican people feel they need to stick together and can't join with everyone else." [Denise, 1-A, 5:13:33]

A few students mentioned the negative impression that is created when members of a racial or ethnic group socialize among themselves. Speaking about African-American students at her high school, Tina said their spending time together "reinforced the stereotypes about gangs" [1-A, 7:19:20]. The four multi-racial students all agreed that socializing by cultural and ethnic group was important, although the amount of time each spent with his or her own groups varied.

Of the different racial/ethnic groups on campus, Asians were the only ones mentioned by four participants. An easily identifiable group, Asians were most noticed for "sticking together." On further questioning, it turned out that the Asian groups were, in each case, international students. I engaged the participants in a discussion of what it must be like to be a foreign student, using a second language, being unfamiliar with American culture, and therefore, seeking familiarity among students from the home country.

Participants were also not aware that an Intensive English Program (IEP) brings international students to the campus to improve their English communication skills. These international students' lack of fluency is another factor that might

cause them to spend more time with each other. When Lee [2-B, 6:03:30] remarked, "They're like robots," I explored that remark. What he seemed to be referring to was the less demonstrative and more reserved nature of the Asian students he had been in contact with. In contrast, he said to me, "You're very American and loud. I mean expressive" [2-B, 6:04:25]. A discussion of the difference between "American" and northeast Asian cultures, values, and behavior followed. Returning to the demeanor of the Asian students and why they might seem unexpressive, Lee said, "Yeah, that makes sense" [2-B, 6:10:00]. In both Tina and Lee's experiences, the groups that were seen socializing together may have created an ingroup-outgroup atmosphere. If there are no opportunities for social contact, the result may be negative and stereotypic impressions.

When asked about having called, written or in some way protested when a book, newspaper, television show, or some branch of media perpetuated or reinforced a bias or prejudice, the majority said "almost never" or "seldom." The reasons given were time ("It takes extra time.") [Mary, 1-A, 4;20:29]; free speech ("They have a right to do that, even if I think it's wrong; I just won't read it.") [Emily, 1-A, 5:42:00]; apathy ("I think we're [this generation] a lot more aware, but we're a lot less proactive.") [Ethan, 1-A, 9:31:30]. The lack of effectiveness of one lone voice came from one of the bi-racial participants: "You have to get together with a group of people who think the same way and then do something about it because they won't listen to just one. I think it's just a waste of time to call

and say, 'Hey, I don't think that's right.' They'll just say 'okay,' and they'll hang

up." [Adam, 1-A, 8:02:40]

Having worked in the media, I took the opportunity to brief the students on

how the media is much more sensitive to its audience than the public perceives, and

I encouraged them to express their opinions. Ratings are based on audience

numbers, and the media is very conscious of its numbers.

Responses to Categories

Based on their answers on the DAP, participants were placed in one of five

categories of diversity awareness: naive offender, perpetuator, avoider, change

agent, and fighter (Stinson, 1991). None of the participants in this study seemed to

fall into the first two categories. With three exceptions, the participants felt the

category they were in (avoider, change agent, fighter) was an accurate description

of themselves. Terry, a White male, agreed that he was a change agent in his

professional life, but an avoider in his personal life. Another was a woman, who

placed in the change agent category, but who considered herself closer to an

avoider. Ethan, who told the racist joke to his mother's disapproval, seemed to

have landed in the avoider group; however, he thought he was more of a change

agent and could very well have been because he was only three points from the

change agent category.

The participants who were identified as avoiders explained themselves in

this way: "I think most people are that way. . . If you're always out there, then

you're more likely to be criticized" [Mary, 1-A, 4:28:12]. Mary seems to be projecting her feelings and assumes that others too, want to avoid criticism. Another said: "If I'm offended, I usually just let things slide. . . I'm not big on confrontations" [Emily, 1-A, 5:23:38]. Those who placed as change agents talked of making efforts to improve situations. Anna, the student from Europe was involved in the international student group. She noticed that ". . .the Japanese students are kind of shy. I tried to find a way to get them involved in the projects" [1-A, 5:16:45]. Others were involved in their community. Sylvia is a White woman who left an abusive relationship, started college classes in her 30s, and was about to graduate at the time of the interviews. When asked how she is a change agent, she told of several different groups that she volunteers to work with, saying: "I try to give of myself" [1-A, 3:51:59]. Those groups include an agricultural group seeking better conditions for its workers, and serving on a county board. Her reason for going to law school, she added, was to continue to help change the lives of those who are disadvantaged. Jesse, a White male, said the definition of a fighter is "too extreme." He was comfortable with being a change agent, one who "picks" his fights [1-A, 7:09:10].

Fighters are described as attacking real and imagined prejudice, who look out for discrimination and bring about change but often pay a high price. Those who were fighters have little doubt about their being in that category. "I don't think I could have considered myself anything else," said Kathy [1-A, 6:27:55], the granddaughter of the proactive grandmother. And Alicia, one of the multi-racial

students said, "I'm proud to be a fighter. . . but I'm not on people all the time. . . I don't try to shove it down their throat. . . I don't think I pay a high price for change" [1-A, 12:32:39].

Although the sample was small, I did look for apparent relationships between the three categories (avoider, change agent, fighter) and variables such as age, gender, or racial and ethnic backgrounds. There were no discernible relationships. Each of the three categories included a range of ages, both men and women, and White, as well as multi-racial participants. An examination of participants' experiences outside the United States or of growing up in multi-racial environments in the U.S. revealed no discernable relationships to the categories.

Diversity Issues

The participants were asked about their views on race, sexual orientation, disabilities, and religion. They were also encouraged to discuss any other issues not covered in the questions. Homosexuality generated the strongest sentiments and most divergent views. As this became apparent, I asked some students why this might be so. Students, who came from locations with more diverse populations, pointed out that in this predominantly White area, there is no large minority population, and therefore, little apparent tension between racial groups. In addition, one student explained, "From the time we were little kids, we've been taught to accept anybody, no matter what their skin color is" [Lee, 3-B, 1:59:00]. Another said, "Race has been around for a long time, and this is a relatively newer

issue, so now we know more about racism, and this one [homosexuality] scares people" [Emily, 3-b, 12:35:50]. Some students pointed out that the university is located in Elmville, a town that is more liberal than the surrounding areas. The environment there is more conducive to people being open about their sexual orientation.

Race appeared to be a secondary issue, with students focusing on scholar-ships for underrepresented groups. Following at some distance were religion, people with disabilities, sexism, ageism, and body weight and body image.

Homosexuality

The responses to homosexuality ran from one extreme to the other. At one end was Peter, who admitted, "I'm extremely homophobic. I don't like it [homosexuality]" [1-A, 3:59:58]. Others did not approve but saw it as a lifestyle choice. "I'm not saying you should live that kind of life, but if that's your choice, then, fine" [Claudia Rose, 3-CA, 091]. And there was total acceptance, "I love gay people, they're so cool, they're so much fun to hang out with" [Kay, 1-A, 5:43:27].

Homosexuality and Religion

Some of the participants who were not comfortable with homosexuality talked about how it conflicted with their religious beliefs. Jennifer is a 21-year old, Hispanic-Caucasian woman, raised in a moderately religious home.

Jennifer: It's really hard for me to associate Christianity with homosexuals when it says plainly in the Bible. It's hard for me to believe that homosexual people can believe that they're Christians. I don't know. It seems like they make their own set of rules, because according to the Bible, it's not right. So that bothers me. . . because it says in the Bible that homosexual relations are an abomination to God.

Diana: So does that mean that if it's a couple that's homosexual and they're not Christian--

Jennifer: If they're another religion, it doesn't bother me. Because it's their belief system and their faith says it's okay, then it's okay for them. But I find that a bit conflicting. [2-A, 4:22:25]

Ruth, a 34-year-old White woman in her fourth year of college, seemed to be grappling with new points of view. She related her husband's comment when she told him about signing up for the diversity workshop. Quoting her husband, "Oh, they're going to teach you how to love gay and lesbian people" [1-A, 4:10:20]. Ruth's husband continued by saying that if you accept homosexuality, it would become widespread, which might lead to one of their four kids becoming gay or lesbian. Ruth says that for the sake of argument she asked him, "If one of their kids was a homosexual, but not a bad person, wouldn't that be all right? Oh, mercy. (laughs, then in husband's tone of voice) 'That's it, you're not going to school anymore. That Elmville is way out there and you're just getting way out there'" [1-A, 4:57:37].

At this point in the first interview, I hesitated about engaging in discussions that might cause disagreement and tension between Ruth and her husband. However, as Ruth volunteered more conversations with her husband, it became apparent

that although they sometimes hold very different views, her tendency to be more

liberal than her husband did not really threaten the continuation of education.

Ruth's and her husband's take on homosexuality from a religious standpoint also

differed.

> My husband will say. . . right in the Bible it says (slaps table twice
> imitating husband's emphasis). . . But my own belief is that,
> maybe God wouldn't give you something you couldn't overcome. .
> . if you're born "that way" I don't think God would make anybody
> 'a way' and then condemn them for that. That's my view. [2-A,
> 4:32:30]

Still another student has had his view tempered by experience. He talked about

how his church does not bash gays, and in fact welcomes them. Then he added,

"But there are certain things you have to abide by in the church structure." He

continued:

> Mort: At first I had a lot of disdain. It was probably the roughest
> group of people for me to work with, and I'm finding that's not to
> be the case. I can work with them side by side.
>
> Diana: Why the disdain and what caused the change?
>
> Mort: A lot of it was due to not knowing them, just things you
> heard about them. Although I don't necessarily like their lifestyle,
> it's their choice and totally up to them. And as far as the work-
> place goes, I don't have a problem with that anymore; whereas I
> used to before I got to know a few of them. [1-A, 5:55:00]

Mort is a 41 year-old White male, returning to school after being in the workforce

for many years. The interpersonal relationship he developed while working with

non-White and homosexual co-workers influenced his attitude as described in

social contact theory (Allport, 1958). Mort and his co-workers shared equal status on the job and they worked in a situation that required cooperation. Mort developed a personal relationship with his co-workers, and saw beyond their race and sexual orientation. Although he did not mention social or institutional support, three of four conditions for social contact to result in a lessening of stereotyping were in place.

Mort, Ruth, and others were examining views they have accepted and long held. They cited examples of getting to know people different from themselves, exposure to different ideas and perspectives in their classes, and life experiences as having caused them to rethink issues and their own attitudes.

Homophobia

Peter, who said, "I'm extremely homophobic," could not give concrete reasons for his views. After his admission, Peter added, "I don't like it [being homophobic]. I don't know if there's fear, or I just don't like them. I guess I do fear them. Fear, you know, leads to anger. I don't like to hear about them, I don't like to see it" [1-A, 3:59:38]. Joe also expressed a dislike of homosexuals. When asked why he feels this way, he shook his head and said, "It's not right" [3-CA, 142]. Neither one had had a bad experience and neither could or would explain his negative feelings.

Genetics or Choice

I posed the possibility that genetics might play a part in a person's inclina-

tion to homosexuality. Joe dismissed that idea with, "They choose to be who

they're going to become. . . It can't be genetic because it has to come down to a

person's way of thinking." He likened "the devil made me do it," the idea of

putting the blame elsewhere, to "it's my genetics that made me do it." Joe thought

both a "poor excuse." He continued, "If they can prove it's genetics, I would be

stunned" [3-CA, 177, 142]. Peter said he understood that they are different and

"They might be the greatest people in the world, greatest bunch of people in the

world and I just, for some reason, I just don't like them" [3-C, 4:06:38].

Both Peter and Joe are White. Peter, 22, grew up in a predominantly White,

rural, conservative area; Joe, 28, in a multi-racial neighborhood in an urban area,

where he said he was the minority. Both spoke in a casual manner and often made

jokes, even about their positions on issues. They appeared neither outwardly

hostile, nor apparently defensive. They also shared similar views on race, as

reported in the next section.

Ruth returned to the second interview reporting that she had discussed with

her husband, the idea of genetics and that perhaps, like the color of one's eyes,

homosexuality may be something people cannot entirely choose. Her husband

replied it was not only a choice, but that "homosexuals did it for attention." She

asked him:

It's for attention when they're getting beat up? All the negative
things, all the persecution they undergo. How can you say that it's
a choice? [2-A, 5:00:30]

If it's biological, things like the color of their eyes, then I totally
think that they're not going to be held accountable [to God].
Someone that has those sexual tendencies, if they can't change
that--I definitely don't think I could change my sexual preference.
[2-A, 4:32:30]

The only personal contact Ruth has had with homosexuality was a lesbian

couple who once lived across the street from her. She said they were good

neighbors. What is surprising about Ruth is that she is one of a very few who

answered "strongly" on the question of how religious or spiritual are you? Despite

her church's and her husband's beliefs about homosexuals, Ruth showed a feisty

desire to formulate her own views on this subject, as well as others.

Several participants reported countering the choice argument by using the

turn-the-table method. The person who believes it is a choice is asked whether he

or she could choose to be sexually attracted to someone of the same sex. The

answer is always "No." The person is then asked, if a heterosexual does not feel he

or she can choose to be homosexual, why is the opposite thought to be possible.

One participant who has tried to use that logic is Kathy, who described the process

as "Chipping away to show them another way of seeing, thinking" [2-B, 4:18:20].

Whatever their comfort level with, like or dislike of homosexuality, the

majority view of the participants was expressed this way, "It's not our place to

judge somebody else's sexual preference" [Sylvia, 2-A, 4:24:25]. Two participants,

one male and one female said they had been hit on by homosexuals. The 26 year-

old White male said he ". . .wasn't offended when a gay guy hit on me. It's a compliment. Somebody finds you attractive" [Hans, 2-A, 5:48:00]. Although the 18-year-old White woman did not take it as a compliment, she said she was not offended either.

Personal Stories

During the interviews, students told of experiences that caused them to become allies and advocates for homosexuals. Leslie, the 21-year-old White student who earlier talked of being a liberal raised by conservative parents, related an incident at a party in her senior year in high school. A classmate, whom every-one knew to be homosexual, was sick in the bathroom.

> All the guys were outside the door when I came upstairs. They were talking about how they wanted to beat him up and how they hated him. It was really upsetting, and I vocalized it. I said, "I can't believe you guys are saying this. All of us have been to elementary school together; we know each other's families. It's just the way he is. We know he's a nice guy; how can he hurt you." And they started yelling at me. It was really shocking to me to see my friends that I grew up together with. I just felt so bad. He was just trying to be who he was. [2-A, 6:19:39]

Kathy, with the proactive grandmother, told the story of a relative, a young man in a small community, who knew at an early age that he was different. But growing up in a conservative area was difficult, and he tried to commit suicide on more than one occasion because of his homosexuality. The story has a happy ending, she said, for the man is now a professor in another state and is "very happy"

[2-B, 4:10:24]. Seeing the difficulty her relative faced, raised Kathy's awareness on the matter of sexual orientation.

Living Next Door To/Working With

There was unanimous agreement that living next door to homosexuals was not a problem, and neither was working with them. There was strong, but not unanimous, support for same sex marriages and domestic partner rights. The view of those in favor is articulated by this 20-year-old student: "It's not fair that if you love somebody, even if they're the same sex, that you can't have that bond of marriage" [Emily, 2-A, 2:30:14]. The other side based their opposition on religious views, similar to those expressed earlier by Jennifer. However, one 18-year-old woman, brought up in that religious environment now says she's not sure about her previous views.

