

COLLEGE FRESHMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF
RACISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
MISSOURI-COLUMBIA-"DO YOU SEE
WHAT I SEE?"

A Dissertation
presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by
NADIE DUBOSE

Dr. Rex Campbell, Dissertation Advisor

DECEMBER 2007

© Copyright by Nadie DuBose 2007
All Rights Reserved

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the [the dissertation] entitled

COLLEGE FRESHMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF RACISM AT THE UNIVERSITY
OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA-"DO YOU SEE WHAT I SEE?"

presented by Nadie DuBose,

a candidate for the degree of [doctor of philosophy],

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Rex Campbell

Professor Kenneth Benson

Professor Peggy Placier

Professor Johanna Reed-Adams

Professor Charles Sampson

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank God and His Son, Jesus for affording me the opportunity to start and complete this journey. For without them, this endeavor would not have been possible. I am also grateful and thankful for the support my parents, Barbara and Jerry have given to me over the years. Their love and support has been a source of encouragement to me while matriculating through this program. Thank you Mom and Dad for instilling within me the importance of education the need for continued self improvement. I am also thankful for the support my brother, Curtis and my sister, Barbara have given me while going through this process. Your favorite question, "Are you done yet?" helped push me to the finish line. Thank you for keeping me on task and for encouraging me along the way. I would also like to thank my extended family members: my aunts, uncles, and cousins, special thanks to Grandma, Nadie and my Aunt, Irma for their continued prayers, for I am even the more persuaded that there is power in prayer. Thank you Grandma, Aunt Irma and all my family members for your love, concern and support. I definitely would like to thank my pastor, Bishop Russell L. Freeman and my church family, the United Community Cathedral for your continued love, motivation and encouragement. There were times in this process when the only thing I had to lean on was the Word of God, thank you for continually sharing it even when I did not want to hear it. For I know the Word of God kept me when I couldn't keep myself or anything else together. May God continue to bless you for your labor of love towards His people. I also would like to thank my close friends and colleagues, Jami, Caira, Linda (TT), Tammy,

Marsha, Deborah, Azure, Cheryl, Norma, Stephanie, Andre, Derrick, Herb and Christine Thomas and Roger Gines for checking in on me, praying for me, but most of all, helping me to laugh during this strenuous process. I love you all and am thankful to God for your presence in my life.

Furthermore, I am most thankful to God for blessing me with an extraordinary advisor, Dr. Rex R. Campbell. You are truly a God sent. Thank you for coaching me along the way, encouraging me at all times and continually believing in me. I have learned so much from you, but the one thing that you have taught me that continually sticks with me is, "Be the change you want to see". You are truly a living example of this statement. I am learning day by day how to apply this in every area of my life. Thank you for showing me how to allow the gift of teaching to not only be heard and seen, but exemplified in every aspect of my life. I am also very thankful for the awesome faculty members that served on my dissertation committee: Dr. Peggy Placier, Dr. Kenneth Benson, Dr. Johanna Reed-Adams, Dr. Charles Sampson and the late Dr. Julius Thompson. You all were absolutely phenomenal. Thank you for your assistance, support and encouragement throughout this process. I am sincerely grateful for the recommendations you provided to me to help make this dissertation a significant contribution to field of Rural Sociology and the broader academic community. To God be the Glory for the things He Has done!!!

COLLEGE FRESHMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF RACISM
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA-"DO YOU SEE WHAT I
SEE"

Nadie DuBose

Dr. Rex Campbell, Dissertation Advisor

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the perceptions that college freshmen have of racism on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus (UMC). A detailed history of the social interactions that have occurred between Blacks and Whites in the United States, in Missouri and on the UMC campus is discussed in great detail. Erving Goffman's Dramaturgical Analysis, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's theory on Color-Blind racism and Emory Bogardus Social Distance Scale is utilized to understand why some students would choose to socially distance themselves from others on the UMC campus. Four focus groups were conducted with first time college freshmen and the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance was distributed to one hundred and ninety college freshmen during the Winter and Spring semester of 2006. The focus groups were transcribed and chi-square cross tabs were used to analyze the results from the Social Distance Scale. Results indicated that gender, student's identification as White or Minority, estimated household income and whether students were from a rural or urban area were found to be

significant variables that affected student's level of social distance with other students from various ethnic backgrounds. Additional focus group findings revealed that student's perceptions of other students guided their decision to engage in less or a greater amount of social distance with individuals who were racially different from themselves while on the UMC campus.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....ii

ABSTRACT.....iv

INTRODUCTION.....1

Chapter

1. THE HISTORY BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES IN THE U.S.5

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES33

3. SOCIAL DISTANCE53

4. THE HISTORY BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES AT THE UNIVERSITY
OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA74

5. METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS114

6. SUMMARY, THE IMPACT OF RACISM ON SOCIAL DISTANCE,
IMPLICATIONS, REVISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS178

APPENDIX

1. FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPTION #1195

2. FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPTION #2212

3. FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPTION #3230

4. FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPTION #4247

5. UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA ENROLLMENT TABLES ...261

6. BOGARDUS SCALE OF SOCIAL DISTANCE268

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....269

VITA.....276

Introduction

Between 2000 and 2002, I worked for a social service agency in Columbia, Missouri as a social worker. One of my job duties involved supervising bachelor of social work students who were completing their final internships. These students would come and spend four to six weeks at the agency. One of the students that I supervised was a White female who was a senior in the Bachelor of Social Work program. We had developed a great relationship and on one occasion, she spoke with me about a situation she had witnessed in Ellis Library. She stated that she had a Black Female friend who was in Ellis Library and had unexpectedly bumped into her. She said that the Black woman went up to the counter to check out a laptop and after the Black woman had presented her id, the White female librarian said, "we don't have anymore". The Black woman felt as if the White female librarian was not telling the truth and asked my White supervisee at the time if she would go up to the counter and check out a laptop. The Black woman said to my White supervisee, "I believe this woman is prejudice, she said, why don't you go to the counter and see if you can get the laptop because I know she's not going to give it to me and I know they have some more back there". Well, my White supervisee went up to the counter, asked the White female librarian for a laptop after she presented , her Id , and the woman came back with a laptop and gave it to my White supervisee. When the White female library brought the laptop back to the counter, the Black Woman walked back up to the counter, and said to the White female librarian, "I thought you said you didn't have any more". After hearing the Black woman's response, the White female librarian stood there with this blank look on her face.

When my White supervisee shared that with me, I was really shocked and I began to wonder, how much more of that is really going on that is not being reported. As a result, I became interested in learning more about how Black and White students perceive each other on the MU campus. My research question is, "*What perceptions¹ do Black and White College freshmen have of racism on the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC) Campus?*"

In order to understand more thoroughly the racial views of first year college students, I have conducted a research study which has allowed me to explore the perceptions that college freshmen have of racism while they are enrolled in a course that discusses racial issues during their first year at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Several theoretical perspectives are used to explain the thought processes, language and symbols that college freshmen use to define social distance with students outside of their own ethnic group. These theories will help to provide understanding as to how roles are defined and interaction with respect to social distance is created among students of different ethnic groups within the university setting.

My sample consisted of first year college freshmen who were enrolled at the University of Missouri-Columbia during the Spring and Fall Semester of 2006. In this dissertation study, I predict that as students become more educated, they are less likely to display biases toward certain ethnic groups. Given that freshmen have not matriculated through the complete educational process, I anticipate that college freshmen's views towards certain groups will be more biased because a large amount of them may not have had many encounters outside their ethnic group, specifically beyond their family of origin or peer

¹ Perception—"to attain awareness or understanding of through the senses; observe" (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2007, <http://mw1.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/perceiving>)

friendships. To understand the socialization factors that influenced why certain students may be biased towards particular ethnic groups, I conducted focus groups with the college freshmen in their dormitories during the Spring and Fall semester of 2006. Moreover, to understand the types of situations where students may exhibit greater social distance towards certain ethnic groups than others, I distributed the Bogardus Scale of Social distance survey to freshmen enrolled in First Year Experience courses, Introduction to Rural Sociology and Population and Ecology classes. Students who completed the Social Distance Scale in these courses noted how comfortable they felt with students from different ethnic groups by rating if they approved, disapproved or had no objection to interacting with them in the following settings: (As a roommates, as partner or spouse, a friend in their social organization as a supervisor on their job, as a classroom instructor, religious leader, etc. I have included my findings from the surveys and the focus groups in the results chapter of this dissertation. In the following chapter I discussed several strategies that can be implemented to improve the diversity climate on college campuses and specifically at the University of Missouri-Columbia.

I believe this research is significant because it can aid instructors in determining if their mannerisms and lecture styles are viewed by their students as a form of racism. Moreover, I believe this study will help professors understand if the information they are teaching is making a difference in the lives of students who are enrolled in their courses. I also believe it will compel institutions to evaluate their admission policies as well as how faculty and staff interact with minority students in various departments to determine if mandatory Cultural Competency trainings should be implemented or if polices should be revised to reflect the institution's commitment to

diversity and equality for all students. Furthermore, I believe it will benefit the University of Missouri-Columbia in understanding what types of mechanisms should be implemented to help lessen the occurrences of racial social distance among Black and White students on the campus.

Chapter 1—The History between Blacks and Whites in the U.S.

Overview

This chapter will explore how the residuals of a racist society which began more than 100 years ago with the slave culture has continued to influence the perceptions Black and White students have of one another in the higher educational system. The hostility that arose between Blacks and Whites during slavery has also continued to prevail until the present time. It has affected the social interactions that continue to occur between both of these ethnic groups until this present time. In addition, this chapter will also discuss how the process of socialization, the civil rights movement and school integration has influenced the current racial attitudes that exist among Blacks and Whites in today's society.

Socialization

The process of early childhood socialization² has significant impacts on racial attitudes and thus, on Black and White student's decision to engage with one another in a college setting. The consequences of the process of socialization influence a person's view of the world and their idea of culture³. An individual's thoughts, behaviors and attitudes which comprise one's culture can also be transferred from one generation to the next. According to biologist

² Socialization is "the lifelong social experience by which individuals develop their human potential and learn culture" (Macionis, 2001, p.115). Socialization encompasses the social class an individual's family identifies with, peer groups members of the family are apart of, the schools family members attended and the type of community they lived in.

³ Culture is a compilation of one's "values, beliefs, behavior; and material objects that, together; form a people's way of life. Culture includes what we think, how we act, and what we own" (2001, p. 61).

and evolutionary theorist, Richard Dawkins, "memes are units of cultural transmission which "propagate themselves in the meme pool by ... a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation" [(Dawkins, 1976, p. 192), Blackmore, 1998, http://cfpm.org/jom-emit/1998/vol2/Blackmore_s.html] In simpler terms, a meme can be a thought or attitude that is observed in one individual and then imitated by another, and as a result, a certain type of behavior is generated. Through the process of imitation, memes can reproduce various types of behaviors in persons from generation to generation. For example, college freshmen bring a variety of memes with them when they enter a university setting for the first time. Such memes may include how they view the world, their thoughts about college life and the perceptions they have of individuals from different ethnic groups. The memes that were acquired through the process of imitation in some students' culture may be unconsciously or consciously transferred to other students that possess similar memes as themselves. As students become acclimated to the university setting, their memes may be manifest into attitudes of tolerance or intolerance towards students who are from a different ethnicity or socio-economic background than themselves.

According to Levin and Rabrevonic (2004) individuals who share commonalities with one another are referred to as members of the "in-group", whereas individuals who possess opposite characteristics than those in the in-group are referred to as members of the out group (p.65). Levin and Rabrevonic also discovered that an individual's choice to hate member's of another group than one's own "is a learned behavior" (2004, p. 68). This learned behavior of hating stems from parents who transmit their views and opinions of other ethnic groups to their children. Levin and Rabrenovic have found that

"...children are socialized to hate in exactly the same way they are socialized to accept what should be valued such as motherhood, patriotism, and personal success. By the age of three, most children are already aware of racial and ethnic differences. By the time they are five, they have learned the negative stereotypes about various groups in and out of their midst. By then, some already believe that Arabs are terrorists, Jews are money-grubbers, Blacks are criminals, Latinos are lazy, and so on." (2004, p. 69).

As children grow older and begin to interact with individuals of different ethnicities, their perceptions of other ethnic groups are primarily based on opinions of their peers and on the ideas and beliefs that were passed down to them from the previous generation. As a result, when students enter college for the first time, their willingness or reluctance to engage with persons that are racially different from themselves will be predicated on their process of socialization before entering higher education.

Slavery

Relations among social groups so-called "races", has a long and ignoble history in the United States. Youth of today are the inheritors in part of the attitudes and beliefs that originated decades and centuries ago. It is only by examining this history that the beliefs and behaviors of today's youth can be understood.

Humans appear to be a hierarchical species in which individuals and groups artificially attempt to create social distance between themselves and other individuals and groups. Most often the method of creating social distance has been power. This power has been expressed in several forms including bondage and slavery either of individuals or groups of people. Since the inception of slavery, several societies have used race to create disparities between Blacks and Whites. According to Andrew Hacker, (2000) race is defined as a social arbitrary and artificial creation used to characterize the physical differences of groups. Racial differences are often characterized (by)

"skin color, hair texture, eye shape, and other physical attributes"
(Bobo, 2001, p. 267).

Racism in the United States started with the earliest European settlements. Columbus and early settlers tried unsuccessfully to enslave the native population. When this failed, Africans were brought in as slaves. Between the time of the earliest European settlements and 1865, slavery existed in the United States. People of African descent were brought to the United States and were forced to serve as free labor for European residents. As part of the system, a rationale was built to support slavery. The slaves were defined as subhuman with limited intelligence. They were treated similar to other farm animals. Thus, slaves were not permitted to read, write or speak or exhibit any signs of intelligence. A slave who possessed the ability to read, write and/ or articulate him or herself was considered a threat to their master. Slave owners viewed slaves who could read, write or speak to be equal with their masters. As a result, slave owners had parts of their slave's bodies amputated. "From 1619 to 1850, very little education was offered to the African slave...If you learned to read, the slave masters put your eyes out, if you learned to write, the slave masters cut your hands off...and if you were articulate, they cut your tongue off" (Humphries, Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, Winter 1994-1995, p. 2). Severe punishments such as these led Blacks to fear Whites and identify them as dominant whereas Whites began to view Blacks as being unintelligent, inferior and only useful for the purpose of physical labor. The system of slavery was practiced heavily by White residents of the southern states as compared to those who resided in the northern region. Northern states were identified as being apart of the union which advocated for the abolition of slavery and for the Federal government to have a right to interfere in each state's affairs. The southern states were

identified as the confederacy and several of these states had withdrawn from the Union because they wanted to maintain the institution of slavery in the south. Views regarding the practice of slavery by residents in the north and in the south led to the occurrence of the civil war. The civil war evolved as a result of several southern states efforts to maintain the system of slavery as opposed to the some of the northern states decision to abolish it. During this time, southern states did not believe that members of the Federal government should have a right to interfere with their decision to buy and purchase slaves for the purpose of physical labor. However, a number of Blacks made plans to enlist in the Union army because they believed that their participation would eventually cause them to become free. According to Pinkney (1993),

"At the beginning of the Civil War, Blacks rushed to enlist in the Union army (which were comprised of members from the northern states), but were rejected...after being rebuffed, they organized themselves and trained for service in the expectation that they would ultimately be permitted to participate in a war that they were convinced would end with the freeing of the slaves" (p. 15).

The Emancipation Proclamation

On January 1, 1863, Black's beliefs regarding their participation in the Union army became a reality; on this date, President, Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation which ordered slaves held any state to be set free. "The president made it clear that this action was taken in order to preserve the union and not to destroy slavery" (Pinkney, 1993, p. 16). As slaves received the news about the their new found freedom, some welcomed it and others were afraid to accept their new status; however, some southern White slave owners were not fond of Blacks right to be free..."and held back their former slaves on plantations by brute force" (Pinkney, 1993, p. 16). Although the slaves had been released from bondage to enjoy their new found freedom, southern Whites continued to be reluctant to accept them as equals and instituted a

series of laws entitled the "Black Codes" to prevent Blacks from participating in various aspects of society.