> Elizabeth: I'm changing my opinions on a lot of things right now.
>
> Diana: What's causing you to rethink things? College?
>
> Elizabeth: It's not just college. I finally had to decide what I believe is right from wrong for myself. [2-BA, 103]

A non-religious reason for opposing homosexual marriage was voiced by Adam, a 26-year-old, multi-racial man, who in other instances had relatively inclusive views. He asked in earnest, "If they start marrying each other, ten, twenty years from now, what is this world going to be like?" [2-A, 7:45:39]. When asked to explain what things would be like in the future, Adam did not have a clear notion

of what exactly that would be. It appeared that he has not often had to explain or

support this or other views and therefore had not formulated arguments to back his

statement.

Gays in the Military

There was one unequivocal "no" to the question of whether gays should

serve in the military. This was from Peter, who admitted to being homophobic.

Joe, the other male with similar sentiments, preferred not to expand on his answer.

The majority agreed that anyone who wants to serve their country should be

allowed to. That principle, however, had conditions placed on it. One was the

"don't ask, don't tell" rule. The other problem, for a few men and women, was

showers and private space. Ethan, whose mother didn't mince words, was himself

outspokenly scornful of the conditions placed on gays:

> I think it's really funny, actually, because when you think about
> Marines, you think of these big burly guys that are trained to kill.
> Give us our guns so we can go kill, but make sure I don't see a
> penis. . . you're such a tough guy but you can't handle another guy
> being attracted to you.

> I think "don't ask, don't tell" is just a bunch of crap. That goes
> against everything that the army and the military is fighting for.
> We're fighting for freedom of speech and fighting to live our lives
> the way we want to live them. . . anybody that says that it [sexual-
> ity] is not a huge part of someone's life is just ridiculous. . . it's
> one of the biggest part of who we are, and to reject that and to say
> you need to repress that is crap. [2-B, 9:33:30]

The one participant, a 40-year-old White male, who had spent several years in the

military, had "no problem" [Jeff, 2-A, 7:38:28] with gays in the military.

Homosexuals Adopting Children

Those who opposed gays adopting children cited the need for children to have both a mother and a father. "It's biological for a man and a woman to have a child. Biologically, it makes sense to me" [Al, 3-B, 4:02:00]. For others, it was the necessity for children to have both role models. The fear is that children raised by homosexual parents would grow up to be homosexuals. Peter, who self-identified as homophobic, said, "It's safe to assume that there's a possibility that the boy (with two fathers) will grow up with homosexual thoughts and homosexual behavior" [3-C, 4:06:38]. Adam, the multi-racial man explained his dilemma this way: "If it's something that's not genetic, then the kids will be exposed to this, change [become homosexual], and may be rejected by society. But if it's genetic, I don't see why not. They have that right to adopt a kid" [2-A, 7:42:52].

Those who supported gays adopting children voiced sentiments such as, "The outcome of a child [doesn't] have anything to do with the gender of your parents. . . it has to do with love and caring" [Kay, 2-B, 5:50:19]. Another saw no problem: "As long as the child is being loved [because] there's a lot worse places where they could be" [Mary, 2-A, 6:45:45]. Two participants knew of children raised by two mothers, and in neither case did the children grow up to be homosexuals. Ethan observed: "There was more love in that family than most of the other families I see with a mother and father. I think that says it all" [2-B, 9:36:06].

A Foreign Student's Perspective

A student from a former communist, Eastern European country spoke about being wary of going back because "people are so narrow minded." Anna said that having a gay and lesbian association on campus and especially one supported by student fees would never happen in her country. "If they came out of the closet, like here, they would be lynched. Seriously." She believes parents and grand-parents raised in a different system and the Catholic Church have spread ignorance but that the young people are more "relaxed" about homosexuality [1-A, 5:43:30]. She added that it is also different in the academic community.

Degrees of Acceptance

Social judgment theory (Sherif et al., 1965) explains that people rarely hold an extreme position on an issue. When the issue is divided into sub-issues, attitudes to each sub-issue will vary along a continuum of acceptance, non-commitment, or rejection. The series of questions on homosexuality demonstrated how attitudes varied with the sub-issues. Living next door to and working with homosexuals were perceived as not being problematic by the participants, even for Peter and Joe who admitted to being homophobic. Each individual had varying degrees of acceptance on the question of same sex marriages, adopting children, and serving in the military. Attitudes could be sub-divided even further, in this case, along gender lines. There was more acceptance of two women marrying, adopting children, and lesbians serving in the military.

Race

Of the 31 participants, 27 identified themselves as White or Caucasian on the demographic form. Two of the White students also specified Italian-German and Irish-German-Native American. During the interviews, many others spoke of their various European and Native American heritage. Except for the foreign student, all had lived much of their lives in the western United States, Texas, and Hawaii. Two had lived abroad for several years, and three had traveled abroad.

Four participants identified themselves as multi-racial: Jennifer and Adam as Hispanic-Caucasian; Mary as African-Caucasian, and Alicia as Japanese-Jewish-Native American-Irish. The two things they all had in common were, they were born in the United States and none thought of themselves as a minority. Adam expressed it this way: "I don't consider myself a minority, but I'm told I am a "minority." So, I say, okay, I'm a minority" [1-A, 7:10:20]. Although they don't think of themselves as minorities, that status benefits them in terms of scholarships and is discussed in that section.

Racial Identity

In the second interview, participants were shown the Racial Identify Models and given a brief explanation of the stages. The primary purpose for using the models was as a catalyst for talking about racial identity. A secondary purpose was to introduce students to a developmental model of racial identity awareness.

The students who had identified themselves as White or Caucasian on the demographic form were shown the White model. Multi-racial students were allowed to choose the White, Black, or Minority model. One chose the White, and three chose the Minority model. The participants were asked at what stage they currently believed themselves to be. In the briefing, I had explained that stage 6 for the White model and stage 5 for the Minority model were the highest stages. A few White students self-identified themselves as somewhere between stage 4 (Pseudo-Independence) and stage 5 (Immersion/Emersion), but most considered themselves at stage 5 or a combination of 5 and 6 (Autonomy).

Multi-racial students also self-identified at the highest stage (integrative awareness) or next highest stage (introspection). That so many of the participants, White and multi-racial, said they had reached or were approaching the highest stage can be interpreted in different ways. Some may, indeed, have arrived at a point where they have an internalized autonomous identity. For others, placing themselves in this stage may be an over estimation of their own development based on sincerity and self image, rather than actual experiences. That none of the participants, White or multi-racial, identified with the earlier stage of idealizing one's own race and denigrating other races is not surprising. Unless someone is unabashedly so, few wish to admit themselves racist, whether or not there may be such covert or unexamined feedings (McConahay, 1986). When asked if they remembered ever going through the earlier developmental stages, a few recalled an

incident or two during childhood, but none recalled any length of time in those stages.

A recent study (White, 2001) has challenged the notion of developmental stages in racial identity. Instead, racial identity is described as a state of continuous change. Rather than a highest or final stage, racial identity is thought to be a fluid and on-going process. This approach might explain why the participants in my study did not recognize stages they may have gone through, as the idea of stages is an artificial construct to describe human experiences. Another possible reason for the small number of participants who could recall experiences around their own racial identities, is their membership in the dominant culture, including the multi-racial participants.

When White participants were asked about what it meant to be "White," all found it difficult to answer. Some, like Denise, saw it simply as pigmentation: "It's just a skin color" [Denise, 2-B, 4:49:14]. For others, like Terry, it's more complex: "White has very negative connotations. . . I do not feel ashamed in being White. I do not buy into that. . . (laughs) I feel inferior sometimes" [Terry, 2-A, 4:37:13]. Terry's experiences regarding race are shared more fully in later sections. For others: "It means absolutely nothing. . . I identify with being an American rather than just being White" [Jackie, 2-B, 4:29:03]. In the same vein, Mort said, "I have Danish, Swedish, and English background. . . but I've always looked at myself as American. There really aren't the ties to the native culture" [2-A, 5:46:40]. And this from Ethan: "I don't feel like I'm German or Irish or Dutch.

I'm American. I think there are two separate things, recognizing who you are and where you come from. . . at what point do we change our own definition of our heritage. . . how many generations do I have be here before I can say I'm American." Ethan continued, explaining that he realizes it's important for African-Americans, for example, to recognize their heritage, but asks again, ". . .maybe they just want to be American?" [3-B, 8:58:13].

The four multi-racial participants also had difficulty articulating what it meant to be of their respective races. They thought of themselves as individuals first, then as Americans of mixed heritage. Two spent the majority of their time with their White mothers. Jennifer (introduced earlier on the topics of homosexuality and religion) is a Mexican-American who does not speak Spanish, who spent time with her father's side of the family when she was in Texas, but less frequently since moving to the Northwest as a teenager. Mary, an African-American, talked about how she has little in common with other African-Americans. "I have such different views on everything. Like when I talk to them, they've had racist things happen to them, and I haven't. So, they don't understand that. . . they always think I'm Black so I know how they feel" [2-A, 4:25:51]. Mary's experiences and views are explored further in the section on Racism.

Of her mixed heritage, Alicia did not identify with anyone in particular. Her family attempted to acquaint her with all of her background. Alicia went to Japanese language classes as a child, attended a Jewish, as well as the Buddhist temple, and studied with Native American elders. "The Irish part I don't have as

much. . . they're all a part of me and that's who I am" [2-B, 12:23:20]. Adam is bicultural. He speaks Spanish, lived in Mexico for many years, still travels there often, and sees benefits to being a Mexican-American. When asked if there were any negative aspects of having a mixed heritage, he said he could not think of any.

White Privilege

The issue about which White students expressed the strongest opinions on race were about scholarships. This topic came up as a result of the questions on "White privilege" and the feeling on the part of some people about the need to protect White Americans' rights. When students were asked whether they had heard the term "White privilege," the answers were almost equally divided among, "No," "Heard something about it," and "Yes, read about it in a class." Those who knew the term had a fairly good idea of the advantages of belonging to the White majority. Terry, a White male who was familiar with the term, nevertheless said, "It means absolutely nothing to me. . . I don't know White privilege. I'm sure others would argue that I do know White privilege. I'd like it. I want my white privilege, three-car garage, give it to me" [2-A, 4:20:00]. This was a rather surprising answer in view of the experiences he has had, including seeing discrimination of people of color in his job with a state agency. Terry's complex and varying responses can be explained by social judgment theory and will be covered further in the profile section.

Participants who had not heard of the term "White privilege" were shown or read excerpts from *Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack* by Peggy McIntosh (1989). In most cases, the students said they could see her point. However, Joe, who grew up a minority in his multi-ethnic neighborhood, said, "I didn't see it if it was there. I never expected it. I had to work to get to where I am now" [3-CA, 071]. And although she conceded she does feel privileged, a 21-year-old White woman said, "I can see where she's coming from. . . [but] I don't agree with that at all. I think when she wrote that, maybe it was true, but not anymore" [Claudia Rose, 3-B, 8:20:48].

White Rights and Affirmative Action

On the need to protect White Americans' rights, many felt it was not necessary. Kathy, with the outspoken grandmother, made the following comparison. "That's like saying, 'Let's protect Bill Gates from the bad people that want to take over his computer company'" [2-B, 6:15:00]. Mort was among those who felt Affirmative Action was still necessary. He was mentioned earlier as having worked in a business that employed persons of color and homosexuals. "A couple of times they picked White individuals over minority individuals to fill a position. . . everything I knew about the cases, that was pretty much the sole reason" [2-A, 5:37:37]. Some participants offered general ideas, such as social programs, busing, and supporting community organizations, as better ways to achieve equal opportunity.

Two men seemed to feel Affirmative Action as having gone far enough, and came close to advocating dismantling it. Ethan was one of them.

> I see that as a privilege of minorities, and that's something that
> while building them up, cuts my race, the White race, down
> because we're the majority, and I don't see that as being fair. But
> it's necessary and, it's important to recognize at what point do you
> start eliminating those things. It's using racism to stop racism. I
> didn't do anything, why should I be penalized. [3-B, 9:23:44]

And Terry said: "I would adamantly argue that it is a detriment to people of any color. . . it was an artificial system built to maintain something it isn't capable of doing with policy, social change" [3-B, 4:44:55]. Some of the women spoke of how their boyfriends, husbands, or fathers disliked affirmative action. None of those who were so strongly against Affirmative Action, however, knew of specific examples where anyone had been negatively affected. Jeff, who had experienced what he considered to be the negative effect of Affirmative Action in the military, was "somewhat angry," but tried to see the other side.

> There was a preferential advancement treatment system for
> minorities and women. Even though I was highly qualified, I was
> passed over. I can look at it two ways. One of the ways that
> change gets made is by getting people in the minorities in positions
> of management and power and after a generation or two then it
> becomes normal for women captains of ships and women chief
> executives. But at the same time, I still resent that I was not able to
> rise to the rank I could have achieved. I spent my last 12 years in
> the same rank, despite having a college education and good marks
> in all the stuff I was supposed to have to succeed. [2-A, 7:29:37]

Scholarships

While some White participants understood the rationale for designating

scholarships for minority students, others felt it was unfair. The reasons cited were

that it is no longer necessary: "It was a sincere idea. It's just in our current era and

time, I don't really know if it's necessary because it's gone too far now. And I

understand where the Black Americans and Native Americans are coming from"

[Al, 1-A, 4:20:16]. Denise believed that times have changed. "It's not like it used

to be in the '40s; there's more equal opportunities. Everyone's striving for that"

[2-A, 4:34:13].

There was also a sense that there is a level playing field today. "We should

receive jobs and scholarships just by our merits, and not necessarily by the color of

our skin. And everybody should be on that equal plane" [Al, 1-A, 4:17:21].

Another talked of the frustration when hearing that someone with one-sixteenth

Native American blood was given a scholarship. In another case, Peter, whose best

friend and roommate is a Mexican-American, expressed resentment about his

friend's scholarship, even as he acknowledged the economic difference between his

friend's family and his own.

> Jose was poor, I was middle class. Myself and my parents are
> pretty well off. . .but, I think I'm a victim myself. What really
> burns me--to go with Jose to pick up his check. He's also a full-
> time student. He gets scholarships, but they give him spending
> money too, like for living expenses, like fifteen-hundred bucks a
> term. And he slacked off in high school, so it's not an academic
> scholarship. . . he got in because he's a minority. And me, I can't
> get any kind of financial aid because my parents make too much. . .
> Yeah, I had it great growing up, but as soon as I left the house I

was on my own. It really upsets me because even though growing
up we didn't have equal amounts and I have more support if I need
it than he does, I can't get a fifteen-hundred dollar check. I don't
like that at all. [Peter, 1-A, 4:19:50]

Two of the multi-racial students shared this last view. Adam agreed that:

"It's easier for someone who's a minority to get a scholarship than a White person.

They [White students] think it's not fair, and I kind of agree with them in a way,

because they should have the same privilege as the minorities, make it equal" [2-A,

7:26: 18].

Mary concurred:

I don't think that's right. Everybody should have a chance. I'm
not complaining because I got it. It helps a lot. I think it might be
different if--I don't think it's right for a school to do that, but I
think it's all right if the individual groups do that. It's a messed up
view, I know.

Diana: Even though you're a beneficiary of the diversity scholar-
ship, it sounds like you're saying you still don't think it's fair.

Mary: Yeah, they're not fair. [3-B, 4:18:19]

Participants who did not see a problem with designated scholarships gave

reasons that demonstrated an awareness of the disadvantages and barriers that

students of color face. "I feel that White people are still on top in society and there

does need to be some sort of balance and we haven't reached that balance yet. . . .I

think minorities have a lot of catching up to do and I'm in no position to stand in

their way" [Hans, 1-2, T-A, 7:21:34]. Leslie offered this reason as to why some

participants object to designated scholarships: "White people have advantages, but

they never think about what it's like to be in a minority's shoes" [1-2, T-A, 6:44:50].

Racism

In the second interview, participants were also asked to give their own definition of racism. [At the third interview students were shown a brief definition of racism from the Civil Rights Commission and one by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) delineating individual, institutional, and cultural racism (see Appendix E).] About half the participants came up with a fairly good description. The other half gave broad definitions of discrimination, prejudices and stereotypes based on color, but also included religion, sexual orientation, gender, intelligence, and class. That half of the participants did not have a clear notion of racism may be a partial explanation for their not seeing the necessity of scholarships designated for non-White students.

Two of the four multi-racial students, Jennifer and Adam, who are Mexican-Americans, spoke of experiences where they were certain that actions directed towards them had been racially based. In Jennifer's case, it had to do with her last name, for the reaction came not because of her physical appearance but when her Hispanic last name came up in a conversation. In Adam's case, it was an assumption about his language ability based on his Mexican heritage. These appeared to be isolated incidents, for neither felt there has been any on-going discrimination because of their race. Alicia, fair with dark hair and a cosmopolitan look, is

constantly asked where she's from. The lack of any clear racially identifiable feature has apparently left people unable to put her into any racial category.

Mary, an African-Caucasian, was quoted earlier about not having had racist incidents happen to her, which caused her to have views different from other African-Americans. One explanation may be that she lived for several years in a multi-racial family in Hawaii. Yet, living on the West Coast, she says, "Even when I was younger, it never happened to me. I never can remember anybody saying to me or not letting me do something or giving me a weird look" [1-A, 4:11:26]. There may be another reason why Mary has not experienced racism. Mary had heard stories of discrimination from African-American high school students in Hawaii, and African-American college students at this campus, but discounted their perceptions by saying: "I think when people notice it (racism), it's because that's what they're looking for, for people to act different towards them. They're looking for racist comments and looks to be directed toward them. They're always aware of it, on the lookout for it" [1-A, 4:47:58]. She also knew of her White boyfriend's discomfort at a Black student union dance. He felt uneasy with the looks they were getting from some at the dance. Her reaction was to dismiss his feelings: "I thought it was stupid that it made him feel uncomfortable. I didn't notice because I'm not expecting to see it [racism]" [1-A, 4:53:10].

During the third interview, Mary talked about a video shown in one of her classes about how teachers pay more attention to male students than female students. "I think the people who were doing the film were going in looking for

that and I think if you don't go in looking for it, you don't see it" [3-B, 4:07:36].

Mary has adopted a philosophy of, "if you don't look for it, you won't see it." It

seems to be a means to counter any possibility that negative actions or words might

hurt her. Early in the interview Mary had explained the reason she was an avoider

as not wanting to be criticized.

Lee, a White male shared Mary's sentiments. In response to a minority

student in a class who said he has felt "some things" on campus, Lee said:

> He's going around thinking they're going to treat me differently,
> well then, any, any little word is going to be like, "Ha, I knew it."
> . . .You're going to feel things if you're looking for them. Like I
> noticed when my parents bought a blue Geo Metro, ever since
> then, I've seen blue Geo Metros everywhere. I think it's the same
> thing, your heightened awareness. [2-B, 6:32:00]

Few of the White participants have experienced racism themselves. The

two women who had lived abroad were treated well because of their gender and

because they were Americans. Jeff, the one participant who served in the military,

experienced racism in Hawaii. He called them, "micro-aggressions," actions that

were rude and probably discriminatory, but too small to make a fuss over. An

example is when a store clerk who efficiently served people in line suddenly

became busy with other things when Jeff reached the head of the line. His stories

rang true to me, having lived in Hawaii for more than 30 years.

The majority of the participants said they have not seen students of color

treated differently on campus or in the community. A few reported seeing incidents

in stores where Black or Hispanic customers were not treated as courteously or as

promptly as White customers. Two students who have had little personal experience with racism, mentioned seeing television programs using the hidden camera technique that demonstrated the different treatments White and Black individuals receive as a customer in a store, as an applicant for a job, or as a renter looking for an apartment.

Terry, who works for a state agency, was one of the few White participants who had had a first-hand experience. At the agency, he saw a White client refuse to be served by a Black state worker. "I'd never been exposed, didn't know, had never seen anybody being treated differently because of the color of their skin. . . I was angry, but the lady who it happened to was perfectly okay with it" [2-B, 4:17:53].

Another White male said his Hispanic friend will sometimes joke, "You drive," because he gets stopped so often by the police. One White woman, married to a South American, also mentioned that her husband is stopped by the police more often than one might expect. Jennifer, the Mexican-American student, said it happens very often with her father, as well. At the time of the interviews, "racial profiling," was just becoming a prominent topic in the media.

Personal Stories

Stories from two other participants revealed how their views of race have been influenced by family. At the second interview, 28-year-old Joe revealed that he had recently broken up with his Hispanic girlfriend of more than four years. He

said there were many different issues, but one was that she was Hispanic ". . .and

my dad's one-hundred percent redneck, so he said the wrong things to her. . . he

pretty much told her 'my son should have a White child'. . . he actually said that"

[2-AB, 281]. Joe explained that he is the sole male with the family name and that it

is important to his father that the family name be carried on by White grand-

children. Although Joe emphasized that there were other issues, one cannot help

but wonder how much his father's attitude influenced Joe's relationship.

Kathy's grandmother served as a role model, but her father too, had a great

influence on her.

> My father stopped to help people regardless of who they were,
> and he didn't drive by and look to see who was in the car first.
> . . .Where I grew up, it used to be a KKK pocket, and they had
> approached my father years earlier, . . .and he flatly said, "Don't
> even talk to me about that." . . .They came to him one day and
> said, "One of the guys saw that you stopped and helped a carload
> of n------." . . .It was three big men, and they cornered by dad out
> somewhere, . . .and he said, "I helped a family." And they said,
> "No you don't help those kind of people because if you help those
> kind of people, you're going to get hurt." I heard this story when
> my dad told my mom. . . .I was pretty small then, but it stuck in
> my mind. And he just told them, he said, "You can't tell me who I
> will and who I won't help." . . .We were raised by a saint, a good
> guy. [2-B, 5:46:11]

Kathy also had a vivid memory of her own. When she was in the first or second

grade, the class was out on a field trip through town, which was essentially one

main street with businesses all in a row. They all noticed when a car stopped at the

gas station.

This station wagon that didn't belong to anybody that lived there came rolling through. And when somebody strange came into town, everybody's eyes were on them. Well, it was a station wagon filled with a family of African-American people. It was loaded down, and it was obvious they were moving. . . two little kids in the back, the wife, and the husband driving. They sat there for a few minutes, and I thought it was really weird because the gas guy usually ran out and cleaned your windshield, filled you up. . . .Pretty soon the father opened the door and started to get out. . . and the man from the gas station opened the door, and he was standing there with a shotgun on his shoulder and he said, "We don't serve [pause to indicate derogatory term] here." And I remember thinking the way he said that, made it sound like it was something really dirty. I was shocked and all the kids got really quiet. And he said, "Please, we're going to run out of gas, we can't even make it to the next town." . . .He said, "we don't serve any 'f. n'. here." . . .And it went on for, I don't know how many minutes, and the mother told the kids in the back to roll up the windows. It was really warm, it was the beginning of school, September, and I remember the kids in the backseat just crying, uncontrollably, and she was crying, and kept saying, get back in the car. . . .And about that time, all these business people who I'd grown up knowing, patting me on the head, and giving me candy when we'd come in to buy things in their stores, came out with baseball bats and things like that. . . I just stood there thinking, "This is not right," and I was ready to go across the street, you know, being a kid, I was just mad that they were doing that. . . .About that time, the father got back in the car, and they drove out of town, and everybody just turned and went back into their businesses. And the teacher said to us, I'll never forget, it was probably the strongest thing that was ever said to me, she said, "Never forget what you've seen here today." [1-A, 5:57:35]

Neighborhood and Job Scenarios

The White participants were asked to respond to two scenarios. In the first one, they were asked what things they would consider if a great house they were thinking of buying was in a good neighborhood with predominantly African-American neighbors, and whether or not they would purchase the house. A few

said the race of the neighbors would make no difference, that square footage,

number of bedrooms, yard for gardening, and schools would be most important.

Leslie, the liberal daughter of conservative parents, welcomed the chance saying,

"I'd be glad if I had children so they'd get to see some diversity" [3-B, 6:42:17]. A

few said they would have to consult their spouse and many wondered about how

their children would be accepted in the neighborhood. One woman admitted, "My

first response is a prejudice response." She wondered how her children would feel

"If they were the different ones" [Stacy, 3-B, 6:46:30]. Another said, "I'd be

concerned about discrimination. I would be afraid that my family would be treated

differently. . . .If there's Black parents who don't want their kids playing with

White kids and vice-versa, I wouldn't want my kids to have to face that sort of

hate" [Tina, 3-B, 7:10:50].

Although I made an effort to emphasize that the house was in a good

neighborhood, several participants seemed not to hear that and made a connection

between race and crime. One woman said, "I don't know. [long pause] A black

neighborhood is not as safe as if it was a neighborhood of mostly Whites"

[Elizabeth, 3-CA, 326]. Another woman said, "I hate to say it but. . . I'd call the

police to see about crime there" [Lisa, 3-B, 4:33:30]. Or in the following passage,

associating an African-American neighborhood with a ghetto:

> If anything I would be excited because I've lived this sheltered life
> without any diversity. The only thing that would cross my mind,
> and this really, really, truly has nothing to do with race for me, [is]
> knowing what I know about the ghettos and what can happen in
> the ghettos, not from personal experience, but from reading it in

my class. . . so, of course, that is a place that I might not want to
live. [Jackie, 3-B, 4:30:17]

For another White woman, the foremost consideration is how the neighbors

might feel. "I would never want to intrude on a safe community for a group of

people. . . I would never want to invade their space. I mean, if what they've done is

set up a community where they feel that they are outside of prejudice and hatred"

[Wendy, 3-C, 1:26:00]. Only one person, a White male, had actually had the

experience: "That's a hard one because I tried that once. . . mostly it had to do with

my daughter. I walked her home from school a few times, and I was appalled by

the behavior of her classmates. And so we moved. I wanted her to have a better

school environment than what she was getting" [Jeff, 3-B, 7:49:19]. Specifically,

he mentioned name calling and sexist remarks the boys made to and about the girls.

In the job scenario, the first half of the White participants were asked what

would be their considerations if there was a good job with good pay, working

predominantly with people of color, and whether or not they would take the job.

About half the group saw no problem and would either take the job or take the job

and see how things went. The second half of the White participants were asked the

same question with the addition of gender included. The question was: If you

found a good job with good pay, working with people who were predominantly not

of your own gender or racial group, what would be your considerations in deciding

whether or not to take the job? Two women expressed reservations about "getting

respect" from men who were from a different racial or ethnic group. Neither had

been in that situation before, but thought there would be a possible negative impact in the form of unsolicited attention.

Discrimination

Aside from Jennifer's and Adam's experiences covered earlier, the four multi-racial students have had relatively few experiences with discrimination. Two white participants had seen discrimination in the workplace. Earlier, Mort told of White employees being promoted over employees of color. Terry, who had worked at a state agency, said it took longer to place minorities than whites with comparable skills. He said that prior to taking the job, he believed that race had little to do with whether or not a person got a job. "A year ago, I would have argued adamantly with you that equal opportunity under the law was provided. Which is different from equal opportunity. I wouldn't say that now" [2-B, 4:12:00].

On occasion, I presented impromptu scenarios to the participants based on the direction of the conversation. Peter, who felt it was unfair that his Mexican-American best friend received financial aid, was someone for whom wealth and status was very important. I asked whether or not he would quit a country club if he found out, upon taking his best friend there, that it was a Whites only club.

> Peter: I've never been in that situation. My gut instinct tells me
> that I wouldn't quit. I wouldn't leave the club because of it. Of
> course if Jose and I had been golf buddies, you know, and he was
> my good buddy, then I would. But if it was just on occasion, we'd
> go elsewhere.

Diana: What if Jose asks, how can you let those people discrimi-
nate against me. How would you answer him?

Peter: I would say, "Gosh, you know, I'm sorry. I like the club."
He's not like that, so it's really hard to imagine, because he would
never, like never, want me to justify myself to him like that. And
maybe that's why we're good friends. . . .I mean, if he made a big
stink, a big issue out of it, then, yeah, I would quit. [2-B,4:24:36]

Disabilities, Religion, and Other Issues

Other topics covered were disabilities, religion, sexism, ageism, body

weight and image. None evoked particularly strong sentiments or compelling

stories. About a third of the participants personally knew people with disabilities.

In a few cases, they themselves had a disability. Denise told of a cousin who was

injured in an accident, is now in a wheelchair, and is attending college. She said

once her friends got over their initial wariness, they accepted her cousin as a

member of the group. Others told of working with the Special Olympics kids or of

having friends who had siblings with some kind of disability. Whether or not they

had had personal contact with people with disabilities, all of the participants agreed

that discrimination based on disability was not acceptable. Their comfort level with

people with disabilities ranged from "very" to "not very" comfortable depending on

the extent of their experiences. As might be expected, those who were very

comfortable had a disabled family member or close friend. Participants admitted

being more comfortable dealing with people with physical disabilities than those

with mental disabilities.

The general attitude of the participants on religion was that it is a personal

choice. None mentioned any experience of discrimination because of his or her

religion, and none spoke prejudicially of other religions. One young man told of

feeling uncomfortable when Moslem women came to the business where he had

worked.

> Different religions don't bother me, unless it's so far out like the
> Islamic religion. I dislike it because I don't feel it provides an
> equal opportunity for women, they're treated differently, they're
> more subservient. . . .I think I have a bias about people like
> Islamics because I feel their beliefs are inferior to my own, the way
> they treat women. [Hans, 2-A 5:20:00]

I did not ask what religion a participant belonged to; however, some

volunteered they were Catholic, others referred to the Bible, and still others

preferred to call themselves spiritual rather than religious. In general, their beliefs

did not seem to influence how they viewed other religions or gender roles, the

above quote being the exception. It was only with regard to sexual orientation that

the Christian religion seemed to affect the participants' views.

Two of the participants thought their young age caused others to think they

were not as capable as someone older. One woman told of sexist treatment when

applying for a loan. She was told her husband needed to apply. Two women

mentioned the negative attitudes toward women who are overweight. Ethan said he

has noticed that people are less trusting of him on those occasions when his head is

shaved.