"The Black Codes varied from state to state, but in general they dealt with virtually every aspect of the lives of ex-slave...these codes covered such diverse features as whether Blacks could enter certain states, the conditions under which they were allowed to work, their rights to own and dispose of property, conditions under which they could hold public assemblies, the ownership of firearms, vagrancy and variety of other matters" (Pinkney, 1993, p. 18).

The Freedmen's Bureau which was "an agency that aided refugees and freedmen by furnishing supplies and medical services, establishing schools, supervising contracts between freedmen and their employers...suspended the Black Codes before they became effective" (Pinkney, 1993, p. 19). Following the eradication of the Black Codes, the United States Congress began to advocate for reconstruction. During this period, Congress passed the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, which were created to provide civil opportunities for Blacks equal to that of Whites. The thirteenth amendment "abolished slavery, the fourteenth amendment prohibited states from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, and forbade states from denying Blacks equal protection of the laws, and the fifteenth amendment provided Black males with the right to vote" (Pinkney, 1993, p. 19). Despite governmental efforts to ensure full participation of Blacks into society, southern Whites continued to show public hostility towards Blacks. The Ku Klux Klan(The KKK), a White supremacy group that was organized by ex- confederate members in the state of Tennessee in 1866 "dedicated itself to the restoration of White rule no matter the cost" (Adams and Sanders, 2003, p. 208). Several weeks before the presidential election of 1869 occurred, The KKK "created an atmosphere of violence and intimidation...(to) discourage Blacks from going to the polls..

In the small town of Camilla, Georgia, a band of four hundred White supremacists...opened fire on a parade of Blacks who were celebrating the

possibility of going to the polls for the first time. Masked and hooded Whites moved through the Black crowd wielding knives, axes, and guns, injuring and killing scores of Black men, women, and children" (Adams and Sanders, 2003, p. 208).

The Jim Crow Era

In spite of the improvements made during the reconstruction era, "ex-confederates continued to impede the progress being made toward racial democracy in the south...and by 1876,...(Whites) had succeeded in coming to power and effectively destroying reconstruction programs in eight states" (Pinkney, 1993, p. 20). Unfortunately, in the south, reconstruction ended and White supremacy resurrected. During this time, White supremacy manifested itself in the form of "Jim Crow". During the 1830's 'Jumping Jim Crow' was a minstrel caricature performed by Thomas Dartmouth that mocked the speech and mannerisms of Black people in a song and dance act. This performance became popular among White audiences and thus, the separate, but equal laws that were instituted after the ruling of the Plessy vs. Ferguson case in 1896 became known as the Jim Crow laws. In this case, "the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that separate (i.e., segregated) facilities for Blacks and Whites were not a violation of the constitution guarantees of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments" (Pinkney, 1993, p. 22). Similar to the Black Codes, the Jim Crow laws

"barred Blacks from attending White schools, marrying Whites, testifying in court, having a gun, or owning property. Southern states rewrote their constitutions to separate the races from birth to burial. Signs appeared reading 'White' and 'colored' for drinking fountains, toilets, telephone booths, and bus stations. Each race had its own hospital and prison; theaters reserved balconies for Blacks only; libraries were for Whites only" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 8).

During this time, Blacks could not walk in the same places as Whites and it was seen as politically correct for Blacks to address Whites by Mr. or Ms. so in so, or as maa'm or sir. Whereas, "racial mores permitted Whites to call Black men 'boy' or 'uncle'(irregardless of their

educational level), never, 'Mr.' or 'Sir'. Blacks were expected to walk in the gutter when Whites came along. Except for family cooks, maids, and wet-nurses, not even in death could a Black be near a White" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 8).

Thus, the "Jim Crow" era lasted for next 58 years. However, on May 17, 1954, the Brown vs. Board of Education case declared that separate, but equal educational facilities were unconstitutional. This case served as the catalyst for integration to begin among Blacks and Whites in several different aspects of society. Unfortunately, it also served as the pioneering doorway for institutional racism to be exercised towards Blacks in the areas of public transportation, housing, employment and education. Following the ruling of Brown vs. Board, many southern Whites were still unwilling to accept that Blacks should have equal opportunities as themselves. Thus, the spirit of Jim Crow continued to heavily prevail throughout the south until the birth of the Civil Rights Movement occurred.

The Civil Rights Movement

On December 1, 1955, a woman by the name of Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a White man on a Montgomery bus. When she did not relinquish her spot after being asked by the White bus driver, law enforcement officers arrested her for failure to comply with the Montgomery bus law. This law mandated that Black passengers sit in the back of the bus and give up their seats to Whites who were standing. When news of Rosa's arrest reached Black community leaders, plans to boycott the Montgomery Bus system began. Fifty ministers who were considered key community leaders in Montgomery, came together and formed the Montgomery Improvement Association which was organized to coordinate the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was chosen as the leader of this organization "because of his singular

intelligence, oratorical skills and prominent position as one of Montgomery's highest paid Black ministers" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 44). He later became known as the national leader of the Civil Rights movement. Dr. King along with the help of other supporting ministers urged Blacks to walk, ride bicycles and utilize the Black taxi service for daily transportation. However, many Whites were furious at Blacks' efforts and attempted to encourage more Whites to use the city transportation. In some cases, "young Whites in speeding cars shouted obscenities, tossed rotten eggs, and squeezed balloons filled with urine at Black pedestrians. Dynamiters blew up car pool stations (and) Black churches...Despite beatings, job dismissals, home foreclosures and arrests, most boycotters carried on" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 47). After the boycott had lasted a total of 381 days, "in November of 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Gayle v. Browder* that Montgomery's segregation laws were unconstitutional" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 48). News of this victory in Montgomery spread throughout the south to "Mobile Alabama and Talahassee Florida and eventually twenty other cities (began to form boycotts to desegregate) their bus lines" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 48). To further combat the problem of racial discrimination towards Blacks, Dr. King and other Black ministers formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in January of 1957. One of the first goals of the SCLC was to compel the federal government to remove barriers to voting for Black people. Three years later, the efforts of SCLC proved to be successful with the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1960. "This act required that local voter registration records be open to federal inspection and provided criminal penalties for interfering with the right to vote" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 51). In addition to the spread of the bus boycotts, sit-ins also became a tactic that was used to counterattack racial discrimination in the south. In Greensboro, North Carolina on February 1,

1960, four Black students from North Carolina A & T University staged a sit-in at the Woolworth's department store. The students entered Woolworths "and bought toothpaste, notebooks, and pencils to show their good intentions. Then they sat down at the lunch counter that was reserved for all Whites and waited to be served. When one of the students asked for a cup of coffee, the waitress, responded, "'we don't serve colored here'" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 52). Following the waitress's response, the manager approached the students and reminded them that their store policy did not permit them to serve Black people. The students showed him their receipts for the purchases they had made and remained seated despite the manager's efforts to have them arrested. This sit-in protest in Greensboro, North Carolina "launched the student phase of the Civil Rights movement" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 52-53). After the sit-in strategy proved to be successful in North Carolina, news of its effectiveness spread rapidly throughout the south. Blacks with the help of some Whites began to stage sit-ins throughout various sectors of their respective communities.

"By the end of 1960, sit-ins had occurred in all southern states but Mississippi. All told, a citizen army of 70,000 crossed the color line in 150 cities to desegregate many public different venues. They...segregated at lunch counters, they waded in segregated pools, knelt in segregated churches, lay on segregated beaches, read in segregated libraries, rode segregated buses, bowled in segregated bowling alleys, skated on segregated ice rinks, slept in segregated motel lobbies, sat in segregated theaters, walked into segregated parks and museums, washed clothes in segregated Laundromats, and applied for White only jobs" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 56).

The Sit-ins became successful because they modeled their tactic after Rosa Parks' strategy five years earlier; which conveyed the idea that refusal to give up one's seat implied the notion of full citizenship. Consequently, people across the southern part of the United States both Black and White began to assume their rights as full citizens by participating in sit-ins.

In addition to boycotts and sit-ins, the freedom ride was another strategy used by civil rights activists to end segregated practices in the south. James Farmer, a native Texan who had served as a national director for the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) and as a program director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) pioneered the freedom ride phase of the Civil Rights movement. Farmer along with other CORE volunteers organized the Freedom Ride of 1961. The ride was designed to have seven Blacks and six Whites travel through southern cities on Trailway and Greyhound buses. Riders were instructed to ignore any signs that said 'colored' or 'White' at lunch counters, in restrooms and in waiting areas. Riders had decided if they were arrested to 'remain in jail to make Jim Crow prohibitively expensive" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 62). The riders were determined to gain media publicity because they believed that this plan would pressure the government to intervene if their arrests made national news. The freedom ride began on May 4, 1961 in Washington D.C. and ended on May 17, 1961 in New Orleans, Louisiana which was the seventh anniversary for the Brown vs. Board of Education case. As volunteers boarded the buses on May 4th, they experienced very few challenges until they arrived in Rockhill, South Carolina. As one of the riders approached a White waiting room, "hoodlums...blocked his path. 'Nigger, you can't come in here' they sneered...As the rider tried to pass by, he was slugged and kicked until he fell to the ground, bleeding" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 62). Ten days following this bloody battle, more violent acts from southern Whites were inflicted upon the freedom riders in Anniston Alabama. On May 14, 1961, the Greyhound bus filled with freedom riders, pulled in to the station, and the driver yelled to the (White) mob of two hundred, 'Well boys, here they are. I brought you some niggers and nigger-lovers.' With that invitation, the enraged mob surrounded the bus, dented the sides, smashed

the windows, and slashed the tires"(Dierenfield, 2004, p. 62). As the freedom riders traveled from Anniston to Birmingham, they were met by hostile Whites who were blatant advocators of the Jim Crow laws. Thirty White men..."carrying bats, bicycles chains and lead-lined bats" proceeded to beat the riders senselessly (Dierenfield, 2004, p.64). Violence continued to occur as freedom riders were transported from Birmingham to Montgomery. As freedom riders had predicted, news of their violent encounters reached the White House, but President Kennedy did not move expeditiously to address the issue. "Kennedy withheld civil rights legislation, delayed desegregating public housing and kept the Civil Rights commission on a short leash...Kennedy cynically believed that such actions would not alienate Black voters from the Democratic party as long as he cultivated Black leaders with money, patronage and sympathetic words" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 64). Despite the President's reluctance to implement policies to eliminate Jim Crow laws in the south, freedom riders continued to ride, receive arrests and spend time in jail. Finally, their sacrifice did pay off during the fall of 1961.

"At the attorney general's request, the (Interstate Commerce Commission) required interstate carriers and terminal to display signs saying that seating was available 'without regard to race, color, creed or national origin'. In three hundred southern terminals, signs segregating the races in waiting rooms and restrooms were taken down that fall" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 67).

In order to divert the attention that the freedom riders were gaining from the media, Robert Kenney, who was President Kennedy's brother and campaign manager "promoted a Voter Education Project (VEP) to register Blacks who would use the polling booths to dissolve segregation" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 67). Robert Kennedy's plan proved to be successful, During the Fall of 1961, the NAACP, SCLC ,and CORE...participated in VEP and helped raised voter registration from 29 to 43 percent...in urban areas" (Dierenfield, 2004, . 68).

In addition to boycotts, sit-ins, and freedom rides, one of the most memorable events of the Civil Rights Movement was the March on Washington, which was held at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. on August 28, 1963. For the first time in American history, this event brought together "a coalition of Blacks, White intellectuals, union leaders, Christians and Jews, social justice radicals...,folk musicians...and religious organizations, all of which help to underwrite the march's cost of \$120,000" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 86). It was at the March on Washington, where Dr. King delivered his most memorable speech, entitled "I have a dream". Dr. King expressed his desire that one day, he hoped his "four children will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character"(Dierenfield, 2004, p. 144). In spite of Dr. King's efforts to compel the American people to move towards a colorblind society, southern Whites continued to judge Blacks by the color of their skin without considering the content of their character.

One month after the March on Washington occurred, the home of Arthur Sholes was bombed. Sholes was the Black attorney that had just been assigned to the Black students who had begun attending the all White high school after desegregation had occurred in Birmingham. Moreover, "a dynamite blast (also) ripped throughout the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on the morning of September 15, 1963. Twenty one individuals were wounded and four Black girls were killed" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 89). In response to the bombings, Blacks began to set White businesses on fire and incite violence towards policeman. The effects of Jim Crow continued to prevail until President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This act was implemented seven months after President Kennedy had been assassinated and almost one year after the March on Washington had occurred. With one stroke of the pen, the Civil Rights Act of 1964

"prohibited discrimination in public accommodations and in hiring, allowed government agencies to withhold federal funds from any program permitting discrimination, authorized the attorney general to file suit to desegregate schools and recreational facilities, and exempted anyone with a sixth grade education from literacy tests and voting...(This act...virtually wiped out Jim Crow in a single stroke, Blacks no longer had to file their own lawsuits to stop segregation in schools, housing, employment and public accommodations; that was now the attorney general's responsibility"(Dierenfield, 2004, p. 161).

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed segregation in public venues, it did not address the issue of discrimination in public housing for Blacks. After Dr. King was assassinated in April of 1968, congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968 "which prohibited discrimination in the rental or sale of housing and provided criminal penalties for interfering with one's civil rights and for inciting riots" (Dierenfield, 2004, p. 161).

The Civil Rights movement achieved its goals of disenfranchisement and the abolishment of segregation in public transportation, the labor force, public housing and education although Dr. King, the voice associated with the national movement was no longer present.

Integration in Higher Education

While the intent of the Civil Rights Movement was to create equal opportunities for Blacks through the means of integration, its desired goal has yet to be achieved in a large segment of the educational system. Although integration made it possible for Blacks and Whites to attend the same educational institutions, it did not increase the rate of enrollment for Blacks equal to that of Whites. Historically, Blacks' enrollment rates in institutions of higher education have been significantly lower than that of Whites. Past research results revealed that the "college attending rate for Blacks between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four went from 7 percent in 1960 (cited in Astin 1982, p. 79) to 15.5 percent in 1970 to 22.6 percent in 1976 [(U.S. Bureau of the Census 1988, pp. 85-

86...), Karen, 1991, p. 12]. Moreover, in 1980, Blacks between the ages of eighteen and twenty four constituted 19.4 percent of students enrolled in higher education. In 1986, "Blacks between the ages of eighteen and twenty four accounted for 21.9 percent of total student body. In 1990, Blacks made up 25.3 of the college student population and in 1995, they represented 27.7 percent of the student population in higher education" (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1995). Over the past forty years, Blacks representation in higher education has increased dramatically since the implementation of the Brown vs. Board decision.

However, research findings reported by Karen (2005) revealed that Blacks were heavily enrolled in two year colleges as compared to Universities that were identified as Ivy League institutions (p. 216-217). "In 1966, Blacks accounted for 21.7% of students enrolled in two year colleges, in 1976, they made up 41.5% of the student population, and in 1986, they comprised 43.1% of the total student body in two year colleges" (Karen, 1991, p. 216). In regards to Blacks representation at Ivy League institutions, research findings indicated that "in 1967, Blacks accounted for 2.3 percent of the total student population, in 1970, their representation increased to 5.1 percent, in 1974, their participation accounted for 6.7 percent, in 1976, their enrollment decreased to 6.3 percent and in 1986, their representation declined again to 5.8 percent. [(Chronicle of Higher Education (1986); Leviatan, Johnston, and Taggart (1975, p. 101); U.S. Department of Education (1989); U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1974, 1976, Karen, 1991, p. 214)].