Evidence of Change

Some of the results are consistent with social contact theory (Allport, 1958; Brown, 1995) which describes the conditions under which positive racial attitudes can develop from positive interracial contact experiences. For the most part, however, many of the White participants have had little social contact with people of other racial backgrounds. At least two participants used the word "sheltered" to describe their lives. Another mentioned having a "tight" circle of friends without a lot of diversity. Small town or rural was often mentioned, and one person referred to the place she grew up as "a little hole" in the state. Three of the White students mentioned attendance at, or participation in, an ethnic or international activity on campus. The rest cited lack of time and the need to work as reasons for keeping them away. Their interest in such activities did not appear to be particularly high, either.

Social Judgment Theory

Social judgment theory (Sherif et al., 1965) suggests on any given issue an individual has an anchor point at which the individual feels strongest. Attitude change can be accomplished by providing information close to an individual's anchor point so that it can be assimilated. For the study, in addition to attempting to ascertain a participant's point of view, I put the theory into practice when an opportunity presented itself. This intervention, in keeping with the emancipatory research approach, seemed to have had some positive results.

Providing information to the students who felt the Asian students on campus stuck together too much is one example. In another, I responded to Terry (state agency employee), whose assessment was that Russian immigrants were assimilating very quickly while the Hispanic immigrants were not. "We have people in the office to speak Spanish in order to accommodate this society, rather than having them acclimate to our society. . . .Not providing (Russian) means they acclimate faster." I provided some possible explanations, such as how the different literacy and educational levels between the two populations could be one reason for the different rates of learning English. Crossing an ocean requires a passport, which screens and selects "desirable" or educated professionals, while the U.S.-Mexico border is porous, allowing anyone willing to try to enter the country. Terry nodded. "Interesting. I didn't think of that. That they (Russians) are already pre-filtered before they come to our country" [2-A, 4:27:00].

Self Reports

The participants were asked during the third interview, what, if anything, had they gained from being in the study. About a third of the participants found the interviews to be interesting and helpful. "The interviews were not what I expected. I'm pretty happy with how they're going. I'd be more nervous if you were asking straight questions, not allowing me to be human. . . to elaborate" [Lee, 2-B, 6:12:03]. Several, like Karen, found themselves thinking about the interview topics in the interim between interviews. "It was neat for me to reflect a little bit more

with you . . . learning things and then come in to talk about it a little more . . . and think about what I would do in certain situations, how I feel about things" [Karen, 3-B, 6:47:39]. Alicia said, "I've actually enjoyed the interviews. They make me think. And then I share it. The questions you've asked I've put them to friends and family and listen to what they have to say, and it makes them think too" [2-B, 11:51:00]. And from Mort: "To me this is probably a lot better than writing an answer. Being able to talk through things helps me a lot" [2-A, 5:11:45].

A few students mentioned class discussions or specific lecture information that caused them to examine their beliefs and attitudes. The class discussions about minorities took place in a communication class and a sociology class. The lecture information came from a cultural geography class and another sociology class. The participants also mentioned the effect of having someone with a different perspective in the class. Returning to school at age 41, Mort is relishing the experience: "There's a lady in the class from China, and they were talking about China from our perspective. And then they would ask her what her perspective was, and it was entirely different. It was amazing. It was a wonderful thing to see the other side" [3-C, 5:22:20].

A student in another class was not quite as sympathetic to the experiences of a person of color. Lee, an 18-year-old White male, was quoted earlier because of his agreement that if one goes looking for racist attitudes or remarks, one is likely to find them. He mentioned an African-American student in class whom he believes is overly sensitive. Lee's response to his classmate's comment about

being stereotyped is that: "People make assumptions, but let's go on and let's not dwell on that fact" [2-B, 6:32:00].

One of the quieter students, Claudia Rose, is a White 21-year-old. During the first interview, talking about her placement in the avoider category, she said, "I was very disappointed in myself after this. After I did it I realized I don't really stick up for anyone. I just kind of let things go" [1-A, 8:23:22]. During the third interview, she said Jennifer's story of discrimination in the diversity workshop "really hit home" because she has a five-month-old nephew who is Mexican-American. In thinking about what problems he might face she decided she could not continue to be an avoider.

Ruth said, "I think of myself as really open, but there were some issues that I had to deal with. It made me think about it. Homosexuality. This has been really interesting for me, and I'm hoping that I can get that across to my children" [3-B, 1:03:50]. "It's taught me to be more aware of injustices toward minority groups" [Al, 3-B, 4:27:11]. And Mary, who had in earlier interviews, seemed to discount what others felt was racism, said, "But I realize now that it does happen more often than what I normally see" [3-B, 4:42:00]. Anna, the European student, said with a laugh:

> I'm likely to run into difficulties when I return to my country, not
> only because of diversity issues, but because of all the things I've
> learned here and seen here. My perspective has significantly
> changed since two years ago. I wasn't that considerate of others
> and other cultures, I'd just say, "Aah" [waves hand in a dismissive
> gesture]. Being here, that's what I actually appreciate more. [3-B,
> 5:51:35, 1-A, 5:33:47]

The lack of evidence of change in some participants may be taken as an indication that no movement in the individuals' view or attitude occurred. Peter and Joe seem to have been unaffected by the interviews, experiences in and out of class, or the diversity workshop. It may not be coincidental that they are among the ones who took part in the study strictly for the credit. A couple of the women also seemed only slightly affected by the experience. These participants exhibited a possible naiveté, an apparent lack of experiences outside the majority culture, a disinterest, or a seemingly conscious choice not to think about the diversity issues.

Many of the participants said the diversity workshop gave them a greater awareness of the different kinds of stereotypes and prejudices there are. Learning ways to talk with someone who makes such a remark was mentioned as helpful. Jennifer said, "The workshop impacted my way of handling situations. Instead of just keeping quiet, I can either say something then or talk to the person later" [3-B, 4:27:00]. Adam tells of an incident involving his White friend, John. John had been told by a young woman he was interested in that she was already involved in a relationship. Adam explained:

> Later, he (John) saw her with a Black guy, and he was talking bad
> about White girls who date Black guys. . . as soon as he said that, it
> took me back to the workshop. Okay, what can I say. But since he
> had been in the workshop also, I'm like, "This reminds me of the
> workshop," and he looks at me, and he's like, "Oh, I don't mean
> that." He knew what I was trying to do, and he just laughed and
> kind of realized what he had done. He knew exactly what I was
> talking about and that it was wrong. [3-B, 7:20:00]

Emily planned to speak up at her summer job as a dispatcher at a fire suppression agency. The fact that it would be her third year at the job helped her confidence in speaking up.

> There are mainly guys who work there, and they're just kind of crude. They don't watch their mouths, and, I guess, they think of me as one of the guys because they come in and starting talking about girls. . . I feel really uncomfortable. . . I'll sometimes get up and go to the copy room and do something and hope that they're gone when I come back. . . I think if they do it again this time. . . I can say something. [1-A, 5:45:06]

Corroboration

In one of the communication classes, five students wrote final papers which they shared with me. I also met with the six professors from whose classes the students had come. Their observations of the students' behaviors and views expressed in class supported my impressions. There was one minor difference of opinion regarding Jennifer, the Mexican-American participant. I saw her as a mainstreamed American, but her professor, a White woman, thought Jennifer's behavior was the result of her Hispanic culture. I wondered how much of our impressions of Jennifer were influenced by our respective backgrounds.

Anecdotally, two months after the last interview, I ran into one of the participants who works at a local business. He volunteered that he catches himself more often now when he begins to stereotype customers. After the term was over, one student e-mailed a Diversity Pledge that her group had written for a class

presentation. Another student forwarded an e-mail containing the opening prayer at the Kansas state legislature, which sent an ambiguous message about tolerance.

At the end of the term, all of the participants were given or sent another DAP form. It was made clear that I would not be looking for individual changes between the first and second survey. Rather, that I was interested in tracking the group's responses. This was to dissuade anyone from trying to show movement for the sake of the study. Participants knew this was strictly voluntary and would not affect the credit they were receiving for class. Eighteen (58%) of the forms were returned. The returned forms were not always anonymous, as some had included their names.

A comparison of those eighteen showed a great deal of movement forward, some movement forward, little change, and regression. There was noticeable movement forward on the following items:

- Challenge others on racial/ethnic/sexually derogatory comments. A role play portion of the diversity seemed to have given many students confidence to speak up.

- Refuse to participate in jokes that are derogatory to any group, culture, sex, or sexual orientation. Many of the participants cited a heightened awareness about jokes. One student said she now deletes e-mail jokes that may be offensive to some group rather than sending it on, as she has done in the past.

- Take responsibility for helping new people in my organization, including women and people of various cultures, ages, sizes, to feel welcome and accepted.

- Call, write, or in some way protest when a book, newspaper, television show, or some branch of media perpetuates or reinforces a bias or prejudice.

Small movement forward occurred on the following items:

- Recognize and challenge the biases that affect my own thinking. The reason there was a little but not a great deal of movement forward is probably because the group had already started out high, answering "usually" or "almost always."

- Encourage protected-class members to speak out on their issues and concerns and treat those issues as valid. There was some forward movement, but not a lot. The hesitation seems to be related to the following item, on which there was no change.

- Encourage protected-class members, including women to take risks. During the first interview, participants had worried about encouraging others to take risks or speak out for fear that doing so would put their job or relationship in jeopardy.

There was little change on some of the work related questions. However, there were also more participants the second time who marked "not applicable" on

work related questions. These participants realized that the questions were not hypothetical; rather, were asking for current behavior and actions.

Profiles

Each of the 31 students presents a complex and varied portrait of a college student's views on diversity issues, past experiences that have shaped those views, and the developmental stage each seemed to be in or through which they are progressing. However, who they are as individuals is lost in these composites. Therefore, I've chosen to profile four of the participants who have already been heard from in the previous sections. The additional details here round out the picture of who they are, what they believe, and how their views are influenced, or not, by information and experiences.

Denise

Denise is a 21-year-old white woman, who grew up on a farm until her family moved into town when she was a teenager. She recalled her elementary school as having a diverse student population; however, her current circle of friends was not very diverse. Denise is the student whose comment earlier in the section on Affirmative Action was: "This is the year 2000, why can't we all just be equal." About minorities needing to be with others like themselves, she said:

> I don't think all white people should stick together. Maybe
> Mexican people feel like they need to stick together, I don't know.
> Maybe if I was in an area with all Black people, and I'm the only
> White, I might feel like I need to be among White people more. I

don't know. I've never been in a situation like that. . . .I also
think it's important to be part of your culture. I'm proud of mine,
I'm Dutch. My grandparents are from Holland. It's good to keep
the cultural emphasis.

Denise went on to talk about an upcoming three-generation family trip to a town in

another state that has a large Dutch celebration. At the beginning of her response,

Denise seemed skeptical about people who share a race or culture to need to be

together. But she ended up talking about her own cultural heritage, of the great

pride she feels, and the excitement of going to the celebration with her family.

Denise's own enthusiasm about the trip made her realize that sharing a culture gave

one a sense of belonging, but which was not meant to exclude anyone else.

Although the term White had little meaning for her, her Dutch heritage did.

Denise worked part-time at one of her family's businesses. She attributed

her attitudes regarding fair treatment and equal opportunity as coming from her

parents' attitude in running their business. "I don't get special treatment. I'm

treated like any other employee . . . even if I want to work more hours, I have to

wait till there's an opening."

In a multicultural literature class she was taking, Denise was learning about

the struggles of African-Americans during the 1940s. She empathized with their

plight, but believed things had changed. "Nowadays it's not like it used to be in the

'40s, and there's more equal opportunities, and everyone's striving for that."

When asked her definition of racism, her response was, ". . .when people

have negative feelings based on race, age, gender. It can turn into a hate. Even

calling people names, like getting mad at a man and calling him a 'chauvinist pig.'"

Like many of the other participants, her definition was a broad one which covered

all types of prejudice. Denise felt comfortable with people who are different from

herself but admitted, "I've never been in a situation, where there was all one race,

or all men, maybe that would be different. Like if I went to school with all African-

American people and I was one of the few White people, I'd probably feel

uncomfortable, but I've never been in that situation."

Regarding racism and racist remarks, Denise said, "I think when people

think of racial slurs they don't think that an African-American can be racist toward

Whites and that's totally off." When she hears about the racist actions of Whites in

the past, she added, "Sometimes, it makes me feel bad, like I should feel bad for

being white. [But] I think it can go both ways, every culture can have it [racism]."

Denise had not seen minorities on campus or in the community treated

unfairly. On whether she had heard about some who feel the need to protect White

Americans' rights, she had not. This phrase did make her think of an incident a few

years earlier. "My sophomore year, I was applying for a scholarship, and I found

out it was only for minority students. . . .I felt like I was discriminated against. I

was like, that is not right. . . this one was specifically for all races except for white

and that really bothered me." Denise, a volunteer tutor at the time, mentioned the

scholarship to another tutor. "I'm like, I meet all these qualifications and I can't get

it just because I'm White? It doesn't seem fair to me and she thought I was being

racist. . . and I'm like, Susan, I'm not a being a racist. I feel like I'm being

discriminated against."

Denise believes it's wrong to have scholarships "just for white people." By

the same token, she felt that making scholarships available only to certain other

groups was wrong. A little later, she softened her stance.

> Part of that maybe I agree with. I don't know how much. Because
> I think it's important to have affirmative action. It's important to
> allow other cultures, other races, other genders the same availabili-
> ty for jobs as the white man. Being a woman, that's a minority,
> too. I think, I know there's some prejudice, and you want equal
> opportunity for everyone.

In talking about the scholarship and her exchange with the other tutor, Denise

started to think about her own status as a woman, as a member of a protected class,

although she uses the word, "minority." Once again, she came full circle as she

talked through her response, a verbal reflective process. She started with a view

that Affirmative Action was not necessary, realized that as a woman she is in a

group that did not always enjoy full equal opportunity, and decided that perhaps it

was a good idea after all.

Later, in talking about the job scenario, Denise tried to clarify her conflict-

ing feelings about Affirmative Action. If she and a person from a minority group

were finalists for a job, and if the minority were chosen, she said, "I wouldn't

automatically assume they got the job because they're a minority. I'd think they

were the best person for it." As with the scholarship, she felt any considerations,

other than who is best qualified, was not fair.

Changing the finalists in the scenario to Denise and a White man, I asked

her how she would feel if she got the job. "I'd be, like thanks. I wouldn't want to

feel like I got the job just because I'm a woman. I would want to feel like I got the

job because I'm qualified." Denise said she would be offended if she was hired

because of her gender. If the man were selected, however, she said, "I think I

would automatically assume that they got it because it [he] was a man. . . which is

weird because if it was another woman who was a minority, I wouldn't think she

got it 'cause she's a minority. But if it was a man, I would. Even if he was a

minority, I'd assume he got it because he's a man and I'm a woman." The premise

of social judgment theory is that individual's seemingly firm attitude on a subject

will vary along a continuum of acceptance or rejection when the issue is divided

into sub-issues. In Denise's case, gender appeared to be a greater incongruity than

race.

About taking a job for which she was qualified, which paid well, and which

would be working with people not of her own racial or gender group, Denise said,

"I wouldn't even think about that. I'd take it." She has worked with a relatively

diverse group of people in the past and would not have reservations taking the job.

Denise had not heard the term, "White privilege," but guessing the meaning

said, "I don't think they should. I think of the KKK when you say "White

privilege." The KKK irritates me. I don't think Whites should have privilege over

other races." But Denise knows that unequal treatment does happen. She

mentioned a television show that sent two "customers," one Black and one White,

into a store. The Black customer was watched and followed, but the white customer was not.

On the question of what being White means, Denise said, "It's just a skin color. I don't know. I don't ever think I'm so lucky that I'm white. I think being Dutch is something I'm proud of. I feel I'm pretty multicultural because I'm around it. To be multicultural you have to not make judgments."

Responding to the scenario about buying a house in a neighborhood that was not predominantly of her own race, Denise says her primary concerns would be the condition of the house and the safety of the neighborhood. "If it was a good neighborhood, it wouldn't bother me." To illustrate her point that race doesn't matter, she told of a family in her parents' neighborhood where the adults were into drugs, the child was neglected, and "the cops were there all the time." It was a White family, and Denise said regardless of the color of their skin, she would want good neighbors.

Denise talked about being a little uncomfortable in a class where the professor made what seemed to be negative comments about the dominant culture.

> She's a minority, and I can understand where she's coming from, but sometimes, not all white people do that. She's faced a lot of things and most of it was from white people. She's very, very proud of her culture. I'm proud of mine, but in my culture people have done extremely wrong things. She's very proud of her culture, and she doesn't really see the wrong things that her culture has done too.

Before taking a literature class, Denise had not heard the term, "model minority," to describe Asian-Americans. Writing a paper on the subject, Denise has had to think about the term and the kinds of stereotypes it reinforces. She explained what she learned: "The model minority theory is basically saying that the Asian culture is the model for other minorities to look at, because if they can be hard working and successful why can't other minorities be like that. . . . It's the U.S. or White person's perception. . . but in reality, sometimes, Asians aren't all hard working and successful."

In looking at the White Racial Identity model, the early stages didn't "ring a bell." Denise didn't remember consciously thinking, "I'm white." As to where she would place herself today? "Maybe 4 and 5 because I accept my race and other people's race. I don't feel I discriminate because of their race. Honest appraisal of racism [Referring to stage 5]. I think I'm there." In reviewing Denise's statements regarding race and ethnicity, she seemed to fit Stage 4, Pseudo-Independence (intellectualized acceptance of own and others' race) rather than stage 5, Immersion/Emerson (honest appraisal of racism and significance of whiteness).

In an earlier section, Denise's experience with a disabled relative was mentioned. She told of how her cousin has been accepted by her friends. "Ever since that happened to Tim, it turned me completely around. Now I treat them like a normal person because I know Tom hates it when people are trying to be careful or not say something that might offend. [When] I notice other people who stare

and stuff I feel like saying, "Just ask--what happened. Don't just stare and be weird."

Denise confessed that before her cousin's accident she used to park in the handicapped space ". . .if I was just running in real quick, trying to beat the cops. Now I don't because I know how hard it is when we're driving Tom and all those spots are full. So there's reasons why you get ticketed."

But Denise was not always so comfortable with her disabled cousin. "It took me, probably a good year to two years, to feel like I could be okay around him. 'Cause now I can change his urine bag, or if he's having a little muscle spasm, it's not a big deal." Denise's experience has helped her with people with disabilities. "I worked with a little girl who was blind, a fifth grader, and being around Tom helped me for situations like that." When she first met Jessica, Denise simply asked whether she had always been blind. It opened the door for the two ". . .to talk about it like it was normal. I really loved working with Jessica. It was one of my best experiences volunteering." Denise knew she "had a ways to go" because she was still not comfortable yet with "people with mental handicaps."

Denise was starting to become aware of diversity issues through her classes and her experiences and seemed comfortable exploring the issues. She was willing to examine her own ideas and feelings. Like some of the other participants in their late teens or early twenties, Denise has had limited work and life experiences with people of color. The lack of knowledge about the dominant culture's relationship with and oppression of some groups has led to a mistaken belief that the world is

fair, everyone gets an equal chance, and Affirmative Action is no longer needed.

Their world is best described by the term "encapsulated." This will be further

discussed in the conclusion.

Terry

Terry is the white, 26-year-old working for a state agency, who was

surprised and offended when a client, a white woman, refused to be served by his

African-American co-worker. He was not naive or uninformed about race relations,

but the blatancy of the racist attitude shocked him. Although his co-worker did not

seem to be upset, it was Terry who was so angered by the incident that their

supervisor suggested Terry take some time out of the office that day.

This, however, was not the first time that Terry observed racial prejudice.

Unlike some of the other participants in the study, who have had very little or no

personal experience with racial prejudice, Terry has. He tells of being in the fourth

or fifth grade and making friends with Gary, a Vietnamese boy who had moved into

the neighborhood. Gary and his family were political refugees from South

Vietnam, the same side Terry's father had been on as a U.S. soldier. His father,

who never talked about the war, was "severely mentally wounded" by it and was

upset that Terry was friends with a Vietnamese. "They lived right across the street

from us, and we didn't hang out. . . .But my mother provided a very good balance.

'This is not good for dad, so let's not do it. You can hang out with Gary when

dad's in the hospital.' . . .It was that simple. We still hung around at school."

About his mother, Terry said, "My mom was an unbelievable human being. I mean just unbelievable." His mother explained that when his father used verbally inappropriate words for Asians, it had nothing to do with Gary. Terry understood that his father's feelings were based on wartime experiences that periodically sent his father to the VA hospital. "I'm defensive about that. His situation was not his fault, and I don't know of any other human being who would have reacted differently to what he was involved in." In his father's case, Terry understood there were reasons for ill feelings toward the Vietnamese. His father, however, did not act out those feelings towards them. In the incident with the White client, Terry saw that the prejudice resulted in the rude treatment of his co-worker, and it angered him.

In college, Terry heard more about discrimination. His first college roommate was from Korea, and, Terry said, "I learned a lot from him. We were able to have some very candid conversations." His roommate had previously lived in a small coastal town in the Pacific Northwest, and "He told me some stories . . . where people had treated him unfairly because of his race."

At the time of the interviews, Terry was working with three African-Americans in a different office than the one where the racist incident occurred. He was "having a conflict with one . . . and it has absolutely nothing to do with her race . . . but every time a conflict comes up, that's where she takes it. It bothers me." Later in the interview, Terry revealed it's partly a relationship issue. The co-worker had asked him to go out with her, and he explained he didn't date people

from work. He said she turned it into a race issue. It was apparent that he was quite uncomfortable with the situation. He had consulted others and done some self-evaluations but had not been able to resolve the situation. He gave other examples of why he felt uncomfortable around this co-worker.

> Often in group meetings, she'll bring up the fact that she's different and how it affects [her] . . . if you grew up in [this area] you're automatically prejudiced. . . .She'll put information about racial incidents and black statistics in everybody's mail box. I find that very intrusive.

> She uses her race very blatantly. It's not anything I can point to any specific instances. It's--my feeling is that she uses her race. There are very specific instances where she does, as a pawn, as a scapegoat, as an opportunity to decrease the standard of expectation of her because she's black.

For Terry, race became an issue whenever there was a difference of opinion between himself and the co-worker. This explained his answer "almost never" on the question of whether he encouraged protected class members to speak out. His experiences with this African-American co-worker had definitely affected his answer. "She speaks out all the time, and I'm not interested in it. Not because I'm a racist. I'm not interested in it because it's inappropriate in my opinion." For Terry, his co-worker's zealous efforts to raise the office personnel's awareness of racial issues was off-putting and was having a negative effect on him.

Terry talked about having no problems with the other African-American co-workers and that his strongest reference was from a previous supervisor who is African-American. The stressful situation had caused Terry to become defensive about being labeled "prejudiced" because of having grown up in an area that is very

conservative. It did not occur to either of us at the time that part of his distress

might be due to his being stereotyped a "racist" based on his hometown.

In the previous section on discrimination, Terry said he had not believed

there was racial prejudice in hiring practices until he saw it happen to his clients as

they started seeking work. He believed, like many in the dominant group, that an

equitable society exists where competence and merit are rewarded, where hard

work and perseverance will result in success no matter what the color of one's

skin. Although Terry suspected some of his non-White clients didn't get jobs as

quickly as White clients because of their race, he was not in favor of Affirmative

Action.

> It was the catalyst that has brought this country to where it is now,
> as far as our understanding and acceptance and recognition of
> diversity, but I would adamantly argue that it is a detriment to
> people of any color. It is not diversity. It was an artificial system
> incapable of making social change. It was a great catalyst for that,
> but long term, no. It's a concept whose day is past.

Terry's views may have been biased by his work in a system that included

the welfare program: "It's the same social mentality that creates--let's use welfare

as the example, where once you create a structure where people are expected to fail

or expected to have something for nothing, you create a system that, long term, is

not a sustainable system. Welfare is not sustainable and the reforms take so much

energy now."

Terry was not alone in the belief that Affirmative Action is no longer

needed. Others in the study agreed. There is a perception that Affirmative Action

allows protected class members, including those who may not be as qualified, get

jobs over qualified Whites applicants This, they saw as unfair to all.

On the question of whether there is a need to protect White American's

rights, Terry shook his head.

> I'm familiar with the people, the David Duke mentality. I think
> they're looking for the same kind of social handicaps that Affirma-
> tive Action did for minority populations in California. They're
> probably not aware of the stigma that goes along with those social
> handicaps. It angers me that anybody looks for any kind of social
> justification or handicap or anything and doesn't recognize the
> incredible fortune that we have to be able to be in an environment
> where we have such a diverse population. I would honestly argue
> that diversity in the population is the predominant reason we're so
> successful as a country and as a people.

For Terry, actions on behalf of any group, whether to protect White rights or to

allow employment access to protected class members, was unnecessary. Although

he felt Affirmative Action is a concept whose day is past, he was familiar with the

laws and carried out his job responsibilities according to those laws.

Terry spent time in Mexico as an exchange student and has warm feelings

for the people and culture. For this reason his comparison of how Spanish speakers

who have access to services in their own language don't acclimate as quickly as

Russian immigrants (see section on Social Judgment Theory) seemed to be a

thoughtless comment rather than a racist remark. In his term "acclimate", there was

a sense that the Russian immigrants were fitting into American society, whereas the

Spanish speakers were not. When I pointed out that the screening process resulted

in a difference in educational and literacy levels of the two groups, he saw that

Russians were "pre-filtered." "I know that's going to be rolling around in my head for a couple of days. I appreciate that." Still, the question of whether the rate of assimilation of a group was based on race remained. In addition to their higher educational levels allowing them access to more skilled jobs and professions, did Russians appear to acclimate faster because they physically blend in with main-stream Caucasian Americans?

On the White Racial Identity model, Terry self-identified as being in stage 5 or 6. Stage 5, Immersion/Emersion (honest appraisal of racism and the significance of Whiteness) and stage 6, Autonomy (internalized multicultural identity with non-racist Whiteness as its core) were somewhat at odds with his response to the question, "What is White privilege?" He said he was familiar with the term, but that it meant nothing to him because he has never experienced white privilege. "In fact the Black woman used that term to me. It means absolutely nothing. . . .I'm sure others would argue that I do know white privilege. I'd like it. I want my White privilege, three-car garage, give it to me." Terry saw White privilege as economic advantage and, as he was not yet the owner of a three-car garage and all that goes with it, he was therefore not a beneficiary. His narrow definition and misunderstanding of the term is inconsistent with one who is in stages 5 and 6 of the model.

In answer to the question, "What does being White mean to you?" Terry laughed. "White," he says, "has very negative connotations." He pointed out that "a lot of the social and political change that have created opportunities for all races

was based on majority rule and that majority for so long has been Caucasian." He added, "I do not feel ashamed [of being White]."

Terry felt he was a change agent in his work; however, he thought himself more of an avoider in his personal life. What made Terry one of the more interesting participants was that he has had life and work experiences and seemed to be reflecting about them. His interest in trying to make sense of his experiences and his apparently genuine concern about the various situations he has been in, demonstrated a willingness to consider alternative points of view. Terry is one of the participants who volunteered to do the fourth interview. He seemed engaged in the intellectual analysis of his experiences. In that respect, the interviews gave him a chance to talk out his ideas and feelings. Terry was among those participants who were cautiously exploring and testing their views.

Peter

Peter is a 22-year-old, single, White male, going to school full time and working full time, as well. Since fourth grade, he has lived in a small town in a rural area. The student population throughout his elementary and secondary school years was predominantly White, with a large number of Hispanic and a few "Oriental students." In the previous section, Peter was the student who unabashedly said, "I'm homophobic," who was somewhat resentful that his Hispanic best friend got scholarships and financial aid, and who said he wouldn't quit a country club if his Hispanic best friend couldn't play golf there.

In recalling the predominantly white area he grew up in, Peter described the arrival of the first African-American at the school. "George was the first Black kid that came to our [high] school, and he stood out like a 'sore thumb.' It was kind of odd though for me because he did stick out, and I'd catch myself looking, not having any kind of prejudice against him, more curiosity." George was a football player and that apparently helped his acceptance by the students. But, although he was in the sports crowd, "He wasn't in, like, socially. Which I can't blame the guy. If I went down to a school, like in L.A. where I was a minority, I'd probably disassociate myself from the crowd too." Peter assumed that George chose not to socialize with the White students. That George might not have been invited to socialize did not occur to Peter. He projected what he would do if the situation were reversed, that is, chose not to socialize with the non-White students. As with the statement that he would not quit a country club even if his self-disclosed best friend, a Hispanic, was not allowed to play golf there, Peter seemed unaware of any other perspective except his own. Peter recounted how the rural kids would try to communicate with George: "They'd say, 'Hey, what's up n-----.' And thinking that it was cool because that's what we see on t.v. And he would take offense to it and got into a few fights over it. Some of the guys, it's, obviously, they're not trying to put him down or anything, but just trying to talk to him like we think he's been talked to his whole life."

The naiveté of the boys and Peter's acceptance of the explanation have some validity. Sociolinguistics or pragmatics, looks at language use in social

contexts. It could very well have been that Peter and the others had not noticed the context in which African-Americans on television or in films called each other "n-----". This incident highlights the issue of language, particularly derogatory terms, which can be used in an abusive fashion and perpetuates stereotypes. Yet words have no inherent meaning. By claiming the n-word and using it among themselves, those African-Americans have changed its meaning. The possibility that the boys knew full well the implications of a White person using that word, but claimed ignorance as an excuse for using the term, did not occur to Peter. Peter said things have changed since he was at the high school. Later, he contradicted himself with the statement, "There's still a lot of prejudice out there." Prejudice is something that is "out there."

In all of the conversations, Peter was casual and matter of fact. He was not apologetic or embarrassed when making statements such as, "I am extremely homophobic." In explanation, he said he doesn't like touching and then rephrased, "I'm not a touchy kind of guy." When asked about his own definition of homophobia, he said "Homophobia is a fear of homosexuals. I don't know if it is that I fear--it's that I dislike them." When asked the difference between fear and dislike, Peter said, "I guess I do fear. Fear I guess leads to anger. [long pause] I don't like to hear about them, I don't like to see it."

Peter told of being in San Francisco with his best friend, Jose. Neither of them realized they were in a gay area until they had tried several bars. He said it gave him "the creeps. "I wouldn't want anybody looking at me with 'the eye.' I

definitely wouldn't want anybody coming up to me and put a move on me. So I guess I do fear them and because of that I don't like them." Later, he elaborated on the possible consequences of being hit upon. "I would fear how people looked at me. I wouldn't want my roommate to make fun of me. 'Hey, Pete got picked up.' I wouldn't want rumors to get started. . . .It's my reputation."