As a result, "integrated schools (to the extent that they have existed) have failed to create equal opportunity for all students, in part, because racial inequality in the society as a whole or within the schools, in numerous cases has not been directly confronted" (Diamond,

2006, p. 502). According to Jencks and Phillips, (1998) Blacks typically score below 75% of Whites on standardized tests...(and) the gap shrinks only a little when Black and White...(students) attend the same school" (p. 1-2). Consequently, researchers have identified the need for structural inequality to be addressed in order to reduce the racial achievement gap in the educational system (Diamond, 2006, p. 502). Structural inequalities such as educational policies, institutional practices and cultural beliefs held by White administrators and teachers that embody the idea that they are culturally superior to Blacks must be "confronted and dismissed" in order for Blacks to receive a quality education that is comparable to Whites (Diamond, 2006, p. 502). W.E.B. Dubois, statement in the 1930's, which said, "the Negro needs neither segregated schools nor mixed schools but [quality] education [(p. 328), aids educators in determining the importance of integrated schools. [Diamond, 2006, p. 501]. It appears that DuBois's perspective has become a self-fulfilling prophecy and provides insight to the question, is integrated schools important? Consequently, if quality education is not the outcome for Black students, integrated schools are unimportant.

Recently, On June 28, 2007, the U.S. Supreme Court "ruled that the use of race in student assignment policies by the Seattle, WA and Louisville, KY school districts violated the rights of the White petitioners whose children were denied admission to the schools of their choice" (Bell, The Chronicle of Higher Education, July 13, 2007). The Supreme Court recommended that both school districts in Seattle and Louisville should use other factors besides race to achieve a diverse student body. However, given the United States history regarding race relations, the Supreme Court's ruling for this specific issue does not uphold the vision of school desegregation that was cast forth in the Brown vs. Board of education case of 1954. As a result, the ruling may

lead proponents of desegregation to wonder if the struggle for civil rights has disappeared and the spirit of Jim Crow has reappeared.

Racial Attitudes Today

The past effects of slavery, Jim Crow and the Civil Rights Movement have continued to impact the racial attitudes that exist among Blacks and Whites in today's present society. "Several research studies also emphasize steadily improving racial attitudes of Whites toward Blacks and on the other hand, there is evidence of persistent negative stereotyping of racial minorities, evidence of widely divergent views (on) the importance of racial discrimination to modern race relations, and evidence of deepening feelings of alienation among Blacks" (Bobo, 2001, p. 266). The Dominate Group's perceptions of minorities has indicated that

"Dominate groups view increases in the relative size of minority groups as problematic because...great numbers of minority group members increase competition for valuable but limited social resources, such as access to schools, jobs or housing, (moreover) recent findings have also shown that areas with larger or growing minority populations show greater attacks on minority groups (Green, Strolovitich and Wong 1998), and higher levels of negative attitudes toward minorities" (King and Wheelock, March 2007, p. 1257).

Furthermore, in regards to interracial marriages, "Blacks have been less likely to object to racially mixed marriages, whereas in 1990, one in five Whites supported laws that would ban such marriages, and even higher percentage expressed disapproval of them (Bobo, 2001, p. 272). According to Bobo (2001), "when Whites were asked about living in integrated areas or sending their children to integrated schools, their willingness to do so decreased as the percentage of Blacks (support for integration) rose", p. 273).

Research conducted by Bobo (2001) showed that White's decision not to support interracial relationships with Blacks, reside in close proximity with them and displayed increased disapproval of school

integration for Black and White children stem from the racial stereotypes that they have learned about Black people. According to Bobo (2001), several researchers who have conducted research on stereotyping have found that "that stereotyping likely influences interpersonal interactions processes of racial residential segregation and the larger political environment" (Bobo, p. 278). Racial stereotyping is defined as "projecting assumptions or expectations about the likely capacities and behaviors of members of a racial or ethnic group onto members of that group" (Bobo, 2001, p. 275). Stereotypes become embedded in one's mind through the process of socialization, individual motivation or an individual's cognitive biases. Moreover, most individuals come to define and understand the culture in which they were raised in by the very process of socialization.

As stated earlier, socialization encompasses what one has socially learned from interactions with other members of their own culture and information they have obtained from the media. Individual motivation involves one's own process of mental rationalization in which one's identification as being superior causes the individual to regard others who are not apart on their own culture as inferior. Cognitive biases involve any "negative information an individual has received about a member of a group that is different from their own and as result, this negative image causes the individual to develop an undesirable perception about the outside member" (Bobo, 2001, p. 275-276).

Consequently, when Whites act on their perceptions about Blacks or any other minority group, racial discrimination can occur.

However, research has shown that...

"Whites acknowledge that some discrimination remains, but they tend to downplay its contemporary importance. A comparatively small percentage of Whites, but a comparatively high percentage of Blacks and Hispanics, express the view that there is "a lot" of

discrimination against, respectively Blacks, Hispanics and Asians seeking good-paying jobs" (Bobo, 2001, p. 280).

Most Whites attribute discrimination to minorities' lack of motivation, work ethic and discipline, while minorities identify discrimination as a problem rooted in the structure of societal institutions. (Bobo, 2001, p. 281-282). However, results from the General Social Survey in 1990 have indicated that Whites' perceptions' of Hispanics and Blacks collectively is also negative. According to findings from the General Social Survey, " more than fifty percent of Whites rated Blacks and Hispanics as less intelligent..., as prone to violence...and more than two-thirds of Whites rated Blacks and Hispanics as actually preferring to live off welfare"(Bobo, 2001, p. 276-277). Consequently, research has also shown that the Hispanic population in the U.S. is surpassing that of Blacks and as a result, their growing presence in the American society has been characterized as an invasion or as threatening" (Vega, 2006, p. 39). However, Whites' views of Asian Americans are "quite positive. Asian Americans have often been viewed as the 'model minority' by Whites because they value hard work, responsibility and family" (Blaine, 2000, p.87). Thus, Asians values are similar to that of traditional White family values which is why they may be appreciated more by Whites. With regard to biracial Americans, research conducted by Cruz-Janen (1999) found that Mainstream culture "is obsessed with Whiteness and the exclusion of anyone not perceived as White enough...(moreover), anglos are elevated to superior status with everyone else struggling for acceptance...even when biracial Americans are part White, they are designated as persons of color" (Cruz-Janen, 1999, p. 6). Furthermore, the mere presence of minorities in the U.S. society causes them to view occurrences of discrimination very differently from Whites.

Whites and minorities opposing views regarding discrimination can also impact their perspectives regarding the current state of racial equality in society today. A study conducted by the Foundation for Ethnic Understanding in November of 2005 on racial attitudes discovered that individuals between the ages 18-34 (as compared to older Americans) are more sensitive" and open to totally new experiences across demographic lines, and things are not so Black and White" (Moorer, The New York Amsterdam News, November 2005, p. 34). Research findings cited by Johnson and Marini (1998) also indicated that "urban residents have more liberal attitudes about (race)" [p. 249, (Schuman et al. 1985; Steeh and Schuman 1992; Wilson 1984)].

Previous research findings have also revealed that "Whites racial attitudes are improving, especially in terms of their attitudes toward Blacks" (Bobo, 2001, p. 266). According to Kinder and Sanders (1996: 6), "White Americans express considerably more enthusiasm for the principle of racial equality than they do for policies that are designed to bring the principle to life" (Lopez and Pantoja, 2004, p. 634).

In terms of affirmative action policies,

"Blacks and Hispanics support those (affirmative action policies) that are compensatory in nature and (seek to) improve training and competitive resources for minority group members or (those that) provide preferences in hiring and promotion, (whereas) the majority of Whites support the more compensatory policies, but fewer support preferential policies" (Bobo, 2001, p. 273).

Although the majority of Blacks support programs that promote racial preferences, Whites identify them as being guilty of committing reverse discrimination. From the perspective of Whites, a Black person who may not meet the required qualifications to be admitted to a certain program obtains the slot of a qualified White person primarily because they are Black. As a result, White individuals identify this process as reverse discrimination because admission into a program was denied to

them because they did not meet the racial qualification of being Black. President Lyndon B. Johnson's decision to implement Affirmative Action policies and the landmark case of Brown vs. Board are now viewed by some Whites as mere historical events that addressed injustices of the past, but have no relevance for the state of race relations in America today.

Several researchers have examined the interactions between Black and White students on college campuses have discovered that Black and White students have different perceptions of the racial climate on campus. According to Thompson and Fretz (1991), a compilation of past research studies found that "Black students perceive greater racial tension and hostility in their environment, express lower levels of satisfaction and greater levels of isolation and feel less identified with the institution than do White students. The authors also note that other research studies have indicated that Blacks were more likely to experience feelings of alienation and that these feelings were related to attrition for Black students, but not for White students" (p. 437). Collective research findings regarding Black students social adjustment at predominantly White universities "suggest that Black students simply "tolerate" these environments and miss out on growth and development that the collegiate experience should...(foster)" (Thompson and Fretz, 1991, p. 438).

A study, cited by Sullivan, Esmail and Soh (2002), was performed by Dovidio, Kawakmi and Johnson in 1997 which conducted three experiments to examine the processes of racial prejudice. Dovidio, Kawakmi, and Johnson discovered that "Whites demonstrated implicit negative racial attitudes toward Blacks that were largely dissociated from explicit self reported racial prejudice.... Dovidio, Kawakmi and Johnson speculated that Whites who reported that they are non-prejudiced on traditional measures of prejudice might have unconscious

negative feelings towards Blacks" (The Quality and Quantity of Contact, 2002, p.206). In addition, research that was conducted by Schafer(1986) regarding Whites racial prejudices towards Blacks found that "there has been consistent and growing support among Whites for racial integration, but...resistance to the American Creed is evident in White's hostility to Affirmative Action" (The Quality and Quantity of Contact, 2002, p. 206). Whites may be unaware of the negative feelings they have toward Blacks and can be classified as aversive racists. Dovidio and Gaertner began studying aversive racism "to learn more about the conflicting nature of racial attitudes among Whites in the United States. The authors sought to understand the dilemma that existed between the principles of equality in society and the daily operation of prejudice and discrimination (that was observed) at an individual and societal level" (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2005, p. 617). According to Dovidio and Gaertner, aversive racism is very difficult to detect because it is carried out in subtle and covert ways. The term, aversive racism was coined by Joel Kovel in 1970 and was used to contrast what he called the dominative racist. The dominative racist was a person that blatantly expressed feelings of discontent and negative behavior towards Blacks and other groups of people, but without recognizing their own racist attitudes. Dovidio and Gaertner have studied aversive racism for over 30 years and have conducted several studies to try and measure its implications. Aversive racists "are individuals who believe in equality of rights for Blacks and other minority groups and also have interaction with Blacks and other minority groups, but at the same time harbor feelings of prejudice and negativity that they may be unconscious or conscious of"(Gaertner and Dovidio, 2005, p. 618). Aversive racist practices have been observed in admission policies for and the usefulness of standardized test scores for students. According to Andrew Hacker, the

author of *Two Nations*, Blacks and White possess different views about what is considered appropriate in terms of processes within the educational system.

Hacker states that "every university says it is committed to equal opportunity in faculty hiring and student admissions" (2000, p. 155). However, a portion of White faculty, staff and students at various universities have considered some admission policies to be unfair. Findings from a study conducted by Hurtado (1992) indicated that minority students are more prone to believe that the belief among White students on predominantly White campuses are racists due to their perceived belief in the institutions lack of commitment to racial diversity [(Hurtado, 1992), Reid & Radhakrishnan 2003, p. 265,]. Although most universities and colleges have implemented policies that encourage diversity among their faculty and students, all do not agree with the admission standards designed to increase diversity within their institutions. Some Whites have felt as though affirmative action policies "have given Blacks with lower test results places sought by high scoring Whites" (Hacker, 2000, p. 155). A portion of Whites have identified this process as reverse discrimination. However, Hacker also points out that while many Whites disagree with affirmative practices, White Ivy League institutions such as Harvard and Princeton have acted "affirmatively" for years when they opted to admit the children of their Alumni, "even if their records were less impressive than those of other applicants" (2000, p. 156). Practices such as these can lead one to believe that Whites have always been a step ahead of Blacks due to the "Good Old Boy Network", which basically says that it is not what you know that will cause you to be successful, but it is who you know.

In addition to admission policies, standardized tests have been used as criteria for entry into many universities, and have often been criticized as exhibiting biases toward minorities. Hacker notes that high Socio-economic status (SES) levels correlate with higher SAT scores. Given that members of society come from diverse backgrounds and possess a variety of economic profiles, the United States has used social stratification⁴ to categorize different groups of people. In terms of Hacker's statement, it can be considered valid for some ethnic groups, given what is known about students who do well on the SAT. Many students who achieve high SAT scores have parents that completed college and attended schools that not only prepared them to master the content, but the art of test taking as well. However, Hacker suggests that the correlation between African American Students from higher socio-economic status levels do not positively correlate with higher SAT scores because of social isolation. "One outcome of this isolation is that they grow up with less sustained exposure to the rules of linear reasoning" that are expected on SAT and IQ tests...and tend to move more toward members of their own race where they develop their own intellectual styles" (Hacker, 2000, p. 171). Researchers have also discovered that individuals who possess higher socio-economic statuses to tend to exhibit greater social distance levels from Blacks [(Browman, neighbors, and Jackson 1988; Demo and Hughes 1991; Thornton et al. 1997), Smith & Moore, 2000, p. 5]. Moreover, a research study conducted

⁴ This stratification can be observed in terms of race or social class. According to Macionis (2001) "social stratification refers to a system by which a society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy" (p. 248). Individuals can be categorized as being apart of the upper class, upper middle class, middle class, working class or the lower class. Research has shown that the higher one's social class, the greater access they have to various forms of capital. Langhout, Roselli and Feinstein (Winter 2007) reflect upon Pierre Bordieu's definition of social class which says, "social class is a combination of economic, social and cultural capital" (p. 3). Economic capital includes any amount of money available to an individual, social capital includes any social networks that an individual has access to which can ultimately lead to a possession of economic or cultural capital. Cultural capital includes any information or "familiarity a person has with the dominant culture" (Langhout, Roselli and Feinstein, Winter 2007, p. 3).

by Dickerson, Bell, Lasso and Watts indicated that Black students self-segregated in order to achieve success in higher education (The Quality and Quantity of Contact, 2002, p. 257).

An important study with considerable similarity to this research was conducted by Watson, Terrrell, and Wright. They utilized a framework to define how minority students experienced collegiate life at predominantly White institutions and how they assigned meaning to those experiences. Researchers in the Watson, et. al. study conducted interviews and focus groups to understand how students related to the university environment and noted how they ascribed significance to their interactions on campus. Based on student responses, the researchers created six categories to summarize student's perceptions regarding their experiences on campuses.

1. "What you see is what you get, which sought to understand the reality of campus culture,
2. "Ask anyone, they'll tell you, this category was geared towards understanding the perceptions of campus and it's mission;
3. "So, where's the professor?", this category inquired about the lack of diversity among professors on campus,
4. "If I can make it there, I can make it anywhere, this category examined coping statements and self beliefs reported by students regarding their ability to persist on the campus,
5. "R-E-S-P-E-C-T: Find out what it means to me which was created to learn more about student's perceptions of the campus" and
6. "If this world were mine" which sought to learn more about student involvement and the future views they had of themselves" (Watson, Terrell, & Wright, 2002, p. 72).

The six categories differ in content, but have one common theme—all are derived from minority student's interactions with faculty, administrators, and peers on campus. From student responses in the Watson, Terrell, and Wright study, several types of tensions were expressed by minority students in the course of their interactions with some White administrators at the institutions in which they were enrolled. For example, researchers noted that "one central component in ensuring students successful matriculation until degree completion was relationships with faculty" (Watson, Terrell, & Wright, 2002, p. 72). However, when student-faculty relationships failed to be established and or cultivated, student success could not be fostered.