As the interview progressed to issues such as gays adopting children, gays in the military, and gay rights, Peter started to use the words "despise," "hate," including "I have this hatred towards them." He doesn't believe gays should serve in the military and sees no need for gay rights. Throughout, Peter made statements such as "I don't like them. I know it's wrong and I don't know how to change it, and I don't really want to." In trying to be honest about his feelings, but at the same time be politically correct with me, Peter sent many such mixed messages. At other times, he joked: "I don't like them in the first place, which is wrong. [small laugh] I mean I understand that it's wrong."

Peter's statement, "I'm homophobic" came at the very beginning of the questions on sexual orientation. That extreme position, when divided into sub-issues showed some variance as described in social judgment theory. Although it appeared personal contact was unacceptable to him, Peter did not find it objection-able to live next door to a homosexual. He was also much less adamant about two women than two men as partners, and while he was against gays adopting children, Peter was less adamant about lesbians adopting.

Unlike others who based their view of homosexuality on religious beliefs, religion did not play a part in Peter's views. His family was not strongly religious, and Peter said:

> Everybody's entitled to their own religion. I'm very opinionated myself, but I don't judge people by the way they think. I might call them an idiot, but that's me talking. There are so many other religions out there you'd be stupid to point out just one and say this is how it is and that's the only way it can be. But no, actually, I admire people who have a passion in a belief, the devotion.

Peter knew that people of color are not always treated the same as Whites. He came up with two scenarios and how he would respond in each case. If he were in line and the server was "barking" at a Hispanic guy in front of him, Peter said he would do "a non-verbal thing to let the Hispanic man know that not all of us are like that." He said, however, if it was a friend who was barking at the Hispanic man, "I'd definitely say something." In the second situation, "Say I'm in the parking lot and there were twenty guys badgering this guy. For my personal safety, I wouldn't do anything."

Peter admitted he loves jokes. "If somebody tells me a real knee slapper about Mexicans and it's kind of offensive, I'm not going to Jose (best friend) and tell him that. But I'll tell other people." Despite his friendship with Jose, social contact has not made Peter more sensitive or aware. Among the derogatory phrases Peter admits using is "Jew someone down."

Diana: You'd still use that knowing how offensive they find it?

Peter: Yeah. [chuckles]

Diana: Why?

Peter: I don't know. White trash is another good one. It's just a figure of speech. If I call you a Jew, I'm not saying you're stingy. It's just a figure of speech.

There is dissemblance in what Peter said, but I did not call him on it. He appeared to be someone who was trying hard to hold his world view together. Peter indicated he knew his opinions were not always shared by others. He admitted to having definite views and to being stubborn about those views. He also said he knew others have their own views. By allowing others their views, and expecting that they will allow him his, neither side needs to examine the opposing view or examine his own. Peter was not oblivious to the fact that his views irritated others, and said he had learned to be less vocal because, "People don't like it, especially when I go in there with a mind set."

At one point, without prompting, Peter offered this about his relationship with his father.

One thing that's bad is that, even though he doesn't come out and say it, he kind of treats me like I'm a loser. Ha. And I mean he doesn't come out and just say it, but whenever I'd say--because I drink a lot, I like to go to bars and shoot pool--I'm 22 years old. I've actually got my act together I think. . . .He's always kind of implying that I'm not doing enough with my life. . . like I can't make him proud. He's the only person I give the power to. . . since I don't really get offended by people, other people shouldn't get offended by what I say.

In talking about the categories of diversity awareness, I started to tell him the

category his answers put him in, but he finished the sentence before I could.

Diana: It looks like you're—

Peter: A bigot? [laughs]

Diana: Avoider.

Peter: That's the same thing I came up with in [communication] class. I was an avoider.

In a discussion of racism and what it means, Peter gave his own definition

as "hateful thoughts towards others because of their imperfections." Asked

to define what is "perfect," he said:

> I would be the judge of that. Well, nobody is perfect. So I'll
> change my definition to hateful thoughts towards another person
> because of their differences. It could be someone's tall, different
> from me. Someone's stupid, I'd hate them. If someone's really
> smart, I would hate them because they're different. Is that what
> you want? I don't know what you want.

Those last two lines are similar to the kinds of statements attributed to dualistic

thinking that Perry (1970) describes in his intellectual and ethical developmental

stages and will be discussed further as a "Conclusion."

On the question of White Americans' rights, Peter said he didn't think it's a

big issue. He wished that everyone was truly equal. But, he also thought there was

no need to "single anyone out anymore." His statement, "I never really thought

about it," rings true for him. As for knowing someone with a disability, Peter told

of a best friend with an ailment which left him hearing impaired and in a wheel-

chair by the time they were of high school age. "He was a cool guy, so he always had friends and nobody picked on him. . . .I have a tremendous amount of respect for people who are disabled."

Peter is someone who knows his mind and resists even considering ideas that are different from his own. There was little evidence that the interviews, his classes, the workshop, or his personal experiences have caused him to reflect. Being a full-time student and full-time employee may aggravate the situation by not allowing him time to process his experiences. There appeared to be a powerful defense mechanism in place, seen in his description of his relationship with his father. His world view is, if I don't take offense at what others say and do, why should others take offense with what I say and do. Throughout the three interviews, at no time did I sense that Peter, even momentarily, seriously considered what I interjected. Would he quit the country club if he found out his best friend, Jose, wouldn't be allowed to play golf there? He brushed aside the problem by saying Jose wouldn't ask him to quit. Calling someone a Jew is "just a figure of speech." He avoided exploring why he "hates" homosexuals. Peter disengaged by shrugging and admitting he did not really know why. By not considering other points of view, Peter can maintain a stable world view. His is a conscious kind of encapsulation and is discussed further in the Conclusion.

<u>Kathy</u>

Kathy is a 39-year-old White woman with a family of role models. In the previous section, her stories included her grandmother who spoke up against negative labels for the migrant Hispanic workers, her father who helped people regardless of their race, and her own experience seeing how a black family was treated at the gas station. Of the need to protect White Americans' rights, she made the comparison to the need to protect Bill Gates. And on homophobia, she told of seeing the effects on a relative, a young man who had tried to commit suicide. On being a "fighter," Kathy said, "I don't think I could have considered myself anything else."

Kathy had other experiences that have shaped her views on racial prejudice. She told of hearing about a relative, the owner of a local newspaper, who received threats against his life because he was writing stories that were not negative enough about "people who didn't belong in town." He was told that if he did not join them (the KKK), they'd burn down his newspaper building.

> He didn't buckle to it, but due to an accident a couple of years later, he ended up moving, leaving the community. But it was a really prevalent thing in my community. . . .Even today, I see it, I hear it. People I've known my whole life, people who are really great, down-to-earth, decent, caring, do anything to help their neighbors, that have these deep-seated prejudices that are just total ignorance. And on one side I respect them for the community involvement and how much they care about their family and how much they give back, and on the other side, I just want to scream. But it's been there for so many generations that I'm doing what I can, which I never feel is enough. But with my own two children, especially my oldest, he's real vocal and real active. He's much

braver than I ever was, but then, he's growing up in an era where it's changed a little bit.

Another example of her community's attitudes towards non-Whites is when a friend from Japan came to visit. "I was really shocked at the way people ignored her. It made me angry that they'd pretend she just wasn't there." Her friend had gone up to a counter while Kathy was in another part of the store. Her friend "waited and waited and waited." But when Kathy went up to the counter, "they came immediately." True to a fighter's ways, Kathy said she told the owner she would never purchase anything in the future if this happened again.

Kathy said she grew up in a very patriarchal, traditional family, but that her father raised his two daughters to be very independent and "never be afraid to take risks and try new things." Although he was of the opinion that men do men's work and the women do women's work, he allowed the girls to do the men's work if they wanted to, but the three boys were not required to do the laundry, cook, or clean. "So there was a double standard there." Kathy remembered trying to keep up with her brothers and wondered if people who grow up in an atmosphere with obstacles to overcome, become more tenacious. Being the youngest, the littlest, and female, made her try harder "to prove that girls have worth, too."

Kathy's father was an entrepreneur, and her three brothers all joined the business. As a young adult, Cindy convinced her father to let her join the crew. Her father "got some flak," but Kathy says, "I was packing one-hundred pound packages of plastic up planks. Not a feminine thing, but I wanted to do it because I

wanted to be a part of the business." After working for three months, she moved to

another job in the company. One day, her father patted her on the shoulder and

said:

> "You know I used to think women couldn't do the same work men
> could, but you've proved me wrong on that one." And he said,
> "You know something? If you were a son, you'd be the one I'd
> have take over the company." I kind of just said, "Well dad, I can
> still take over the company some day." And he said, "Oh, but your
> brothers would never have that."

Proving herself was something she felt she has had to do for her mother as

well. "I'm still battling with that." Her mother's world "revolves around her sons."

So it was a surprise to Kathy when her mother came over one day with tears in her

eyes. She had received a letter that Kathy had been inducted into the *Who's Who of*

Colleges. "She was really proud. And I was amazed she was validating that there

was some worth there even though I was a female. And I was so shocked at how

emotional she got because she does not cry about anything. . . .We are pretty close;

I don't understand the dynamics." Her experiences proving herself, she believed,

". . .made me the person I am today because I'll die trying, and it's not to

necessarily to beat other people, just to do my best."

On the subject of sexual orientation, Kathy believed Elmsville to be an

easier place for people to admit their homosexuality, that not all communities in the

area are tolerant, and in outlying areas people have to keep their homosexuality a

secret. Kathy was proud of her 18-year-old heterosexual son who speaks up for

gays and lesbians. Even though he is accused of being gay, "It doesn't slow him

down. It's more important to him to get the word out and help other people. He's so brave." Kathy said she stuck up for people at his age but this takes more courage.

Kathy has a sibling who is homophobic, and "I love him dearly, and I'm working on him." She has asked her brother "If one of your kids is genetically disposed to be gay, how are you going to handle it? How are you going to feel later on if your son moves away and never comes back because he knows you don't accept what he is?" She has also asked whether as a heterosexual male he could have relations with a man. When he replied in the negative, she explained, "That's the way gay people feel. They can't help it." Although these conversations haven't changed his mind, "It's kind of sneaking in the edges there."

About her outspokenness and her position on the school board, she said, "If I don't speak the truth and if I don't stand up when I have the opportunity, then I don't have any business being in local politics." Her son has the support of both parents, has role models in his family, and ". . .has no fear, which I'm not sure is a good thing. But we'll see."

Like Kathy, her son has also worked with "kids with special needs" in high school. When people ask him why, he replies that he gets a lot out of it. Kathy said, "They just don't understand it because maybe they haven't been raised the same." Kathy's early influence on her son is evident in the following anecdote. While pregnant with her second child, she wanted to minimize sibling rivalry when the baby was born so she got her son a baby doll to play with. One day her

husband came home saying the guys at work said, "If you let him play with dolls, he's gonna turn out gay." Kathy was curious about his reply, which was: "I played with dolls and I'm sure not gay, so I guess it's all right." Kathy believed: "If you teach a boy to nurture, he'll be a nurturing adult male."

Her past experiences seemed to have helped Kathy empathize greatly with others. She told of a time in middle school when she was unfairly accused of starting a fight and was not believed by the counselor, "Even though I was the good student" and the other girls were not. On how it must feel to be an immigrant, Kathy told of how she felt when she went from her rural home to go to school [college] in a major city in the state. "I was totally out of my element; I had no survival skills; I was feeling very vulnerable; I looked at everyone who approached me really suspiciously."

> I think what has made me such an advocate for anybody that's being picked on is my being the youngest, having three older brothers. They just loved to torture me every day, with goodness in their hearts, but it was torture, and I just knew what that felt like. And these were people who loved me. So it didn't take much of a stretch of imagination to know what it would feel like if it was somebody who didn't care about me.

> My role became the protector and mediator in school. Whenever somebody was being subjected to abuse or negative comments I was right there. I was small for my age, but a really fast runner. I'd catch them eventually. They could say whatever they wanted to about me, but if they said anything about my family or somebody else, that's what got me mad. And it still does to this day. A lot of people remember me in that role too, all the way through school. I can't help it. Whether it's convenient for me or not, that's the way it is. Luckily I haven't been banished from the community.

Asked about any problems caused by her outspokenness, Kathy believed there has

not been, in part because of her family's good reputation. In speaking of her

grandmother and father who have struggled and worked to make a better life for

their chidden, she said, "As the first generation in my family to go to a university,

I'm doing the same thing, trying to improve the lot for my children." However,

education is not something that her father, who did not go beyond eighth grade,

holds in high regard.

> My father -- I just worship the ground he walks on . . . his whole
> thing is that people who work in positions, be it teachers or
> professionals who go to an office, they're not really working. If
> you don't work with your hands, you're not earning a living. . .
> [but] he's beginning to slowly see because his daughter wants to
> become an educator. He knows how hard I work, and he hears
> about my exploits.

On the subject of religion, Kathy said her parents allowed the children to

make up their own minds. She did not consider herself to be very religious because

she didn't subscribe to any particular faith or church. She believed the "Golden

Rule" to be the best religion.

Regarding race, Kathy had a greatgrandmother who was Native American.

"I have both the oppressors and the oppressed within me." During the first inter-

view, she said, ". . .part of my heritage is from England. Our name is on the list of

the Mayflower, but I sure don't claim it; I'm not proud of all of that part of it." In

the second interview, Kathy returned to the subject of her ancestry. Since the first

interview, she had thought about her background and realized that she had been too

harsh in her judgment of her White heritage. On the Racial Identity Model, Kathy thought she was in stage 5 (having an honest appraisal of racism and significance of Whiteness) or 6 (internalized multicultural identity with non-racist Whiteness as its core).

Kathy's family and her own experiences have influenced her views of others, despite having grown up in a conservative environment. The empathy she feels towards others who are "picked on" came from her own experience being the youngest in the family and from having to prove herself in a traditional patriarchal family. That someone from a rural and conservative locale would be such a fierce ally for others, frankly, surprised me. And it reveals something about my own stereotypes. Of all the participants, the conversations with Kathy involved the least intervention on my part. She seemed to have a clear sense of herself, a no-nonsense view of what's right and wrong, an inclusive view of diversity, and at the same time, appeared open to learning more.

III. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study sought to understand how students experience and process issues

of diversity, to discover what post-secondary students' views are of diversity, how

they might change, and what is the substance of that change. The most important

issue to the students in this setting, judged by the intensity and length of their

responses, was sexual orientation. The participants' views ranged from vocal

opposition and admission of homophobia, to opposition on religious grounds, to

uncertainty, possibly incited by the question of whether homosexuality is a genetic

disposition or a matter of choice, to nonchalance and unconcern, to a full

acceptance that people are different and sexual orientation is one of those

differences, to one participant's unbounded enthusiasm for how "cool" they are.

Religion seemed to play a part among those who were ambivalent, but not for those

who were self-admittedly homophobic.

The extreme views of homophobia, however, when examined by sub-issues

revealed a range along a continuum as described in social judgment theory. Views

were not static, but shifted depending on the circumstance. The individuals who

were most homophobic expressed their strongest views when personal contact was

a possibility. They had no objections to living next door to a gay or lesbian,

presumably because personal contact can be avoided. Objections to gays in the

military were based on the lack of privacy and increased personal contact. There

was greater objection to a gay couple adopting children than against a lesbian

couple doing so. The two participants who knew of such families were quite favorably impressed by the quality of familial relationships.