Key findings of the Watson, Terrell, and Wright study revealed that minority students who reported having positive experiences on campus were more likely to be involved in various programs and leadership positions on campus. Positive experiences among minority students were also the result of relationships with administrators and faculty members on campus. Negative experiences were due to minority student's belief that the institutions were not committed to diversity or multiculturalism. Also the researcher's discovered that minority student's were victims of the double conscious syndrome which meant that they were confronted with the obstacle of having to succeed by achieving academic success, while simultaneously learning how to persist as a minority student in a predominantly White environment. Finally, the researchers noted that for minority students "their experience with the campus environment can be so incongruent that their overall academic experience can be summed up as being displeasurable" (Watson, Terrell & Wright, 2002, p. 104).

Minority students who encounter unpleasant experiences in higher educational settings are not as likely to achieve academic success and in some cases may not acquire their degree. As a result, their chances for achieving social mobility are limited. According to a research study that was conducted by Hatch and Mommsen in (1984), "Education was held by the industrialized American society to be a key to many life chances, a key to upward social mobility" (p.458). Although minority students may be given an opportunity to attend a college or university, an unsatisfactory experience with the academic and social aspects of campus life could affect their ability to succeed later in life. As a result, failure to receive a college degree may lead some individuals to become a liability instead of an asset to society.

Moreover, previous research studies have shown that students who receive college degrees are more satisfied with their jobs, earn higher wages, are not as likely to be unemployed and are in better health. A study conducted by (Bowen, 1997; Leslie and Brinkman, 1988, McPherson, 1993) found that the long term benefits of higher education "include higher lifetime earnings, a more fulfilling work environment, better health, longer life, more informed purchases and a lower probability of unemployment" (Perna, 2003, p.451). The advantages associated with receiving a college degree not only impacts one's ability to acquire personal satisfaction or achieve greater financial prosperity, but also helps to improve the economic and political aspects of society. The Education Pays Update 2005 report revealed that,

"college graduates who worked full time year round paid more than 100 percent in federal income taxes and paid more than 82 percent of federal, state and local taxes combined than high school graduates in 2003, the report also indicated that when other factors are controlled for, enrollment in college increased the probability of registering to vote by 18 percent and voting

in a presidential election by 29 percent"
(www.collegeboard.com/trends).

Thus, individuals who achieve college degrees are more likely to be identified as good citizens who will work to improve the quality of life in society because of their participation in higher education.

Summary

After obtaining an understanding of how socialization, the past effects of slavery, the civil rights movement and school integration influence current racial attitudes that exist between Whites and Blacks, I have learned that an individual's presentation of them self may not coincide with their internal character. To gain a more thorough understanding of why individuals may possess negative feelings about someone different from themselves, but portray a positive demeanor toward them a particular social setting, subsequently, the following chapter will provide a sociological understanding of how Goffman's dramaturgical analysis and the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance will be utilized to explain how race is performed in various social situations. I will discuss how these two perspectives can be used to explore the theoretical underpinnings associated with the perceptions that Black and White students have of one another on the University of Missouri campus.

Chapter 2—Theoretical Perspectives

Overview

This chapter explores how Erving Goffman's dramaturgical analysis, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's theory on color-blind racism and Emory Bogardus Social Distance Scale offer three different perspectives for understanding how prejudice and race relations are perceived by Black and White students on the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC) campus.

Introduction

Attending a four year institution for most first year college freshmen is an adventurous experience. Leaving home, living in a dorm and having a roommate from another city or country can be exciting, but also overwhelming for first time college students. Learning how to matriculate through the university system, in addition to having to adjust to the behavior patterns of their roommate will be one of the most challenging experiences freshmen will encounter. This dissertation examines the perceptions that college freshmen have of racism on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus (MU) campus. In order to understand how college students assign meaning to their experiences. Erving Goffman's dramaturgical analysis, will be one of several theories used to explain how first year Black and White college freshmen perceive racism on the UMC campus. Goffman uses the components of a dramaturgical

production to describe how human behavior and social interaction occurs among individuals. Goffman explores several components of the dramaturgical production which include performances, front and back regions and discrepant roles, to discuss how individuals can act in a given setting to portray a certain impression of themselves. Moreover, Goffman's depiction of how individuals define their social situations (what he refers to as "frames") and converse within those circumstances will also be discussed in greater detail.

Performances

According to sociologist, Erving Goffman, human interaction is symbolic of a theatrical setting. Goffman utilizes "the dramatic situation of actors and actresses on stage and applies this theatrical representation to the lives of...men and women who are acting out their roles in the real world" (Wallace & Wolf, 1999, p. 230). A study conducted by Peterson-Lewis and Bratton (2004) examined the perceptions that African American teens had of students who "acted" Black. The authors "draw upon Goffman's concept of dramaturlogy, as discussed in the Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. The authors adopted the term, "racial dramaturgy" to refer to the attribution of racial or racialized labels to behavior, attitudes, or thoughts" (Peterson-Lewis and Bratton, 2004, p. 83). Thirty seven females and nineteen males who were high school students enrolled in a intensive writing and summer research program at a large

northeastern university. The students were asked the question, what do students view as "acting Black"? Students responses were grouped into the following categories: Academic/Scholastic: which included education or school related qualities or dynamics, Aesthetic/Stylistic: which was descriptive of attire, style, or leisure-related qualities or activities, Behavioral: which was characteristic of specific acts or activities, Dispositional: which reflected intentions, motives, values, philosophies and world views that may underlie, motivate or inform behavior" (Peterson-Lewis and Bratton, 2004, p. 85). Researchers discovered that student responses related to "acting Black" were similar to one another and the descriptions that respondents provided for "acting Black" were mainly negative with the exception of responses given in the Aesthetic/Stylistic category.

In terms of the academic category, students associated "acting Black" with skipping class, not completing school work, acting street-smart instead of school smart, and trying to impress peers rather than doing what is necessary to achieve (success in school). Consequently, "students' decision to act Black in academia was highly correlated with academic failure. Responses given in the Aesthetic/Stylistic category included listening to rap music, dressing in hip-hop clothing, wearing sagging pants, walking with a stroll, wearing expensive name brand clothing and wearing braids. Student's responses in the Behavioral category consisted of Using slang, not speaking well, fighting, being violent and using foul language. The

Dispositional/Constitutional category was characteristic of students acting disrespectful, having a negative attitude, having a don't care attitude, acting lax, acting ignorant, being loud, and showing off in public. The impressionistic category was characteristic of qualities that reflected an overall impression or image of an individual or group, specifically in this study, the overall impression that Black students ascribed to students who acted Black was ignorant, wild, ill-mannered or rude, and out of hand" (Peterson-Lewis and Bratton, 2004, p. 85). In order for students perceptions of acting Black to become more positive, the authors suggest the following: "utilize historical documents to highlight the accomplishments of Black persons, teach youths that hard work and persistence are realistic methods that can be used to achieve success, surround youths with positive Black role models who have a positive perception of racial identity and achievement and continually remind Black youths that achievement is a cultural and historical obligation" (Peterson-Lewis and Bratton, 2004, p. 81).

In relation to my dissertation, this research study provides information regarding how the perception of "acting Black" can have several different outcomes in the academic setting specifically at UMC from a student's perspective. Furthermore, the indicators that are given in each of the categories ascribed to acting Black will serve as a basis for explaining the notion of "acting ghetto" and the impression that

this behavior portrays as mentioned by students who participated in the focus groups for my dissertation study.

Similarly, Goffman uses the concept of impression management to explain how individuals behave in order to form an impression of themselves to others. He also employs the concepts of front and back region to describe how individuals practice their scripts in an informal manner (the back region) in order to perform well or make a good impression (referred to as the front region) in front of others.

Goffman suggests that individuals play certain parts before different types of people who are identified as their audience for the purpose of impression management. "When an individual plays a part⁵ he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is portrayed before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess..." (Goffman, 1959,p.17). He also states that the environment or the location where individuals performed these roles can be symbolic of the theatrical setting in a dramaturgical production. Goffman also states that individuals can portray cynical or sincere performances. According to Goffman, "when the individual has no belief in his own act and no ultimate concern with the beliefs of his audience, we may call him cynical, reserving the term "sincere" for individuals who believe in the impression fostered

⁵ Goffman defines a part as "a pre-established pattern of action which is unfolded during a performance which may be presented or played through on other occasions" (1959, p. 16).

by their own performance" (1959, p. 18). Findings from a study performed by Montagliani and Giacalone's in 1998 revealed that a positive relationship existed between impression management and cross cultural adaption. "Giacalone and Beard (1994) noted that the way impressions are established is essential for understanding expatriate failure⁶. "Cross-Cultural communication problems that bring about expatriate failure may reflect an inability to create appropriate impressions on people...Giacalone and Beard hypothesized that individuals who, because of abilities or predispositions that predate their expatriation, are better able to identify, attend to, and control the impressions they make on others would be able to acculturate more effectively. Because they are able to create the impression that they are acting in a more culturally consistent manner, they are seen as more acceptable to members of the host culture, thereby facilitating acculturation" (Giacalone and Beard, 1998, p. 600) Participants for Montagliani and Giacalone's study "were told that they would be participating in a psychology study on international management behaviors and were given a packet of questionnaires containing Snyder's (1974) Self-Monitoring Scale, Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding, Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory, and Cross-Cultural Interaction Inventory" (1998, p. 602). Results from the study indicated that the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding was significantly

⁶ An expatriate in this article is considered a foreigner who has left his or her native country and migrated to another country to live. Expatriate failure is referred to as the inability of a foreigner to successfully adapt to the customs of the new country he or she has just migrated to.

correlated with the Cross-Cultural Interaction Inventory,...more specifically the findings suggested that impression management, as measured by the Balance Inventory of Desirable Responding, was moderately related to cross-cultural responses" (Montagliani and Giacalone, 1998, p. 603). This study provides a theoretical insight into my research study because it substantiates the claim that students who are able to regulate their behavior, use language that is politically correct and display an attitude that appears to be welcoming to students from an ethnicity different from their own will be able to foster the impression that they are proponents of diversity. As a result, they will be able to interact and adapt to students from diverse backgrounds in a more culturally sensitive fashion than their peers who are not able to develop behaviors that stimulate interaction among students from diverse ethnic backgrounds different from their own.

Moreover, Goffman's theory also explains how one's performance can be identified as being sincere or cynical. A sincere performance is one that is believable or received well by the audience, a cynical performance is one that deludes the audience for purposes of what is called self interest or private gain" (Goffman, 1959, p. 18). As a result, the audience questions whether the cynical performer has a right to play a particular social role⁷. Goffman states that the "the (social) role we are striving to live up to (can be considered our mask)-

⁷ Goffman defines a social role as "the enactment of rights or duties attached to a certain status, we can say that a social role will involve one or more parts...which may be presented by the performer to an audience or to an audience of the same kind of persons." (1959, p. 16),

this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be" (1959, p. 19). The social role that an individual plays to conceal their mask can be observed in what Goffman calls the "front".

The "Front Region"

The "front" is that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance" (Goffman, 1959, p. 22). Goffman asserts that the front includes the setting which involves furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it" (Goffman, 1959, p. 22). The personal front...may include: insignia of office or rank; clothing; sex, age, racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures; and the like" (Goffman, 1959, p. 24). Furthermore, the front also includes the appearance and manner of the performance given. "Appearance may be taken to refer to those stimuli which function at the time to tell us of the performer's social statuses...that is whether he is engaging in formal social activity, work, or informal recreation, whether or not he is celebrating a new phase in the season cycle or in his life-cycle;...manner, may be taken to refer to those stimuli which function at the time to warn us of the interaction role the performer will expect to play in the oncoming situation" (Goffman, 1959, p. 24). In regards to this research study, the setting

within the front region can be identified as the classroom, dorm room, or any location on campus where students from different backgrounds interact with one another for a variety of different purposes. The appearance may be identified as students' ability to portray a certain impression that compels other students from various ethnic backgrounds to identify their interaction as academic or social. The manner in which students' interactions occur may be identified as being informal or formal depending on the type of words and the tone of voice that is used when students of different ethnic backgrounds engage in interactions with one another. According to Goffman, formality prevails in the front region and familiarity is expressed in the back region (1959, p. 128).

The "Back Region"

Goffman refers to the back region as the place where individuals are minus their costume, out of character and discuss their views regarding their performance before their audience. According to Goffman,

"a back region or backstage may be defined as a place relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course...it is here that illusions and impressions are openly constructed...Here the team (or an individual) can run through it's performance checking for offending expressions when no audience is presented to be affronted by them...Here the performer can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character" (1959, p. 112).

Goffman also states that at particular times, areas can function as front or back regions depending on the setting, the

performance given, and the individuals that are present. "Thus the private office of an executive is certainly the front region where his status in the organization is intensively expressed by means of the quality of his office furnishings. And yet (it can also serve as a back region because) it is here that he can take his jacket off, loosen his tie, keep a bottle of liquor handy, and act in a chummy and even boisterous way with fellow executives of his own rank" (Goffman, 1959 p. 126). Consequently, learning more about how students were raised, the views that themselves along with their parents have of people from different ethnicities in addition to their choice of friends before and after arriving at MU aids the researcher in understanding more about the students' perceptions of racism and their level of social distance in the back region. Goffman would consider these scenarios to be similar to those in the back region because students would state how they felt about students of other ethnicities independent of performing a role or being in the presence of them. In terms of this research study, which is relevant to first year college students, the front region could be identified as how a White male behaves in front of his Black roommate when he meets him for the first time. The back region can be described as the conversation he had with his parents in the car about what he was going to say to his roommate before their initial encounter. In the back region, the White male may have expressed to his parents that he would have preferred another White roommate, but in the actual presence of the

roommate, he may have stated that "it is a pleasure to meet him...and that he is looking Black roommate in order to make a good impression and to hide the fact that his true preference for a roommate is another individual of his own ethnicity. This example substantiates the claim, "that race results in a performance, a set of performative representations shaped in those spaces where language, gender, ideology, media, and experience meet" [(Miron & Inda, 2000, p. 99, (Denzin, 2001, p. 243). Similar to Goffman's belief, race is practiced in the back region among family and friends, but it is performed in the front region in the presence of authority figures and strangers. As a result, "race prejudice is a collective phenomenon, rooted in the way groups see themselves in relation to other groups. This sense of group position develops through interaction and communication among group members" [(Blumer, 1958), Hollander & Howard, 2000, p. 344]. Since race prejudice is understood to be collective, it is likely that most college students developed biases towards certain groups of people within their families and peer groups. Their decision to be prejudice (to act on or perform these biases) is observed when they choose to engage in a greater amount of social distance with groups who are different from themselves in the front region. Furthermore, Goffman asserts that if secrets discussed in the back region became known to audience members in the front region it could cause an "individual's performance to be threatened" and his or her role to be viewed as discrepant (Goffman, 1959, p. 141).

Discrepant roles

According to Goffman, some performers can possess inside secrets about themselves and if these secrets are discovered by members of the audience, they could diminish the validity of their performance and as a result, their role could be labeled as discrepant because the individual's performance contradicts the secret that has been revealed. "(I)nside secrets are ones whose possession marks an individual as being a member of a group and helps the group feel separate and different from those individuals who are in the know...inside secrets give objective intellectual content to subjectively felt social distance" (Goffman, 1959, p 142). In relation to this research study, if a White female took classes with other Black females and treated them cordially while in the classroom, but secretly viewed the Black females' behavior in class as "ghetto"; the sincerity of White female's performance could be discredited if her perceptions became known to the Black females. Consequently, if the Black females who were enrolled in class with the White female that the White female felt this way about them, it could compel them to socially distance themselves from her. As a result, the Black females' knowledge of the White female's perceptions could possibly cause them to view her performance (or behavior) while in class with them as discrepant and superficial.

Frame Analysis

In addition to Goffman's work on dramaturgical analysis, his book entitled, Frame Analysis also provides sociological insight regarding how individuals describe their social experiences. According to Goffman, a frame and frame analysis is respectively defined as

"definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them;...My phrase, 'frame analysis' is a slogan to refer to the examination in these terms of the organization of experience" (Goffman, 1974,p. 10-11).

Goffman states that individuals identify their experiences into two categories of frameworks: natural and social. "Natural frameworks identify occurrences seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, 'purely physical'...It is that no actor continuously guides the outcome...an ordinary example would be the state of the weather as given in a report" (Goffman, 1974,p. 10-11). A social framework "provide(s) background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being. Such an agency...can be coaxed, flattered, affronted, and threatened...what it does can be described as 'guided doings'...motive and intent are involved...an example of a guided doing would be the newscast reporting of the weather"(Goffman, 1974,p. 10-11). Goffman specifically examines how what is being observed in a social framework is identified as one type of event or another by its observers. "According to Goffman, framing transforms the meaning of a social situation" (Stolte and Fender,

2007, p. 59). Those that are observing actions within a framework must decide if they are real or literal. "Actions framed entirely in terms of a primary framework are said to be real, or actual, to be really or actually or literally occurring" (Denzin and Keller, 1981, p. 55]. In addition, a central question that Goffman explores in his concept of frame analysis is "What is it that is going on here?" Participants observing actions within a frame are challenged with answering this question.

Framing Social Values

An article, entitled, "Framing Social Values: An experimental study of Culture and Cognition", authors, John Stolte and Shannon Fender utilize ideas from Goffman's Frame Analysis to understand how "social values come to shape the way and individual thinks, feels, and acts in a specific social situation" (Stolte and Fender, 2007, p.59). Stolte and Fender's research on social value framing aid in answering Goffman's central question, What is going on here? According to Stolte and Fender, "an individual internalizes general frameworks...from the culture in which he or she is embedded and socialized...Because a given social value framework is permeated by a person wishes, hopes, fears, and desires, she/he is likely to have a clear-cut, personal value-based position in regard to the social situational outcomes she/he favors or opposes" (Stolte and Fender, 2007, p.60). Stolte and Fender's research substantiates the claim that individual preferences for social interaction stem from the

cultural climate in their family of origin. Furthermore, Goffman also states that as individuals talk about their experiences in their frames, they recall personal narratives that are often viewed as dramas by their listeners. "When a person recounts past life events through brief stories or tales, she/he intends to engross, interest, and involve the listener(s). An everyday talker provides an invitation to sit through a narrative, to follow along empathetically as a tale unfolds..." [(Goffman, 1974, p. 504) Denzin and Keller, 1981, p. 55]. As audience members listen to individuals tell their narratives, they will identify with an actor or situation based on the social values that they possess.

However, Goffman also states that as individuals engage in conversation, at times, ambiguity and misframing can occur. According to Goffman, ambiguity occurs when "the question arises as to what could possibly be going on or...as to which one of two or more clearly possible things is going on;" a difference between vagueness and uncertainty." Misframing happens when individuals respond to a situation abruptly without trying to "figure out what is going on"...or when an individual perceives a situation to be one event, but in actuality, it is indeed something else. (Goffman, 1974, p. 302-308).

Color-Blind Racism

Similarly, Eduardo Bonvilla-Bonilla-Silva also discusses how color-blind racism influences the perceptions that Whites

have of minorities in his book, entitled, "Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States". According to Bonilla-Silva, "color blind racism is a contemporary racial ideology that has replaced the Jim Crow racism of the 1960's. Color-blind racism explains contemporary racial inequality as the outcome of non-racial dynamics. Unlike the Jim Crow era where racial inequality was enforced through overt means, the practices of color blind racism are subtle, institutional, and apparently nonracial...and operate in a now you see it, now you don't fashion" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.3). Color-blind racism practices can be observed in residential segregation when larger prices are quoted to minority clients or when all of the available rental property is not shown to minorities or only certain neighborhoods are specifically geared towards Whites or minorities for home ownership. It can also be observed in the economic field when signs are displayed that state, "We don't have jobs now, but check later, or if a certain amount of job openings are only advertised in White networks or ethnic newspapers...or by steering people of color into jobs with limited opportunities for mobility"(Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.3). Moreover, color-blind racism can be observed in the political arena when "racial gerrymandering occurs...by disallowing concentrating votes in one or two candidates in cities using at-large elections" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.3).

Furthermore, Bonilla-Silva also examines how color-blind racism appears in Whites' conversation about issues relating to minorities. Similar to Goffman, Bonilla-Silva utilizes frames to explain how various aspects of color-blind racism evolve among Whites. "The four frames are abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. The frame of abstract liberalism suggest that force should not be used to achieve social policy" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.28). For example, some Whites believe that governmental policies such as affirmative action should not be implemented for Blacks to achieve equal opportunities in the labor force, education or political arena.

The frame of naturalization suggests that "Whites are able to explain away racial phenomena because of natural occurrences" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.28). This frame allows Whites to "claim that segregation is natural because people from all back grounds gravitate towards likeness or that their taste for Whiteness in friends and partners is just 'the way things are'" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.28). Bonilla-Silva notes that these preferences are biologically driven and typical of all groups in society...preferences of association with members of one's own race are rationalized as non racial because...racial minorities do it too" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.28). The cultural racism frame magnifies certain stereotypes of particular minorities "to explain their standing in society such as 'Mexicans do not put much emphasis on education' or Blacks have too many babies'"

(Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.28). The minimization of racism frame "suggests that discrimination is no longer a central factor affecting minorities' life chances ('It's better now than in past' or 'There is discrimination, but there are plenty of jobs out there')" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.29).

In relation to my dissertation, Goffman's conception of a social framework and the four frames that Bonilla-Silva uses to explain color-blind racism will be used to gain an in depth understanding of the responses students provided in the focus groups. These two theoretical perspectives will aid me in answering the question, 'What is it that is really going on' while students are responding to issues related to social distance, racism and diversity on the MU campus. Bonilla-Silva's frames will help me to identify any words that may be used frequently by students to refer to certain characteristics of ethnic groups that may not be overtly racists, but may possess subtle racist under tones. Moreover, Stolte and Fender's research on social value framing will assist me in understanding how the social values students (participating in the focus groups) have learned in their families can impact their choice of friends and intimate partners while in college. Consequently, by gaining an understanding of student's social values, this will provide me with insight regarding why their level of social distance may be less or greater with some individuals rather than others.

To further understand more about the settings in which individuals from different ethnic groups are most likely to

interact with one another, The Bogardus Social Distance Scale will be discussed in greater detail.

The Bogardus Scale of Social Distance

Emory Bogardus Social Distance Scale explores the willingness of persons of one ethnicity to interact with individuals of a different ethnicity in a variety of social settings. According to Emory Bogardus,

"Social distance...refers to the degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other. It explains the nature of a great deal of their interaction. It charts the character of social relations. This measurement of social distances is to be viewed simply as a means for securing adequate interpretations of the varying degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that exist in social relations" (1925, p. 299).

The Bogardus Social Distance is comprised of seven questions of which the respondent is asked to list if they are willing to allow members of a certain ethnic group to become a relative by marriage, a neighbor, co-worker, a citizen or visitor to their country or would exclude the individual from being a citizen or visitor to their country. Furthermore, the Social Distance scale examines how likely people will engage in social contact with other persons that are from the same or different ethnic backgrounds than themselves. Consequently, "the smaller the range of (social) contacts accorded a race, the less, presumably the opportunities for accommodation and assimilation" (Bogardus, 1925, p. 302). In terms of this research study, the Bogardus Social Distance Scale provides insight regarding which social settings Black and White students will be more likely to

engage in less or greater social distance with one another or with other persons of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The social distance scale also contains statements that will provide information as to whether Black and White students are more likely to be in less or greater social interaction while in groups or in one on one settings.

Summary

Obtaining an overview of Goffman, Bonilla-Silva and Bogardus theoretical perspectives regarding social interaction provides a solid knowledge base for understanding how social distance begins to evolve among students attending college. Several research studies have utilized the Bogardus Social Distance Scale to examine race relations among Black and White students in the university setting. The following chapter will discuss how Black and White students at different universities perceive issues of racism in relation to social distance on the college campus.

Chapter 3—Social Distance

Overview

This chapter will explore the concept of social distance and will highlight how previous studies have used this term to explore race relations among Black and White students on college campuses.

The term, social distance was originally coined by sociologist, Emory Bogardus in the 1920's and was used to assess how likely individuals of one ethnic group would interact with individuals of a different ethnic group in terms of social activities, employment settings or intimate relationships. Social Distance is defined as an individual's choice to accept "a person of specified group as a mate for marriage, a member into a club, a personal friend, a neighbor, a co-worker or as a visitor or citizen of a country" (Radloff & Evans, 2003, p. 1). According to Odell, Korgen & Wang, (2005) "social scientists have utilized studies of social distance to determine levels of prejudice among groups" (p. 292). As a result, "when a high degree of social distance between groups of persons exists, a lack of empathy and even possible antagonism may exist between members of the two groups" (*The Quality and Quantity of Contact*, 2002, p.95).

Rationale

At some universities and colleges, racial tensions⁸ have arisen between Black and White students and as a result, several sociological concepts have been used to assess why conflicts may arise between different groups and how students respond to them. Social distance has been used to measure how persons of different racial backgrounds relate to one another in various social settings.

The Brown vs. Board of Education case of 1954 has significantly impacted the amount of social distance among Black and White students in higher education. *The Brown vs. Board of Education* decision legally declared that separate but equal school systems were unconstitutional and unequal. "Chief Justice Warren gave words to the renewed promise reading the unanimous Brown opinion, 'We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate facilities are inherently unequal'...Warren court acknowledged the legitimacy of the Legal Defense Fund (LDF) theories...and gave hope to Black Americans that generations of apartheid had ended" (Gantz, 2004, p. 2). As a result, Blacks and Whites were required to integrate within the context of the educational building, but not interpersonally. In retrospect, the mid 1950's was a time of

⁸ "Racial tensions on college campuses have received renewed attention in the past years. On a number of college campuses...racial confrontations between students have escalated into violence (and have) made the news..." (McClelland and Auster, 1990, p. 607).

social unrest for the American society. The majority of Whites in America were proponents of the Jim Crow laws while Blacks were its opponents. Furthermore, Brown vs. Board legally abolished the "separate but equal system", but created an opportunity for a different type of social distance to evolve among Blacks and Whites within an integrated educational environment.

Social Distance Studies

Social distance indicators have been found to be "useful indicators of campus racial climates, because social relationships lie at the heart of the college experience for many students" (McClelland & Auster, 1990, p. 615). Moreover, Bogardus' first sample of college students in the 1926 was followed by samples in 1946, 1956 and 1966. Findings from these studies revealed that a "greater reduction in social distance evolved, thus causing a greater closeness with all ethnic groups studied with significant changes occurring in 1956 and 1966" (McClelland & Auster, 1990, p. 615). The 1946 study showed that comfort with Black students existed between neighbors and coworkers, while the 1956 and 1966 studies indicated that the comfort level with Blacks occurred between friends and co-workers. However, the 1977 study indicated that the comfort level with Black students had advanced to the level of friends. A study conducted by Crull and Bruton in

1984 showed that the comfort level with Blacks returned to the friend and neighbor level. (McClelland & Auster, 1990, p. 615). One of the limitations that exist with the studies mentioned above is that the social distance between all ethnic groups were studied and the social distance that existed solely between Black and White students had not been specifically examined. According to a study conducted by Schafer (1987), Blacks' social distance towards Whites was found to be smaller than Whites' social distance towards Blacks. Given that Black and White college students... "are likely to have different ideas about acceptable and desirable degrees of social distance from one another", as a result, different perspectives regarding social distance can lead to racial tensions arising among these two groups on college campuses. (McClelland & Auster, 1990, p. 616).

A study conducted by Johnson and Marini (1998) examined how gender impacted social distance attitudes for Blacks and Whites from a large, nationally representative sample.

The authors specifically investigated "gender differences in racial attitudes in national samples of high school seniors between 1976 and 1992...data was analyzed from Monitoring the Future, a repeated cross-sectional survey of U.S. high school seniors. The authors analyzed data from 1976, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1987, 1991, and 1992. The sample size in each year was approximately 3500 with the exception of 1991 and 1992, data for those years totaled 2500 students" (Johnson & Marini (1998), p.250).

Students were asked to provide their feelings to the following questions:

- How would you feel about having close personal friends of another race?
- How would you feel about having a family of a different race (but same level of education and income) move in next door to you?
- How would you feel about living in an area where some of the neighbors are of different races?
- How would you feel about having your (future) children's friends be of other races?
- How would you feel about having your future children go to schools where some of the children are of other races?
- How would you feel about having a job where some of the employees are of a different race?
- How would you feel about having a job with a supervisor of a different race?

Results of this study indicated that "females expressed more favorable racial attitudes than males among both Blacks and Whites...Females (were) more willing to be friends with people of other races, to live near them and work with them, and to have their future children associate with them" (Johnson & Marini (1998), p.250). Furthermore, several other studies have examined which factors contributed to Black and White students' level of social distance on college campuses.

A study conducted by Hraba, Radloff and Gray-Ray (1999) examined

"whether perceived out-group threat is associated with the social distance Blacks and Whites (exhibit) toward each other and (toward) third party groups...Between April and December 1993, 196 Black students and 2 White students at Mississippi State university and 191 White students and 12 Black students at Iowa State University completed our questionnaire...responses from the two universities that completed data were combined by race so that the final sample comprised 208 Blacks and 192 Whites. Students were asked about their acceptability of contact in three domains (i.e, classmate and co-worker, next-door neighbor, and intimate contact)" (p. 537).

Results of the study indicated that Blacks were found to be less accepting of Whites than Whites were of Blacks. The greatest social distance that existed between Blacks and Whites was observed in the intimate domain (which included personal relationships and marriage)...and the least social distance was found in the domain of classmate and co-worker. In relation to Blacks acceptability of Asian Americans, Native Americans and Hispanic Americans, "Blacks were found to be less acceptable with these three target groups than Whites did in all domains" (Hraba, Radloff and Gray-Ray (1999), p. 537). This study helps confirm the notion that in some cases there is more variance that exists within ethnic groups with relation to minorities than between ethnic groups such as the majority and minority.

A study conducted by Wang and Korgen (2000) at a northern New Jersey university examined the degree of social distance White students desired from Black students (p. 97). A total

of 127 students participated in the survey; 42.2% were males and 57.8% were females. The following percentages describe the amount of students represented from each year in school. 26.7 %=freshmen, 21.1%=sophomores, 22.2%=juniors and 20.0%=seniors and 10.0%=graduate students. Research participants' average household income was \$65,000. The following five items from the Bogardus Social Distance scale were used to measure the social distance White students maintained from Black students.

1. Are you willing to sit next to a Black student in a classroom?

2. Are you willing to sit next to a Black student in the cafeteria?

3. Are you willing to go to a school dance with a Black student?

4. Are you willing to be roommates with a Black student?

5. Are you willing to date a Black student on campus?

Results from this study reveal that only 44.4% of the White students stated that they would not have any problems interacting with Black students in any of the five scenarios listed above. Findings also showed that White males exhibited a greater social distance towards Blacks than White females. In terms of family income, this study similar to previous

studies found that "as income levels, which are usually closely related to education levels, rise, the desire for social distance from other races decreases" (The Quality and Quantity of Contact, 2002, p. 103). This finding helps to further affirm the notion that education in some ways is related to a decrease in an individual's biases toward ethnic groups. Overall, "this study provides evidence that desired social distance decreases as years in school increase and moreover, students who maintain that understanding other cultures is important have the least levels of social distance" (The Quality and Quantity of Contact, 2002, p.105). Most importantly, this study illustrates that a multicultural curriculum on college campuses can not eliminate the presence of social distance between students, but can help to foster awareness of it.