The topic around race and ethnicity which provoked the strongest views was on scholarships. Some of the 27 White students agreed that scholarships for students of color were fair, while others seemed to resent the idea and questioned its need. Two of the four multi-racial participants were somewhat sympathetic to the later view that this is an equitable society and scholarships need to be based strictly on merit. The participants, with one or two exceptions, had very little experience with racism, which could account for their views on scholarships.

Many of the participants held internally inconsistent views with regard to the two issues. An example is Ethan, who advocated for gays to have equal admittance and acceptance in the military, but who was against scholarships for students of color. The reverse was true for some of the other participants, like Ruth, who was ambivalent about gays in the military, but who saw no problem with some scholarships designated for students of color.

When I first started exploring the literature on college students and diversity, I found studies on social contact theory, racial identity development, cognitive approaches, communication, and multicultural competence (awareness, knowledge, and skills). In the course of analyzing my interview data, it became apparent that additional concepts and theories were needed to help make sense of the material. Social contact theory was applicable in only a few instances, as the White students had not had extensive contact with students of color under the

conditions that would lead to a decrease in stereotyping and prejudice. The four

multi-racial students seemed to be relatively well integrated into the majority

culture. On the issue of sexual orientation, the minimal contact between

heterosexual and homosexual students also limited the application of social contact

theory.

Cognitive approaches to reduce stereotypes and build inclusive views were

apparently part of the curricula in the intercultural communication and conflict and

negotiation classes. The content and discussions in those classes focused on

recognizing and bridging differences. There seemed to be greater awareness among

those participants, consistent with the literature in communication and multicultural

competence (Carrell, 1997; Collier & Powell, 1990; Milhouse, 1996; Powell &

Harville, 1990).

Other courses were mentioned by participants. Denise spoke of a novel

about Blacks in the 1940s that she had read in her multicultural literature class.

Despite her knowledge and empathy for the plight of African-Americans at that

time in history, she seemed unaware that present conditions are far from equitable.

There was a compartmentalization of past and present in her statement that

"Nowadays it's not like it used to be in the 40s."

Mort, the 41-year-old man returning to school, mentioned a novel in his

World Literature course. The story, from the point of view of a North Vietnamese

soldier, caused Mort to reflect upon his seeing the soldier, not as an American

enemy but an individual with a family, with the fears and hopes of any person

caught in war. Discussion topics mentioned from other classes included the impact

of advertising on women's body image and reparation to descendants of African-

Americans slaves.

As reported in the previous chapter, the majority of the participants said

they had gained a greater awareness and sensitivity as a result of the diversity

workshop. One participant mentioned an example of attempting to put what he had

learned into action. Another, anticipated being better able to deal with a situation at

work.

Students' movement in the stages of racial identity development were

reported in courses on the Psychology of Racism (Khan, 1999; Tatum, 1992) and

multicultural education (Davine, 1994; Lawrence, 1998). The purpose for my

introducing the theories of racial identity development to the participants was to

inform them, to get a sense of where they thought they fit in the model, and to spark

any memory of experiences with people from different races or ethnicities. I did

not expect to track much, if any, movement in their racial identity over the course

of three interviews. As far as I could tell, there was no movement. This is not

surprising, as it appeared that the majority of the participants had not spent much

time thinking about their own racial identities. This seemed to be true of both the

White and multi-racial participants. The multi-racial participants appeared to be

more aware of their background, but they, like the White participants, thought of

themselves as multi-faceted individuals having multiple identities, including class,

gender, age, and religion, as well as race. In a similar vein, the students in White's

(2001) study preferred to identify themselves as individuals who had acquired a sense of identity through their own unique experiences.

Stanfield (1993) notes that where most people have been socialized into the racial norms of society, "one norm is the assumption that everyone in America has a racial identity" (p. 18). An interview question I adapted (Yang, 1992) was: "What does it mean to be (White, Hispanic-American, African-American, Asian-American)?" The participants seemed not to have thought much about their racial identity prior to the question. By asking that question of the Caucasian participants, it seems I fell into the fallacy of the monolithic identity (Stanfield, 1993, p. 21). Most of the White participants said it meant very little. Several, such as Denise, Mort, and Ethan, named their particular European heritage as their racial identity.

Social contact theory, racial identity development, cognitive approaches, communication, and multicultural competence were applicable in some degree to describe and account for the views students held. However, during the data analysis process, there was no explanation for the pivotal experiences that students talked about which had made such impact on their views. I found the following additional concepts and theories to help me make sense of my data. From psychology comes the term, "culturally encapsulated," used to describe professional counselors (Wrenn, 1962), and which I have found to be applicable to students as well. From intercultural communication comes the "stress-adaptation-growth" dynamic (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Kim, 1988), in which a profound

learning experience leads to greater self-awareness and growth. "Reflective judgment" (King & Kitchener, 1994), is a process that some participants have engaged in and which helps explain their adaptation and growth. Finally, the work on cognitive and ethical growth in the college years (Perry, 1970, 1981) describes developmental stages that students move through, from a simple dualistic world view to one that acknowledges a relativistic perspective.

Cultural Encapsulation

Wrenn (1962) describes cultural encapsulation as "an encapsulation within our world, within our culture and sub-culture" and is a conscious attempt to surround oneself in "a cocoon of pretended reality" as protection against the reality of change (p. 445). Examples of participants who fit this description include Joe, who does not acknowledge his status and privileges as a member of the dominant group. His experience growing up in a multicultural, urban environment where he considered himself the minority, is a belief that has not changed despite his having lived in other areas of the country since then. Neither the occasional return to his neighborhood, nor his father's desire to have White grandchildren, have apparently influenced him to reevaluate his own status as a member of the White majority culture.

Peter is another example of a participant who chose to ignore or disregarded information and experiences that might have caused him to have to alter his world view. His choice not to allow anything to impinge on his views might also be

described as "resistance." The diversity workshop, which all participants took part in prior to the interviews, included an activity on slurs, derogatory terms, and jokes about other groups. There was also a discussion about the personal hurt to individuals and the oppressive environment created by pejorative words. Peter admitted in the second interview that he would retell a possibly offensive joke about Mexicans to others, though not to his Mexican-American friend. He also said that calling someone a Jew was just a figure of speech. The workshop, at least that portion of it, seemed to have made no impression on Peter.

There are participants who fit the culturally encapsulated description, but who did not relate stories that would explain why they have that frame of reference. That is, their stories did not have the element of consciously rejecting an experience that might have led to reflection and growth. Students, such as Denise, have had limited life and work experiences outside the majority culture. Denise's views reflected a naiveté about the world. She was irritated that scholarships excluded Caucasians like herself. Her statement, "This is the year 2000, why can't we all just be equal," is a sentiment shared by others who have little knowledge about the barriers faced by those who are not part of the White majority. Environmentally encapsulated individuals have little or no social contact with groups other than their own. They live in a relatively homogeneous world and, therefore, have an idealistic view of equality and meritocracy in the United States. This view is not unlike my own growing up in Hawaii. Why, I wondered, didn't the Hawaiians just pull themselves up by the bootstraps the way my ethnic group was doing? I did not

know then, the history of the Hawaiian people, nor understand how demoralizing it is to have one's heritage denied and culture suppressed. Cultural encapsulation is not reserved solely for Caucasians.

Cultural encapsulation does not mean ignorance. Education and the media, in all its forms, bring information about the world that exists outside an individual's personal experience and environment. It was surprising to me that many participants were not up on current events. In the weeks following headline-making news about the acquittal of the four White policemen in the Amadou Diallo case, none of the participants I interviewed had heard of the incident or recognized the name. Being uninformed can contribute to cultural encapsulation. On the other hand, information does not necessarily bring understanding. Mary, the African-Caucasian student, was essentially raised as a member of the majority culture. She knew that other African-Americans have experienced discrimination. Yet, she seemed to honestly believe that they experienced it because they were looking for it and expecting it. Mary appeared to be culturally encapsulated both by choice and by environment. In the third interview, Mary tentatively conceded that perhaps discrimination happened more than she realized. It appeared that information alone was a relatively weak stimulus for promoting thinking beyond one's encapsulated world views.

Stress-Adaptation-Growth

How do individuals move from cultural encapsulation to a wider world

view? The students who have demonstrated more inclusive views have had

experiences that caused them discomfort ranging from hurt feelings to anger. The

discrepancy between an experience and an individual's beliefs or values causes

stress, which the individual can ignore and deny, or acknowledge and deal with.

An individual who chooses to deal with the discrepancy moves to an adaptation of

beliefs, which results in growth. Terry is an example of one who seemed willing, at

least on the intellectual level, to analyze situations and examine his own actions.

Ethan's shock and hurt at being called "a bigot" by his mother, Kathy witnessing

the townspeople in a racist moment, and Leslie coming face-to-face with her

classmates' homophobia were incidents that created stress and provoked an

adaptation, which resulted in a better understanding and clarification of their own

attitudes and values.

Finding examples of participants who have had stressful experiences which

did not lead to adaptation and growth might be seen as confirmation of

encapsulation by choice. What is problematic is that an individual who is

encapsulated will have ignored or dismissed the experience and probably forgotten

about it. Encapsulation entails a degree of denial when individuals consciously

attempt to build "a cocoon of pretended reality" (Warren, 1962) against experiences

that might force them to alter their world view. Therefore the stress-adaptation-

growth dynamic is a process that might only take place when an individual allows the discordant experience into her world.

Reflective Thinking

It would seem that the intensity and number of stress producing incidents can move individuals along a continuum from cultural encapsulation toward a world view that is open, questioning, reflecting, and adapting. Reflective judgment (Kitchener & King, 1978) is the process by which individuals arrive at a point of view. That view can be shaped by how an individual analyzes evidence and the role experts or authorities play in their analysis. A study by Guthrie (1996) on the relationship between intellectual development and levels of tolerance found a positive relationship between reflective thinking and more tolerant attitudes. Curricular and out-of-classroom activities (Bidell et al., 1994; Geasler et al., 1995; Guthrie, 1996; King & Kitchener, 1994) that include interventions can promote the development of reflective thinking. The data from this study supports these points.

Class readings and discussions, the interviews, and the diversity workshop were cited by the participants in my study as having encouraged them to think about groups other than their own, and to reexamine their views. However, those participants who appeared to be further along the continuum away from encapsulation and toward the more open, ambiguous, and relativistic views had also previously had experiences that engaged them in reflective thinking. Reflective thinking was sparked by incidents that were stressful in some way and the

participants engaged in both an intellectual and affective struggle to make sense of their experience. On the other hand, the encapsulated individual shrugs off the discordant incident, experiences no stress, and does not engage in reflective thinking, which leaves their views intact.

Still the question of why some incidents cause individuals enough stress that they began to process their experiences, while other individuals seem untouched by experiences, remains. Returning to cultural encapsulation and examining an example of where experience seemed to have had little impact: Peter's friendship with Jose had not helped him understand the need for financial aid to students of color. Ethan, on the other hand, had an experiences that created stress, reflection, and growth when called a bigot by his mother. Would Ethan have had a stressful experience if he had told the joke to a casual friend who then called him a bigot? Perhaps the decision to reject or take in and process the experience has to do with some value or benefit to the individual. Of the country club incident, Peter said with assurance that his friend would not ask him to quit the country club. "He's not like that." My raising the possibility that his friend might feel offended was also brushed aside. There was no incentive for Peter to seriously consider the hurt it might cause his friend. In the case of Ethan, the value of his mother's opinion of him was at stake. It caused him stress and the kind of processing by which an individual's views are broadened. Witnessing the event with the African-American family caused Kathy stress because what she saw was discordant with the way she had been raised to behave. Her outrage was in keeping with the values of

her family. Whether an experience creates stress, reflection, and growth may be tied to some benefit, recognized or not, for the individual.

Cognitive and Ethical Growth

Perry's developmental scheme (1970, 1981) of intellectual and ethical development outlines nine positions or stages. "Position 1" moves from basic duality, where knowledge is seen as existing absolutely, to "Position 3," a modifying of dualism toward multiplicity, a growing awareness of the existence of different perspectives. "Position 4" through "Position 6" describe the discovery of relativism, a recognition that multiple views fit together into a larger whole. "Position 7" through "Position 9" describe an evolving commitment to relativism and a pluralistic world view.

Writing about his work in 1981, Perry states, "Perhaps development is all transition and 'stages', only resting points along the way" (p. 73). This emphasis on transition rather than stages, together with the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, and reflective thinking help explain the participants' pivotal experiences and the effect on their views. Personal, unanticipated situations and experiences that challenged their world view and created stress, appeared to have incited the most reflection, adaptation, and growth, as evidenced by stories told by the participants.

Implications

The literature is replete with examples of interventions of various types with predominantly positive results. Yet the concepts and theories underlying those interventions do not account for the impact of personal experience on the participants' views of diversity. While no single theory seems to adequately describe those experiences, the web of related concepts of encapsulation, stress-adaptation-growth, reflective thinking, and cognitive and ethical growth appears to come close. These concepts are further related to the notions of multicultural competence (awareness, knowledge, skills), intercultural communication, self identity, and social contact. Singly, each of the concepts captures a part of an individual's views, experiences, and processes in making sense of diversity issues. Together, they help us understand the complexity of individuals' and their experiences.

Being faced with people, context, and information that are dissimilar from one's stable and familiar world is not unlike the culture shock that a traveler feels in an environment of different customs and behaviors. If the individual chooses to be engaged rather than encapsulated, new and multiple perspectives is the result. How can an educational institution provide opportunities for its students to be thus challenged?

The various interventions in the previously mentioned literature are all a part of the solution. With only a few exceptions, the courses, panels, workshops, simulations, and out-of-class projects all seemed to have had positive results.

However, courses enhanced with experiential activities (Carrell, 1997; Mio, 1989) and year-long experiential programs (Boyle-Heimann, 1997; Vendley, 1995) seem to offer students, who live in a relatively homogeneous environment such as the one in which this study took place, the chance to step outside their familiar world and the possibility of experiencing the kind of pivotal moments that were reported by some participants. For those students who choose to be culturally encapsulated, no immediate benefit may be seen. There is always the possibility that the cumulative effects of such discordant experiences may start to impinge on their world views.

Simulations such as the "Blue eyes-Brown eyes" (Byrnes & Kiger, 1990) and the "Pink Triangle" experiments (Rabow et al., 1999) appear to be potentially powerful learning experiences. Walking in someone else's shoes is not an intellectual activity but a visceral one. However, the Blue eyes-Brown eyes simulation with college students (Byrnes & Kiger, 1990) has raised some ethical questions (Williams & Giles, 1992) about the risks of coercion, privacy, and stress to participants.

A few years ago at the university in Elmville, a "Colored Only" day was organized by the African-American Student Union during Black History Month. Only students of color were allowed access to the doors, restrooms, and water fountains on the main floor. White students were asked to enter by side doors and to only use the restrooms and water fountains on the first (basement) and third floors. Reaction was mixed. There were students and faculty who supported the

event saying it made them think again about the experiences of "others." Some students could not see the lesson, calling it "reverse discrimination" and that "the event was pointless because racism doesn't exist on campus" (McDaniel, 1998). A participant who was not on campus that day but heard about it said, "People were just outraged by it. . . .I thought it was a good idea, but they were saying, 'It's in the past, why do you have to show us the way it used to be? Why can't we just forget about it and move on?'" [Emily, 3-A, 2:16:25]. That story reveals the benefits and the backlash that can occur with simulations.