A study entitled, *Cross Racial Friendships and Social Distance between Racial Groups on a College Campus* was conducted by Odell, Korgen and Wang (2005) at a midsize university in the Northeast region of the United States to determine the possible effects of diversity initiatives and to identify the existence of cross-racial friendships on the levels of social distance between pairs of racial groups. Five hundred and five students were surveyed for this study, two hundred and ninety seven were freshmen, fifty-two were sophomores, seventy-three were juniors and eighty-three were

seniors. Two hundred and nine were males and two hundred and ninety six were females. The Bogardus Social Distance scale was utilized to gauge the participant's willingness to room with, go to a dance, or date a Black or White student. Odell, Korgen and Wang found that "social class is related to social distance when comparing Blacks and Whites...wealthier Whites have a slightly greater level of social distance from Blacks than do less economically well off Whites. In addition, the study also noted that as students in general progress through the university, they do not reduce their level of social distance" (Odell, Korgen, Wang, 2005, p. 298). Moreover, this study revealed that the implementation of a diverse curriculum does not ensure that social distance will be reduced between Blacks and Whites. "While the institution does a good job of bringing diverse groups of students to the same campus, it's programs do not effectively reduce the level of social distance among members of different racial groups on campus" (Odell, Korgen, Wang, 2005, p. 298). However, the study did find that cross racial friendships before college did affect the social distance among Black and White students upon their arrival at the university. This study is able to help sociologists recognize that in some cases social distance among Black and White students is closely related to how each group was socialized before coming to the university. Findings revealed in this study can also aid sociologists in

realizing that the implementation of diversity initiatives can not ensure improved social experiences between Blacks and Whites. It only creates an opportunity for Blacks and Whites to integrate as whole, but cannot guarantee that close relationships will be formed between the two groups. In terms of Black student's success at this institution, this study helps us recognize that being apart of a wealthy social class and having prior relationships with Whites would be the two factors that would influence their level of social and academic success at this northeastern institution.

In 2003, Radloff and Evans conducted a study entitled, "*The Social Construction of Prejudice among Black and White College Students*" to determine if there was a distinctive difference between the prejudice of Black and White college students at a predominantly White Midwest university. The study sought to determine how the prejudices of White students affected the prejudices of Black students...and consequently how this interplay affected the social distance created by each group. In the study,

the researchers define prejudice as an "emotional commitment to make prejudgments about an individual or group in society without much knowing the facts that can be short cut to decision making based on past experiences...Whites values, beliefs , and attitudes are imposed upon Blacks; and thus Blacks react to Whites with suspicion...(as a result), social distance emerges as a consequence of both Blacks and Whites being reluctant to develop closer social relationships or friendships with each other" (Radloff, Evans, 2003, 4).

Subjects were obtained through lists provided by Minority Liaison Officers in the Colleges of Education, Engineering, Business and Liberal Arts at this predominantly Midwest University. Students were contacted by phone and were offered an opportunity to participate in the study. Two sociology graduate students conducted six focus groups with second semester Black and White undergraduate freshmen. A White graduate student conducted a focus group with White undergraduates while a Black graduate student conducted focus groups with Black undergraduates. Facilitators who were of the same ethnicity as members of the focus groups helped members open up and develop trust and enhance the atmosphere within the group. All of the focus groups were comprised of both males and females with five being the most members in a group and four being the least. The following three questions were developed to help guide the study.

- 1) How do Black and White undergraduate students perceive racism on campus?
- 2) What prejudices do Black and White undergraduate students have of each other?
- 3) What factors contribute to Black and White students' social construction of social distance?

Results indicated that in terms of racism, White students were under the assumption that racism was present at the university, but had not personally experienced it. As for Black students, they strongly agreed that racism did exist in terms of curriculum and in how policies and procedures were

administered towards Blacks at the institution. In regards to prejudice "Whites felt that Black students had taken on a victimized viewpoint and felt like everyone was out to get to them, while Black students felt as though White students were not empathetic with issues relevant to race" (Radloff, Evans, 2003, 10).

In reference to social distance, "White students felt that Blacks who from the Midwest or small towns were easier to get along with as compared to Blacks who were from large cities and were more likely to form relationships with them. Consequently, Whites level of social distance was smaller and they were more likely to become friends with Blacks who were from small cities...however, Black students felt that White students who viewed minorities as helpless as compared to Whites students who feel sorry for Blacks are more likely to try to do something for them" (Radloff, Evans, 2003, 10). As a result, the social distance for the latter perspective of White students' choice to interact with Blacks is much smaller than the former perspective. Therefore, this study helps us understand that social distance for Whites towards Blacks in some cases is not determined by race, but is predicated on socio-economic class. The more similar that Blacks resemble Whites in terms of class, the more likely Whites are to form relationships with them. In contrast, Black students believe Whites will establish a rapport with them when they feel that

Blacks have been mistreated and want to do something to improve their condition. Consequently, Black students believe that Whites' view of social distance towards Blacks is based on their belief that social inequalities do exist for them and must be addressed. Overall, this study helps us to realize that Black students who are from large cities and also members of a low socioeconomic class are much more likely to feel alienated by White students at a predominantly White universities because their background does not reflect the normal White middle class standard.

In like manner, a study entitled, "*A fly in the Buttermilk*": *Descriptions of University Life by Successful Black Undergraduate Students at a Predominantly White Southeastern University*" was performed in 2004 to gain an understanding of unique academic experiences of Black students at this predominantly White institution. Phenomenological interviews were held with eleven Black undergraduate students at this university. "Students were asked to describe their experiences of some phenomenon with little direction from the interviewer as possible" (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p.421). Participants chosen for this study were seniors from engineering, psychology, accounting, education and English. Students were asked to describe what stood out to them about their college experiences at this university. After listening to student's

responses, five major themes were developed to describe overall experiences of the Black students at this southern eastern predominantly White institution. The following themes are:

- 1) "It Happens Every Day": Unfairness/Sabotage/Condescension
- 2) "You Have to Initiate the Conversation": Isolation and Connection
- 3) "They Seem the Same; I'm the One Who's Different"
- 4) "I have to prove I am worthy to Be Here"
- 5) "Sometimes I'm Not Even Here/ Sometimes I Have to Represent All Black Students": Invisibility and Supervisibility

Theme 1 emerged as a result of how students described their feelings about their experiences with racism and unfair treatment at the University. One Black female commented, "this White girl bumped into me and called me a nigger...and...walked off" (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 427). In this category, one student also described their disappointment with seeing public symbols of racism displayed on the campus. One student said,...On my first day of class, I pass by a residence hall and there was a great big rebel flag hanging in a guy's window...I really didn't expect to see things like, 'Niggers go home written in the men's room wall. And you know KKK carved on the desk'" (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 427). Another student also stated that they had felt as though some staff members were condescending and treated them unfair.

"She (referring to the professor) told me that she had been thinking about recommending for a scholarship that's offered through the department for Black students, 'but you have to have the grades for it'. And I was like I actually have a 4.0 in the department. And she just laughed, I don't know what your grade will be in this class'...I came out with a C in her course. And I really think it was unfair" (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 428).

Theme 1 provides an understanding about the relationship between student's perception of the campus racial climate and interracial interaction. Consequently, students who perceive their college setting to be biased in the treatment toward minorities may socially distance themselves from individuals who are from a different racial background because they perceive the campus administrators to be proponents of racism due to their lack of effort to address racial problems on campus. Moreover, Theme 2 evolved as a result of participants seeking to establish relationships with faculty, staff and students of different ethnicities. In terms of theme 2, some of the students reported that their presence as the only Black in class caused some Whites to avoid speaking or interacting with them. One student said, "I mean there's been classes where I've sat in where I will be sitting in the middle of two White people who know each other or whatever. And they would be talking (about doing group work) and they would completely bypass me and go to each other..." (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg,

Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 5). This example helps us see that for some White students to have Blacks as a classmate perpetuates the feeling of alienation experienced by Black students. Moreover, this scenario also helps us understand that close physical distances is not correlated with less social distance among Blacks and Whites in the classroom. Theme 3 consisted of minority student's perceptions of feeling different from the other students around them. Many of the student's descriptions of feeling different were not voiced in a positive manner. One female commented, "It kind of dawned on me, you know, I am the only Black in this group. I guess I am different in a way...I never just saw myself as being isolated or different from anybody else. Until she [the instructor] brought that up..."(Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 5). A Black Male Student from Las Vegas also commented that he had learned from his White friend for the first time that Black people are inferior. "And he's [my White friend]...'you'd be amazed at how backward some people can be.' He's known people that feel that way. Who really feel because you're Black you're inferior, just not as good, not as capable as a White person..."(Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 5. Theme three gives insight into how perception can lead Black and White students to socially distance themselves from one another and furthermore it

demonstrates how in certain social settings, interracial contact between Blacks and Whites does not always result in positive experiences.⁹ Theme 4 was comprised of student comments that related to them having to prove that they were worthy to attend the university. One of the students stated, "I'm always on my Ps and Qs and know that I've got to do better than anybody else...but just the situations I've been in and the way people have treated me, it makes me feel like Oh, I have to do better than best for them to see what I'm really capable of doing..." (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 5. Another student commented, "In my history class I sit in the front row...And I do this because...I want the professor to know that I am in the classroom, that I want to learn and that I'm paying attention" (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 5. Theme four helps provide an understanding about the need for stereotypes about various ethnic groups to be discussed in class so that assumptions do not lead to a creation of social distance that can be developed between teachers and students. Moreover, theme 5 emerged as a result of participants experiences of being noticed, unnoticed or standing out" ..."(Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 5). One participant noted, "...but

⁹ (Sigelman and Welch, (1993) obtained data in a 1989 nationwide telephone survey of adult Americans. Their analysis reveals that in several instances interracial contact is associated with more positive racial attitudes, especially among Whites" (Quality and Quantity of Contact, 2002, p. 207).

when there like two Black people in a classroom and a hundred White people in the classroom, to me it made me feel kind of intimidated. And definitely if I felt that they didn't want to help me, for example if I had to miss class and I had to get notes, I didn't have that relationship with somebody to where I could call them up and say "Hey can I get those notes?" And so for me it hindered my education experience and made me have to work harder" (Davis, Bowie, Greenberg, Klukken, Pollio, Thomas, Thompson, 2004, p. 9).

In contrast to the previous example, the greater number of White students present in the class caused Black students to feel isolated and inhibited their willingness to form relationships with other White students; as a result the social distance between Black students and White students was much greater. Furthermore, Black students' perception of White students' social distance towards them or their decision to help them inhibited their overall academic success. This scenario helps one understand that that social distance for Black students in the class has a short term effect on their academic performance in the course and a long term effect on their ability to persist until degree completion.

Persistence has been viewed as a student's ability to matriculate successfully through the higher educational system until a degree is achieved. According to a research study conducted by Karen Leppel in 2001, persistence can include a

"student's ability to continue in a particular major at a given university, the student's choice to change majors, but remain within the same university or student's decision to transfer from one university to another, but continue in the educational system" (p. 328). Findings from several research studies has indicated that variables, such as student's choice of a college to attend, their academic and social integration into the college setting, the congruence between student's attributes and the institution's attributes along with the student's commitment to obtaining their degree and support from family and friends or the lack thereof contribute to the student's persistence in college. In addition to the tenacity exhibited by students to complete their educational degree, the campus environment also plays a vital role in terms of persistence among first year college freshmen. "Therefore, persisting (the behavior) depends on the student and the environment she or he encounters at the institution such as social or classroom environment" (Boyer, 2005, p. 16).

Students who attend an institution that creates a warm learning environment that emphasizes the importance of developing academically and socially enhances their ability to persist within the institution. Research findings have also revealed that minority students who have interpreted their experience at a university as being unwelcoming were not as likely to persist as compared to their non-minority

counterparts. "In one case, minority students who expressed high levels of isolation and alienation were also more likely (to) express their intention to withdraw from college" [Eimers and Pike, 1997, p. 80, (Loo & Rolison, 1986)].

A study that was conducted by Nora and Cabrera in 1996 sought to understand how perceptions of prejudice and discrimination influence persistence among minority and non-minority students on a college campus. Researchers did find that minority students' perceptions of prejudice and discrimination did "lessen minority student's adjustment to the academic and social realms of the institution" (Eimers and Pike 1997, p. 140). However, it did not have as great effect on minority students' persistence as did support from family and friends, (intellectual) performance and positive experiences with the academic and social realms of the institution" (Eimers and Pike 1997, p. 141).

As a result, it can be inferred that the amount of social distance minority students exhibited towards non-minority individuals on college campuses may be a result of how they perceive prejudice and discrimination within the university setting. The previous studies help to reaffirm that one's perception leads to a specific behavior. Consequently, a first year minority student's encounter with prejudice or discrimination can influence the level of social distance they exert between themselves and others in the university

community and can have some impact on their ability to persist and obtain their degree.

Summary

These social distance studies provide insight that can help to explain why Black and White students on the UMC campus have chosen to interact with each other or socially distance themselves from one another in the past, in the present and possibly in the future. Moreover, the following chapter will discuss the racial attitudes that existed between Blacks and Whites at UMC beginning in the 1830's and will explore how they have evolved until this present time.

Chapter 4—The History between Blacks and Whites at the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC)

This chapter will describe the racial culture in the state of Missouri and the interactions that occurred among black and white students on the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC) Campus between 1830 and the year 2007. Significant events such as the years when the first black student was admitted, the first black faculty member hired and when the first Black Culture Center was established will be discussed in greater detail.

Racial Culture in the State of Missouri

The present state of Missouri as it is known today along with the state of Arkansas were historically two areas that were apart of the Louisiana territory. This territory was originally claimed by the first French Explorers during the 1670's and 1680's (Greene, Kremer & Holland, 1980, p. 8). "As in most cases with migration, the immigrants that came to central Missouri(which was also known as Little Dixie) brought with them many of the cultural values and institutions they had always known, but they also brought with them, the (profitable) institution of slavery". In central Missouri

during the antebellum period¹⁰, a distinctive form of southern culture developed from this institution" (Stone, 2006, p.1-2).

According to Jeffrey C. Stone, author of Slavery, Southern Culture, and Education in Little Dixie, Missouri, 1820-1860, "Missouri's total slave population was among the lowest of the slave states. However, the seven counties of Clay, Lafayette, Saline, Cooper, Howard, Boone (The county in which Columbia was first located), and Callaway...consistently contained the largest population of slaves in Missouri throughout the antebellum period...(moreover), between 1820 and 1860, slavery in central Missouri shaped the lives of most blacks and whites in this important section of the upper south" (2006, p. 3).

Specifically, in Columbia Missouri, "from 1839 until 1865, slavery owners in Columbia and Boone County often leased bondsmen to the University temporarily...For example, (The University of Missouri-Columbia's) first president "John Hiram Lathrop kept a slave to do domestic chores and some University related work" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 25). One of the most gruesome memories of a university worker's experience in Columbia, Missouri is that of James T. Scott. James T. Scott was a name used by the Columbia newspaper to identify the black man (falsely) accused of raping a young white girl on the Stewart Bridge in 1923.

"The Missourian reported that the girl was walking home from an afternoon music lesson when a black man saw her on the Stewart Bridge. He told her that a white baby was lying on nearby railroad tracks, and that she should retrieve it because it was 'about train time'. The man according to reports then lured the girl around the end of the bridge, toward the tracks, pleading with her to

¹⁰ The Antebellum period, was considered the period before the Civil War

continue, while she still could see no baby. After advancing a distance she again hesitated. The negro seized her by the arm and forced her on...The girl fought her assailant with all of her strength...She carried an umbrella and broke it to pieces on the negro while resisting...The negro fled down the tracks toward rock quarry. As he left he told the girl that he was sorry" (The Maneater, October 8, 1993).

Before Scott could receive a fair trial, he was lynched by an angry mob of 40 white men on the night of April 28, 1923. The mob threw a brick through the window of the jail cell where Scott was being held and (captured) him, and then proceeded to take him back to the Stewart Bridge.

"The men invaded the jail with the war chant: 'Come on! Let's get the nigger!...Down Stewart road, the mob swept and out onto Stewart Bridge...Hundreds went down below, while others fought for a place along the rail...finally there arrived a member of the mob...He tied one end around the negro's neck and the other to the rail...'I am innocent, were the words that echoed from (Scott's) lips as his body shot downward, through the limbs of the tree. Scott's neck was broken. Death was instantaneous" (The Maneater, October 8, 1993)

In her dissertation, *Shadow Across the Columns*, Delia Crutchfield-Cook states, "since it's beginning, the state of Missouri has been a mirror of racial strife in this country...It is little wonder that the struggle for racial equality in education during the twentieth century began and continues in this tumultuous state" (1996, p. 10).

1830's-1960's

In 1839, The University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC) now known as MU) was founded as the first public institution of higher education west of the Mississippi river. At first, only white males were accepted into the institution. In the years to come, the University would establish its first library, a medical department, a College of Arts and Sciences and held its first commencement which honored its first two graduates. However, it was not until 1867, that white women were given an opportunity to achieve a higher education. Between the late 1860's and early 1930's, the University of Missouri experienced tremendous academic growth. During this period, UMC established a School of Law, a School of Medicine as well as a College of Engineering. In addition, a Graduate Interdisciplinary School, along with a School of Journalism and a College of Education was also founded. Moreover, a College of Business and Public Administration, a School of Nursing and what is now known as Ellis library were also developed. Despite these significant accomplishments, UMC was a public institution for whites only and had not admitted any students of color since its inception.

In 1936, Lloyd Gaines, a black man, applied for admission into UMC's white male law school because there was not a public black law school in the state. He was denied admission. The 1930's were considered a time when blacks and whites were

viewed as separate but equal. As a result of this "Separate but Equal" notion which was mandated by the Supreme Court in the outcome of the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case, Gaines was expected to apply to an all black law school which would provide him with a separate but equal education similar to that of UMC's law school. However, during this time, there were no black law schools in the state of Missouri. Despite the tenets of this law, Gaines decided to sue the University for denied admission.

"Gaines appealed to the Board of Curators, lost and filed a writ of mandamus with the Boone County Circuit Court...On July 24, 1936, his writ of mandamus suit was denied by Judge W.M. Dinwiddie with no grounds for judgment. A subsequent suit in Missouri's Supreme Court failed... and the (case) entered the U.S. Supreme Court docket. In December 1938, the high courts ruled the state must admit Gaines 'in the absence of other and proper provisions for legal training within the state'" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 31).

Gaines was scheduled to enroll at the UMC Law School in March of 1939, but abruptly disappeared and never began the process towards achieving his law degree. Due to his courage and determination, Gaines is considered the pioneer for starting the desegregation process at UMC. (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 30). Following in Gaines footsteps, Lucille Bluford applied for graduate admission in to UMC's School of Journalism in 1939. Surprisingly, Bluford's application was accepted; although when she arrived to obtain

her registration permit, similar to Gaines, she was denied admission because of the 'separate but equal doctrine'. During this time, UMC was the only higher educational institution that offered graduate study in Journalism. In the following semester, Bluford reapplied again, but was rejected.

"Bluford contacted NAACP attorneys. The courts ruled that before Bluford could attend (UMC), she had to petition Lincoln University to create a journalism school. The state established a school of journalism at Lincoln in 1942, and a hearing was held to determine if the UMC and Lincoln schools were equal. The courts ruled that MU must admit Bluford, but the school went as far as to stop offering all graduate courses in journalism to prevent her from enrolling" (The Maneater, February 23, 2001).

In the years to follow, during the 1940's, several other black students such as Marian Oldham, Lawrence Nicholson and Arthur Washington would also be denied admission into the University of Missouri-Columbia. Although in 1950, UMC would make history by accepting Gus T. Ridgel as the first Black to pursue a master's degree in the Department of Economics. One year later, Ridgel graduated with a "Masters degree in Economics with honors" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. Also in 1950, Hazel McDaniel Teabeau was the second black graduate student admitted to UMC. During the time of her admission, Ms. Teabeau was serving as an assistant professor of English at Lincoln University in Jefferson City. She decided to pursue graduate study in Speech and Dramatic Arts after been accepted at UMC. (University of MO Archives,

8/16/50). 18). However, the number of black students enrolled at UMC after 1950 were not maintained. "The Admission's Office after that time kept no records relating to the race of applicants for admission, so that it is not possible to develop any statistics as to the racial origins of students" (Stephens, 1962, p.608). Records describing minority student enrollment were not available until the 1970's when the University of Missouri-Columbia developed the Office of Institutional Research. The following table lists the number of African American students enrolled at the University of Missouri-Columbia for the first time between 1978 and 2006.

University of Missouri-Columbia
 First Time Freshmen Enrollment Statistics
 for African American Students

Year	Number	(%) Percent of Total Freshmen Class
1978	181	4.6
1979	187	4.6
1980	201	4.7
1981	209	4.9
1982	199	4.8
1983	148	4.0
1984	153	4.2
1985	122	3.4
1986	142	4.1
1987	160	4.3
1988	164	4.1
1989	178	4.5
1990	198	5.1
1991	164	4.8
1992	125	4.2
1993	97	3.3
1994	334	9.2
1995	282	7.3
1996	285	7.6
1997	284	8.0
1998	278	7.2
1999	250	6.4
2000	229	5.4
2001	227	5.4
2002	290	6.5

2003	291	6.2
2004	299	6.4
2005	328	6.9
2006	355	7.3

Data in this table is retrieved from “African American Experience at MU, MU Review Team Report (4.21.04), and the MU Office of Institutional Research.

As seen in the table above, there was a very small change in the number of black students who were admitted to UMC. Consequently, while history was being made in terms of opportunities available for black students at UMC, racial tensions were also rising. During the time period that Ridgel and Teabeau were students on the UMC campus, there was not an organization present to address the needs of black students. It was not until 18 years later in 1968, that the Legion of Black Collegians (LBC) was developed, but was not recognized as a formal student organization until May 1, 1969. Ettie Collier, a black male graduate student was elected the first president of LBC. According to Collier, the purpose of the organization was to “promote social, educational, and cultural enrichment of Black students of the University of Missouri; to end discrimination in the university community; (and) to have an effective vehicle by which Black students may be represented in student activities” (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 9). Also in 1969, Dr. Arvah Strickland was hired in the History department as the first Black professor at UMC. “Araminta Smith, was one of the first African Americans hired as an instructor in the School of

Social Work and Mable Grimes was a hired as one of the first African American instructors in Extension Education in 1969. In addition, Dr. Edgar Thomas, an African American male was also hired as an associate dean of faculties.

1970's

In 1972, Dr. Strickland was named as special assistant to the chancellor and was given the task of recruiting black professors.

"One of his first assignments was to recruit qualified candidates for an opening at the Law School. Strickland spent a week canvassing southern colleges including his alma mater, Tougaloo College, Tennessee State University, Tuskegee Institute, and Jackson State College. He returned with several names, but was informed that the law school position had been filled. Incensed by this lack of commitment, Strickland wrote Chancellor Schooling that he must 'strongly protest the seeming lack of good faith I have experienced in being asked to recruit for a position in the law school'" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p.134-135).

The 1970's were also considered a time of firsts for issues concerning black students on UMC's campus. Between 1970 and 1971, the black student population amounted to 1.7 percent of the total student body. (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 9). In 1972, a black culture center was finally established on campus. "The center was located on Turner Street in an old house" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 13). James Oglesby, an African American male who completed both his masters and doctorate degree at UMC recalls working on the

house. He stated, "We had to go over and fix it up and we did most of the work on it, begged and borrowed books and furniture. Dr. Daniel¹¹ gave us a lot of books and (Joe Davis at graduate student at that time) got money from the Dean's office to sort of fix it up" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 100). Furthermore, the Legion of Black Collegians voiced concerns to the University administration about the need for an increase in black student enrollment, black faculty and strategies necessary to reduce the attrition rate for black students on campus. Some of the problems that students encountered on the campus occurred in the dormitories or in the classroom. Gloria May, an African American female at UMC during the time "remembered (a) dorm mother who was flustered at the fact that black girls could actually use the same bath facilities as the white housemates...(she said), I remember the house mother asking where I was going to bathe because I was black and I commented that this doesn't come off you know'" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 83). Barbara Horrell, was one of the first African American students chosen to receive the MU Curators scholarship. She commented on her experience in the classroom at UMC. She said, "Teachers were either helpful or they ignored us. I remember a professor that always called us Negras" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 77). The LBC government

¹¹ Delia Crutchfield Cook noted in her dissertation that "Dr. Walter C. Daniel served as a Vice Chancellor and Professor of English. A former president of Lincoln University, Dr. Daniel was one of only a handful of African Americans to serve in a policy-making role at MU. (1996, p. 93).

also sent a letter to Representative William Clay in 1972¹² regarding the "University's failure to hire black faculty...LBC's plan was to elicit outside support from state and national sources to pressure the administration to hire more black faculty" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 10). Despite their courageous efforts, Representative Clay "wrote back to the student government...stating that they could count on his support, but he never intervened" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 10). In the same year, black students led a protest in the Missouri Student Association Senate chambers and as a result, an increase in financial allocations was made available to LBC and an increase in black faculty was observed in the following year.

In 1973, "there were 16 blacks on faculty: three full professors, two associate professors, four assistant professors, and seven instructors... The Student Affirmative Action Program and the Office of Minority Student Programs were also developed as a result of the pressure LBC applied to the UMC administration" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 10). Given that LBC was an organization designed specifically for black students, "other organizations viewed it as separatists...after LBC invited former Black Panther member, Angela Davis to the campus to talk about the issue of racism

¹² "During this time, William Clay was the only black congressman in the Missouri delegation at this time" (Campbell, August 9, 2007).

affecting black students, an UMC alumni wrote in a newspaper article that LBC was responsible for inciting separatism on campus and said the organization should have its recognition withdrawn" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 11).

Consequently, some individuals perceived the organization to be anti-white due to its zeal for the black student presence on a predominantly white campus and its efforts to bring black speakers to the institution to discuss the conditions of black students. According to some black students, this perception may have led to a decrease in LBC's budget in the following years.

A few years later, in 1978, the Black Faculty Staff Organization (BFSO) was created "to promote the concerns of a minority group within in a minority. Despite efforts to expand its constituency under the presidency of Dr. Robert E. Weems, Jr., during the 1991-92 academic year, the 302 employees in the service and maintenance sector (were) still excluded...(Consequently), the total number of black faculty increased to only 49 full-time ranked faculty in 1995" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 132-133)". Moreover, in the latter part of the 1970's, some accomplishments were made in terms of academic and social enrichment for black students on the UMC campus. "Dr. Carolyn Dorsey (was) hired as the first coordinator of the Black Studies program and the Black Alumni Organization (was) formed to address the needs of Black

Students and Black Alumni" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 18). During her time as coordinator of the Black Studies program, Dorsey "emphasized that the three key components of a Black Studies program were 'classes, research and a cultural element'. One of her major accomplishments was developing a newsletter, entitled the *African Americanist* that discussed current research and writing that occurred in the field of Black Studies at that time" (Cook, 1996, p. 42). Dr. Dorsey served as the director of the program from 1977 until 1985. However, as the 1980's were quickly approaching, the ratio of black faculty and black students at UMC still remained much lower as compared to those of white faculty and white students.

1980's

The 1980's represented a time of dissension between the University Administration and black students at UMC. Although the UMC administration made verbal declarations to increase the number of black faculty and students, "they could not amass more than 3.5% (of) black students and 2 (percent of) faculty" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 14).

"In 1985, Dr. Marvin Lewis assumed Dorsey's position as the Director of the Black Studies program in 1985. Lewis was also respected in the field of African American studies for his work on the *Afro-Hispanic Review*. Professor Strickland noted that 'Lewis moved the program

forward in curriculum development and in cooperating with departments in recruitment of faculty members to teach black content courses.' After what he characterized as an uphill battle' in recruiting black studies faculty, Lewis resigned in 1990'" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 143).

In 1991, Dr. Sundiata Cha-Jua became the new director of the Black Studies program, and under his leadership, "course enrollment expanded to a total of 1023 for the 1990-91 academic year" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 144). Dr. Cha-Jua served as director for the next three years. In 1994, "he resigned from the position to teach at Pennsylvania State University. From the fall semester of 1994 until June of 1996, Dr. Strickland served as interim director of the Black Studies program. During this time, Dr. Strickland was faced with the dilemma of finding a new location for the program as well as a new director. Finally, an additional search resulted in the selection of Dr. Julius Thompson for the position" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 145). Also, during the 1980's, Chancellor, Barbara Uehling allocated funds to the admissions department, minority unit and programs for recruitment and retention. However, after these funding allocations were dispersed, the black student enrollment only increased by 0.1 percent. (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 11). One year later, in January of 1981, the U.S. Department of Education ordered UMC to draft a plan that would entail how they would increase their black enrollment from a little over 3% to 10.9%

which represented the percentage of black Missouri residents at that time. In a brief statement that had been prepared by Chancellor Uehling, she said that the order from the U.S Department of Education helped to reinforce their attempts to recruit minority faculty and students. However, in 1982 "the percentage of black students remained at 3.6 percent" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 14). Gary Smith, who was the Director of Admissions at that time stated that, "the minority student who was strong academically faced a very competitive market and that he didn't know what the answer was. However, Keener Tippin, who served as the assistant director of admissions (to Gary Smith), commented that black students are (not persuaded to come to UMC) because they only could offer black students the Brooks Scholarship¹³ and as a result, students go elsewhere" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 14). While problems were occurring with retaining black students, conflicts were also arising among UMC curators. In 1982, William G. Cocos Jr. was elected as president and David W. Lewis was elected as vice president of the nine member curator board.

"In the past, members that had been selected as president were those who had the most seniority. Mrs. Marian O. Oldham the first black female curator to serve on the board (and also one of the first blacks to apply to UMC

¹³ The Brooks Scholarship was named after George C. Brooks, "the first and only black to serve as UMC's Director of Financial Aid." It is a scholarship that is awarded to minority students who "hold high ACT Schools rank in the top 25% of their graduating class, is a U.S. citizen and is identified as a student enrolling at UMC for the first time after graduating from high school" (Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p. 160 and http://www.sfa.missouri.edu/Prospective_Students/scholarships/pro-scholarships.php).

in 1948, but was denied admission because of her race) had a year and half more seniority than Cocos, but was not elected as president. Reliable sources have told the American that white board members informed Mrs. Oldham that she was not chosen president because she could not represent the total university community and because she had made uncomplimentary statements about the university...Several area civil rights and political leaders say white racism is the reason why the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri chose not to select Marian O. Oldham" [University of Missouri Archives, (The St. Louis American, December 23, 1982)].

Similarly, just as tensions arose between UMC administrators and black students, conflict also grew between the Missouri Students Association (MSA) and the Legion of Black Collegians (LBC). MSA was the viewed as the student government on campus and it was also responsible for reviewing budgets and appropriating funds to other student organizations. However, LBC wanted to be recognized as the Black student's government. MSA and LBC's previous history denotes that these two organizations have been at odds regarding budget requests and how funds should be used within LBC since the 1960's. In 1980, MSA allocated LBC \$9,520, "which was an increase of about \$4000 more than the previous year. (Although), on April 7, 1981, the MSA finance committee recommended that no more funding be given to LBC, alleging that the organization had been misusing its funds by overspending its budget" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 15). From 1982-1983, LBC's budget decreased significantly and "by 1984, MSA had allocated LBC less than \$3,000 which cut

their budget by 58 percent" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 15).