If personal experience is what appears to have been the most influential element in participants' lives, the question is how can educational institutions provide more experiential opportunities for students? Simulations may be one of the most powerful ways for educators to create the conditions where an individual can experience a pivotal moment. The opportunity for challenging an individual's world view needs to be balanced with the possibility of a backlash. The potential risks to participants need to be considered. The limited number of studies using simulations may be an indication of the careful preparation with which this intervention is undertaken. However, simulations have the greatest potential for engaging students on both cognitive and affective levels. Educators need to consider including simulations more often in course work and campus activities.

The old adage that "travel broadens the mind" is still true today. In addition to learning about other cultures, study abroad programs can help students see their own cultures from a new perspective. The minor culture collisions and larger

culture shocks may provoke the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic, leading to multiple perspectives. Long-term experiental programs involving shorter periods of time abroad (Vendley, 1995, 1998), may be much less costly and still provide students with broadening experiences.

If simulations and travel abroad are not practical, course-related projects that allow students to voluntarily immerse themselves in cultures and subcultures in their region could bring opportunities for pivotal experiences. At the very least, students could come to a better understanding of others. Should they be lucky enough to have an experience that causes stress, they might be forced to examine their own beliefs and biases, the result of which might be part of their transition and growth. This is not to say that single interventions, such as a panel presentation, class discussion, or workshop are not valuable. They do contribute to students' awareness, knowledge, and skills. For educators, the issue is providing students those opportunities for prolonged deep engagement and a multitude of related experiences over time.

The participants in this study have been described on a continuum from cultural encapsulation, either by choice or because of their homogeneous environments, to greater awareness of diversity, to a more proactive involvement as change agent or fighter. Experience appeared to be one of the most powerful stimuli in provoking reflective thinking and the subsequent movement from the earlier to later stages of Perry's cognitive and ethical development. If experience is one of the best teachers, we need to make concerted efforts to provide those

opportunities for students so that they might move beyond cultural encapsulation towards more pluralistic and inclusive world views.

Limitations of the Study

The setting, a small, liberal arts, public university in a liberal-voting town surrounded by a more conservative region, is one which may be more unusual rather than common. The small number of students of color (8%) precluded White students from more opportunities for social contact. The 31 participants were volunteers who received some kind of credit in their classes. Because the participants represent only themselves, they do not represent any other larger group of people. Although the majority said they were also interested in the topic of diversity, a few admitted that getting credit was the primary reason for joining the study. It may be coincidental, or not, that the two men who seemed most encapsulated were among those who volunteered for the credit. The four participants I chose to profile were Caucasians. In general, the multi-racial students appeared to be well integrated into the majority culture.

Further Research

A follow-up with as many of the participants as possible, with particular attention to those profiled, would add the longitudinal aspect missing in many of the studies on college students' views of diversity. A follow-up would also reveal

what kind of effect, if any, the interviews conducted in an emancipatory approach, had on the participants.

Further exploration of multi-racial students who have been raised in, and who think of themselves as, part of the majority culture is also needed. In the multi-racial, multi-ethnic environments of Hawaii and California my Asian-Caucasian sons were not unusual. Moving to this area, they were asked what it felt like to be different in a White environment. The inquirer later told me the blank, puzzled looks they both gave indicated they had no idea what she was talking about. The multi-racial students in my study, too, did not think of themselves as different from the majority culture, although others perceived them as such because of their physical appearance. What effect does this kind of experience have on multi-racial students? A related topic is Stanfield's (1993) questioning of the assumption that everyone in America has a racial identity. That is an intriguing question.

Experience is said to be one of the best teachers. In this study, it turned out to be of greater significance than I had anticipated. Experiences, though, are "messy." They happen unexpectedly, are not easy to measure, and may involve a number of different factors, such as the individual's location on the encapsulation to awareness continuum and the relationship of the individual to the others in the situation. Might we be able to find better ways to describe the dynamics of how certain experiences turn into pivotal moments? Might we find ways to enhance, enlarge, or exploit the power of experiences?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Summary of Cross's Nigrescence Racial Identity Development Model

(from Helms, 1990)

Stage	Description
1. Pre-encounter	1. Identifies with White culture, rejects or denies membership in Black culture
2. Encounter	2. Rejects previous identification with White culture, seeks identification with Black culture.
3. Immersion-Emersion	3. Completely identified with Black culture and denigrates White culture.
4. Internalization	4. Internalizes Black culture, transcends racism.
5. Internalization-Commitment	5. Internalizes Black culture, fights general cultural oppression.

Summary of Helms' White Racial Identity Model

(from Helms, 1990)

Stage	Description
1. Contact	1. Oblivious to own racial identity.
2. Disintegration	2. First acknowledgment of White identity.
3. Reintegration	3. Idealizes Whites/denigrates Blacks.
4. Pseudo-Independence	4. Intellectualized acceptance of own and others' race.
5. Immersion/Emersion	5. Honest appraisal of racism and significance of Whiteness.
6. Autonomy	6. Internalizes a multicultural identity with non-racist Whiteness as its core.

Summary of Atkinson, Morton, Sue's
Minority Identity Development Model

(from Helms, 1994)

Stage	Description
1. Conformity	1. Minimization of membership or denigration of one's own as well as other VREGs;* idealization of Whites and White culture.
2. Dissonance	2. Disorientation and confusion regarding own-group and majority-group affiliations and appreciation.
3. Resistance & immersion	3. Idealization of one's own VREG and physical and psychological withdrawal into one's own group; rejection and denigration of "Whiteness."
4. Introspection	4. Search for more rational group self-definition and more balanced intergroup relations.
5. Integrative awareness	5. Positive sense of VREG self, capacity to value and respect other racial and ethnic groups.

*VREG = visible racial and ethnic groups used collectively for Asian, Black, Native, and Hispanic Americans of color.

APPENDIX B

Welcoming Diversity Workshop

The Welcoming Diversity Workshop is a prejudice reduction experiential model developed by Cherie Brown and offered through the National Coalition Building Institute (NCBI), in Washington D.C. Established in 1984, NCBI is a nonprofit organization. The day-long workshop addresses all visible and invisible differences that may lead to discrimination. Racism, classism, sexism, ageism, ableism, homophobia, and any other forms of discrimination that the participants of the workshop have experienced are acknowledged.

The workshop includes a celebration of differences and similarities, a chance to allow uncensored prejudicial thoughts to be spoken, an opportunity to speak of oppression and of pride, and an occasion to form caucuses with others who have experienced similar injury or discrimination. Participants also share personal stories about experiences and learn to interrupt bigoted remarks and to practice those new skills through role playing.

The NCBI prejudice reduction model is based on the following premises. Prejudicial attitudes are simplistic generalizations. External criticism of one's group can lead to internalized oppression. Hearing about the oppression of other groups leads to a willingness to work on each other's behalf. Personal stories of discrimination help others recognize a similarity to the listener's own mistreatment

and results in the formation of allies. Skills training helps individuals interrupt

prejudicial remarks, slurs, and jokes.

APPENDIX C

Demographic Information

Name _____

- Age _____
- Ethnicity/race _____
- Please circle one. Were you raised: urban, suburban, rural?
- Growing up. List the groups your friends belonged to that were different from your own by race, religion, socio-economic group, age, gender. For example, if you are white, you would list an friend who was/is Asian.

- Presently. List the groups your current friends belong to that are different from yours.

- How would you describe your identity by the groups you belong to?

APPENDIX D

Questions for First Interview

1. Questions based on student's demographic form:

   Did you grow up in a diverse or multicultural environment?

   If yes, how would you describe it? What were things that made you comfortable or uncomfortable?

   If no, what do you think a diverse or multicultural environment would be like? Are there things you think you'll be comfortable with or uncomfortable with?

   Do you currently live in a diverse or multicultural environment? If yes, would you describe it. If no, was it a deliberate choice not to?

2. Questions based on student's Diversity Awareness Profile.

   Are there items on the Diversity Awareness Profile that you had a strong reaction to?

   Tell me about the questions that are marked "usually" or "not very often." Based on your answers, in what category did you place on the Diversity Awareness Spectrum? Do you agree with the results?

3. How would you define diversity?

4. What have been your experiences with people who are different from yourself?

5. Is there anything from the Welcoming Diversity workshop that you'd like to talk about?

Questions for Second Interview

1. Are you comfortable with the interview setting, questions, and taping?

2. I'm obviously Asian. Has that in any way affected your answers or your thoughts?

3. Are the interviews what you expected? If not, what did you expect.

4. Since we last met, have you had any experiences, thoughts, or feelings on any diversity issues?

5. Follow up questions specific to participant's previous interview.

6. How do you define racism?

7. Do you believe that people of color and white people are different? If so, describe the difference.

8. How would you describe your comfort level in the company of people of color, people with disabilities, people whose sexual orientation is different from your own?

9. Describe your interactions and experiences with individuals different from yourself.

10. In your opinion, are minority students and minority faculty members treated the same as their white counterparts? Are you aware of minorities being treated unfairly, in class or elsewhere on campus?

11. Some people are talking nowadays of the need to protect white Americans' rights. How do you feel about this issue?

12. Have you heard the term "white priviledge" and do you have an idea of what that means?

13. What do persons in protected classes need in today's society?

14. What does being White (or Asian, Native American, African-American) mean to you?

15. How would you describe yourself along a multicultural/diversity spectrum?

not very   a little   somewhat   quite   very

16. Racial identity development models describe the stages that people move through. Looking at the stages, where would you say you are?

17. Questions about local or national events in the news.

18. Have you experienced or observed any kind of discrimination? What was the incident, what did you think then, and what do you think now? Would you behave differently if the incident occurred today?

19. What are your views on gays regarding

their serving in the military
their adopting children
their getting married
their getting spousal benefits
your working with them
laws protecting their rights
your being friends with them/ best friend
living next door to you

20. How religious/spiritual do you consider yourself?

not at all   slightly   moderately   strongly

21. Do your religious views influence how you regard

other religions
gender roles
homosexuality; marriage between homosexuals

Questions for Third Interview

1. Why did you choose to take part in this study?

2. Would you have participated if you weren't getting credit in the class?

3. Definitions of racism.

    What do you think causes racism? Do you think it's prevalent in Ashland? Why or why not.

    What is more prevalent in this area, racism or homophobia? Why do you think this is so?

4. Since the last time we talked, have you had any thoughts or experiences around diversity issues?

5. Do you know people with disabilities?

6. What is your comfort level around people with disabilities?

7. Should accomodations be made for people with physical, mental, learning, or other disabilities?

8. If you were one of two finalists for a job you really wanted, and if you were both equally qualified, and if the job was given to the other finalist because he/she was a member of a protected group, how would you feel?

9. Do you know what Affirmative Action is? Do you agree or disagree with this law?

10. If you found a great house in a good neighborhood that was predominantly African-American, would you buy it? Why or why not?

11. If you found a job that you were looking for, was qualified for, and that paid very well, would you take it if it meant working predominantly with people who are not from your racial or gender group?

12. Looking back over this experience of being interviewed, taking the diversity workshop, what have you learned?

For End of Interview

1. Are there issues I didn't ask about that you would like to talk about?

2. Are there questions I might include next term when I interview another group of students?

3. Do you wish to choose a pseudonym?

Thank you very much for your participation. Your openess in discussing your experiences and views has been valuable. As I compile the data, I may call you and ask for clarification on something you said.

I'd like to keep an open door to this study, which will continue through summer. If, at any time you want to clarify, add, or just talk, please call me. I've enjoyed getting to know you. Thank you.

APPENDIX E

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

A. **Title of the Research Project.** College Students' Perceptions of Diversity

B. **Investigators.** Dr. Warren Suzuki, Education, OSU
   Diana Omura Versluis

C. **Purpose of the Research Project.** The purpose of the study is to investigate what college students' views about cultural diversity are and how those views may change over a period of several months. This research project will gather post and delayed post data through individual interviews and focus group discussions on diversity issues such as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and disabilities.

D. **Procedures. I understand that as a participant in this study the following things will happen:**

   1. **Pre-study screening.** Participants are volunteers who have chosen to participate in this study.

   2. **What participants will do during the study.**
      The participants will:
      1) take the Diversity Awareness Profile
      2) fill in the demographic information form
      3) participate in the Welcoming Diversity Workshop at SOU
      4) be interviewed three to four times over a period of three to six months. Each interview will be thirty to sixty minutes long.
      5) take part in a focus group discussion, expected to last between one to two hours.

   3. **Foreseeable risks or discomforts.** There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts.

   4. **Benefits to be expected from the research.** The benefits to the participants are expected to be a greater awareness of diversity issues, a chance to reflect on their views, and an opportunity to exchange views with others during the focus group discussion. A possible benefit is the pride in having contributed to the research on cultural diversity.

E. <u>Confidentiality</u>. Any information obtained will be kept confidential. Participants will be assigned pseudonyms and a code system will be used to identify any assessment results or other information. The only persons who will have access to this information will be the investigators and no names will be used in any data summaries or publications.

F. <u>Compensation for Injury</u>. Not applicable.

G. <u>Voluntary Participation Statement</u>. I understand that my participation in this study is completely voluntary and that I may either refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I understand that there is no monetary compensation for my participation in the study.

H. <u>If You Have Questions</u>.
I understand that any questions I have about the research study or specific procedures should be directed to:
  Diana Omura Versluis
  337 Sheridan St., Ashland, OR 97520
  (541) 482-3991

If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I should call Mary Nunn, Director of Sponsored Programs, OSU Research Office, (541) 737-0670. My signature below indicates that I have read and that I understand the procedures described above and give my informed consent to participate in this study. I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

_____   _____
Signature of Subject   Name of Subject

_____
Date Signed

_____
Subject's Present Address

_____
Subject's Phone Number

_____   _____
Signature of Principal Investigator   Date Signed
  (optional)

APPENDIX F

Definitions

Prejudice

A negative attitude toward a socially defined group and toward any person perceived to be a member of that group.

Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986

A complex and multifaceted way of thinking and feeling about people that attributes particular characteristics to people and groups as more or less desirable than others.

Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997

Discrimination

Selectively unjustified negative behavior toward members of the target group.

Involves denying individual or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish.

Prejudice does not always lead to discrimination and discrimination may have causes other than prejudice.

Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986

Racism

The "attitudes, actions or institutional structures that subordinate a person or group because of their color."

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970

Individual racism, which is similar in meaning to race prejudice, but places more emphasis on biological considerations and also encompasses discriminatory acts.

Institutional racism, which refers to the intentional or unintentional manipulation or toleration of institutional opportunities of particular groups of people.

Cultural racism includes elements of individual and institutional racism. Cultural racism can generally be defined as the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one race's cultural heritage over that of another race.

Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986

Privilege

An unearned benefit, rarely recognized by the beneficiary, that has an important bearing on life outcomes.

Racism consists not only of racially based discrimination for some, but also of racially based privilege for others. Sexism involves not only gender-based discrimination for some, but also gender-based privilege for others.

Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997