Aside from the political differences that had been occurring in the 1980's, 1985 became a monumental year for two black students on the UMC campus. Vivian King and Marvin Cobbs were the first two Blacks crowned Homecoming Queen and King at UMC. However, when the game announcer broadcasted the results for winners of the homecoming court, "all you could hear was silence and a smattering of boos", said Keith Broadus, who was a junior in 1985" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 19). This was the first time in history, UMC had ever had black students earn the honor of being crowned King and Queen. Vivian King said she recalled that an individual yelled, "I can't believe they let two niggers win," (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 19). However, both King and Cobbs stated that both black and white students helped them get nominated...despite the negative response they received, both (chose) to use their victory in a positive way...they (had) hoped other blacks would participate in Homecoming and campus activities as a result of their (efforts)" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 19).

In the following years from 1986-1989, black students were still outraged by the minimal presence of black faculty on the UMC campus. During the late 1980's, "LBC nominated two black professors for the Vice Provost for Academic Affairs

position. However, the faculty members that LBC had nominated were not considered for any of the interviews" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 17). As a result, LBC advocated for the search committees selection procedure to be revised. They also voiced their belief that faculty, staff and students should attend some type of sensitivity training as well. Although from 1987-1988, it appeared that LBC's efforts were unfruitful because no Blacks had been appointed to the position of provost. However, "in June of 1989, KC Morrison became vice provost of minority affairs and was hired as a professor in the History Department, (which) made him become the third black professor on faculty that year" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 14). Despite all of the efforts that were made to increase black faculty and the presence of black students on the UMC campus, "by the end of the 1980's, the federal mandate that was issued to UMC in 1981 had still not been met. Blacks made up only 3.6% of the student body...and there were only 30 blacks on faculty, two of whom were professors (which amounted) to a net increase of 14 faculty since 1975¹⁴" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 21).

1990's

¹⁴ See attached table on percentage of Black faculty at MU in Appendix 5.

The 1990's represented a time of transformation for the cultural climate between black and white students at UMC. For the first time in 1990, black students challenged the University's decision not to recognize Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday. Although Dr. King's birthday was recognized as a national holiday, UMC still had not chosen to do so. "More than 150 students marched to Jesse Hall to stage a sit-in at the Chancellor's office in 1990 to compel him to make Dr. King's birthday a recognized holiday on the UMC campus" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 21). Their efforts proved to be successful because in 1991, the entire campus celebrated Dr. King's birthday. During the 1990's, LBC along with other black students organized marches and protests to speak out against the overt racism that had been occurring on UMC's campus. "In September of 1990, students were outraged when 17 year old Charles Williams of Columbia suffered a concussion and damage to both retinas after a fight broke between him and several members of the mostly white Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 21). As a result, the chancellor temporarily suspended the fraternity, but LBC was unhappy with the chancellor's decision and helped to organize a protest in the homecoming parade to demonstrate their disgust with the University. LBC and other black students were also upset about the low enrollment of black students during that time which only amounted to 3.8%

This percentage was just a little over the percent it had been in the previous decade which was 3.6%.

In May of 1991, "LBC invited Bill Whitcomb of the U.S. Justice Department to campus mediate between LBC and the administration regarding an Affirmative Action Office which UMC did not have at the time" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 22). LBC requested that the "Chancellor require schools and departments to send (accountability) reports to Provost Morrison regarding their recruitment efforts, once again LBC's efforts proved successful and the chancellor agreed to the terms the next semester" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 22).

The 1990's also represented a time of recognition for black students who had one time applied to UMC, but were denied admission because of their skin color. "On October 17, 1993, UMC administrators, the Black Alumni Organization and the Legion of Black Collegians gathered at a convocation ceremony to recognize 16 individuals who, bright and eager to learn, never had the chance to prove themselves as students at UMC" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 22). Although some of the students that were denied admission to UMC in the past, were already deceased and close relatives attended the ceremony to accept plaques of recognition on their behalf. At this ceremony, the chancellor acknowledged the injustices of the past, but stated, that the (University's) "mission was to

build toward a future in which the injustices of the past are truly in the past" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 29).

Moreover, the 1990's not only represented a time of transformation and recognition, but one of reconciliation and expansion for the UMC campus. Despite the past differences MSA and LBC had in the 1970's and 1980's, they finally managed to reconcile their differences. As a result, MSA awarded LBC an operating budget of more than \$18,000 and appropriated \$25,000 to the Black Programming Committee "to sponsor educational and diverse programs such as concerts, speaking events and theatrical performances." (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 23). MSA Vice President stated, "in 1989, I voted against the LBC bill, but I was naïve; since then, I see that we must make LBC a better funded organization in order to make this campus a better place" (Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 23). Furthermore, the 1990's was a time of expansion for the UMC community in terms of black student enrollment. For the incoming fall 1994 class, UMC projected to have 300 new black freshmen which would comprise 8.5% of the total freshmen class¹⁵. Chancellor, Charles Kiesler started an initiative to target the minority population in major cities. He traveled to St. Louis and Kansas City and began to speak with school superintendents

¹⁵ See attached table on enrollment rates and graduation rates by gender and ethnicity to students at UMC in Appendix 5.

about the possibility of students in their districts attending UMC. In order to recruit black students, UMC developed the African American Achievement Award, a race based scholarship that was awarded to black students who had Act scores or a high school rank in the top 25 percentile of total black students that had been accepted to UMC. In order to retain students, "UMC organized special floors in dorm halls such as the Spanish or French floor, (improved) it's advising techniques and encouraged more faculty members to coordinate more engaging classrooms and multicultural events. Despite UMC's efforts to diversify the student body, several white students continued to exhibit overt racism to some black students.

"Perhaps the two most frightening incidents involved Robert Perkins and Re'male Jones in 1994 and 1995. The phone rang at 2 a.m., waking Re'Male James. He didn't wake up quickly enough to get to the phone before his voice mail, but what he heard when he listened to the message opened his eyes. "You f-in' nigger. We're going to burn your body, hang you from a tree...The message didn't end. How does a nigger get out of the tree? You cut the rope...(Furthermore), Robert Perkins, a 17 year old MU freshmen, was assaulted by two white men in the Trowbridge parking lot at 1:30 a.m. on October 27, 1995. During the assault, the men shouted a number of epithets including: 'You yellow nigger,' 'Get the f-out of here,' and 'You ain't s-\'..."[Crutchfield-Cook, 1996, p.180 (Columbia Missourian, October 25, 1995)].

The MU police investigated Perkin's case but did not have any suspects to question, as for Re'male James, the student who made the phone call to Re'male dropped out of school about a

week after the incident occurred. Also, during this time, UMC administrators also began to discuss plans for the development of a new Black Culture Center" [(Brown, June 2, 1994, St. Louis Post Dispatch), Black Alumni Organization, 1994, p. 14].

In 1997, UMC administrators allocated 2.4 million dollars towards the construction of the new Black Culture. Aside from the former 27 year old Black Culture House, "the new building (brought) the center into compliance with the American Disabilities Act's requirements for wheel chair access, (It also provided) more meeting space, office for black Greek organizations and a computer lab" (Maneater, April 18, 1997). In 1998, the new Black Culture Center officially opened its doors after a ribbon cutting and libation ceremony took place. "Guests were invited in to see the lab with 22 computers, meeting spaces, lounges, study spots and (a) full kitchen" (Maneater, September 4, 1998). The Black Culture Center not only served as a recruiting tool and a resource for black students, but it offered the utilization of its services to all students at UMC in order to promote campus wide diversity. Also in 1998, Michael Middleton who was serving as the interim vice-provost of minority affairs and faculty development convened a conference on July 14, 1998 with the theme of "Recruiting and Retaining a Diverse Faculty: Developing Strategies for Action" (Weems, 2003, p. 108). This conference resulted in the creation of a MU Diverse Faculty Task Force.

The central goal of the task force was to encourage Academic Units to demonstrate a public commitment to promoting and retaining a diverse faculty. "Ironically four days after...The Diversity Task Force submitted its report to Michael Middleton, he was appointed deputy chancellor of UMC. The increase in Middleton's responsibilities resulted in...the pushing of the MU Diversity Faculty Task Force initiative to the...back burner of his administrative priorities...Even worse during the next couple of years, the lack of mentoring and support in some departments caused MU to lose some promising young Black scholars" (Weems, 2003, p. 108-109). However, in the upcoming Millennium and in the years to follow, UMC worked to implement additional strategies to obtain a more diversified faculty and student population.

The Millennium and Beyond (2000-2007)

To further increase campus wide diversity efforts, in 2000, UMC's Office of Community Relations participated in the Black Expo which was held in St. Louis and Ujamaa which was held in Kansas City. Both of these events provided UMC with visibility in the St. Louis and Kansas City communities respectively. The Black Expo and Ujamaa were identified as recruiting mechanisms to enhance student diversity at UMC. According to Christine Winfield, a staff member in the Office of Community Relations, "one of the advantages of these

conferences is that they put UMC in touch with a specific target group in a cultural setting" (The Maneater, July 26, 2000).

Moreover, during the year 2000, programs in the School of Journalism and in the College of Engineering established mechanisms for maintaining a diverse student body within their departments. The Diversity in Engineering program received grants from the National Science foundation and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to provide scholarships for minority students who sought to achieve a degree in a particular area of engineering.

Furthermore, the School of Journalism attended several journalism conferences for "Hispanic, Black, Asian and Native American journalists" (The Maneater, July 26, 2000). In addition, the School of Journalism attempted to raise its awareness of diversity issues by requiring every student in its department to take a class in cross cultural issues" (The Maneater, July 26, 2000).

In 2002, initiatives to enhance diversity on the UMC campus continued to prevail. "Clarence Wine, the coordinator of student diversity programs in the Business school announced the Clarence Wine/Anita Byrd endowment" (The Maneater, May 3, 2002). Anita Byrd was the first black student to graduate from UMC's College of Business in 1961. The endowment was established to provide "five \$6,000 scholarships to mainly

minority students planning to major in business" (The Maneater, May 3, 2002). Wine stated that a committee of students, faculty, and alumni were working to secure funds for the endowment. The first scholarships were projected to be awarded in 2003" (The Maneater, May 3, 2002).

In 2004, the demand for student diversity intensified on the UMC campus. During March 2004,

"hundreds of UMC students gathered outside UMC administrative headquarters (in Jesse Hall)...came with a list of grievances and demands under the heading (UMC Get a Clue) an apparent reference to (Clue into Mizzou) the minority recruitment drive that began during early March of 2004. A renewed commitment to minority recruitment was among the demands made of administration" (The Maneater, March 17, 2004).

The UMC Get a Clue initiative also sought to raise the current percentage of Black students from 5.9% and to also include diversity in the UMC curriculum. The efforts of student protestors "caught the ear of UMC administrators such as Provost Brady Deaton and Vice Chancellor for student affairs, Cathy Scroggs... this sign was a symbol that progress is on the horizon" (The Maneater, March 17, 2004).

Moreover, in April 2004, faculty members from various universities across the country received a letter from Deputy Chancellor, Michael Middleton asking them to serve as a participant on a Review team to examine "the University of Missouri-Columbia (UM-C) overall approach to addressing issues related to equal opportunity and diversity" (Review Team

Report, April 21, 2004). The Review Team utilized a mediation agreement that UMC had established with the Justice Department in 1988 as beginning frame of reference to explore issues related to equality and diversity on the UMC campus. The Mediation Agreement of 1988 stated that UMC was to implement initiatives to implement the following:

- "Formulation of a position description for a Vice Provost for Minority Affairs and Faculty Development
- Appointment of a minority affairs committee
- Establishment of a permanent position for coordination of the recruitment and retention of minority graduate students
- Increase the number and percentages of Black faculty members on campus" (The Review Team Report, April 21, 2004)

Consequently, in 2004, "UMC did not have diversity strategic plan...and had not clearly communicated its diversity goals or priorities to administrators and constituency groups. Although, the university had implemented a top-down diversity management paradigm without a campus-wide dialogue to clarify issues and various constituent perspectives" (The Review Team Report, April 21, 2004). Furthermore, in 2004, the review team learned that

"a lack of communication existed between the administration and the Black faculty Staff Organization, in addition, the review team was also

informed that blacks experience a hostile environment at UM-C and issues relevant to women and gender equity are excluded from UM-C's diversity management paradigm" (The Review Team Report, April 21, 2004).

In order to improve equality and diversity for the entire campus body, the review team recommended the following:

- "Senior Leaders must identify those programmatic interventions designed to address the inequities identified in the Mediation Agreement and distinguish those interventions from UM-C's broadly targeted diversity initiatives
- Senior university leaders, i.e. the Chancellor, President, and Provost, must be the principal "diversity champions that empower the Chief Diversity Officer to implement the university's diversity strategic plan effectively
- Oversight and direction of the diversity strategic planning process should be vested in a single office
- The institutions leadership team must have a clear idea about the long-term goals of instituting a diversity strategic plan by conceptualizing a Multicultural institution
- A working statement outlining the institution's values and objectives should be developed and disseminated to the entire university community

- Provide a central pool of funds to hire and retain minority faculty and for spousal/partner hiring where such hiring will increase faculty diversity
- Encourage and support existing faculty to make minority faculty recruitment an integral part of their work year round
- Plan to recruit experienced minority recruiters (those who specialize in the recruitment of ...(specific) target population
- Encourage the Student Success Center to initiate steps to diversify its staff...and augment its senior staff with experienced members of underrepresented groups who can assist the Center in meeting the needs of all students effectively
- Encourage a working relationship between Academic Retention Services and the Student Success Center...to provide complementary and enhanced student services" (The Review Team Report, April 21, 2004).

Findings from the Review Teams report served as a catalyst to generate dialogue among members of the UMC community about the need to improve equality and diversity on the campus.

In 2005, a year after the students held the protest on the steps of Jesse Hall,...an open panel discussion was held in March of 2005 with faculty advisers, student organization

leaders and minority students to discuss problems facing the University of Missouri's minority student population" (The Maneater, March 11, 2005). "Suggestions varied from organizing more sit-ins to inundating administrators with phone calls and e-mails threatening to withdraw from classes...additional suggestions for fighting the bureaucratic process included preparation and persistence" (The Maneater, March 11, 2005). Students at the panel discussion (collectively) agreed that they needed to come together with other student organizations and student leaders to mobilize plans to foster diversity. At the end of the meeting, "student leaders and faculty members said they planned to hold more meetings and discussions with the members of the (UMC) administration to ensure more progress during the fall of 2006" (The Maneater, March 11, 2005).

In June of 2007, one of the most recent efforts implemented to promote a diverse atmosphere on the UMC campus has been the passing of Bill 46-1 in the Missouri Students Association which is identified as the student government on the UMC campus. This bill has been passed and its outcome will be that the "General Classroom Building will be renamed after Professor Emeritus, Dr. Arvah Strickland", who was hired as the first black professor in the History Department at UMC (Bill 46-1, Retrieved at www.missouri.edu on June 6, 2007).

Moreover, regarding the current state of diversity affairs on the UMC Campus, The late Dr. Julius Thompson¹⁶, former director of the Black Studies department and a UMC faculty member who wanted to remain anonymous for the sake of being candid provided their perspectives about the diversity climate at UMC.

Interview with Dr. Julius Thompson

At the close of winter semester 2007, Dr. Julius Thompson discussed his views regarding diversity issues at UMC. According to Dr. Julius Thompson, the important activities and policies that have occurred for black students on the UMC Campus since the millennium are "efforts of black students to approach the chancellor about the status of black faculty and the number of black students and black faculty present at UMC" (Personal Interview, May 21, 2007). Students are also concerned with the naming of a building after Dr. Arvah Strickland. Dr. Thompson also mentioned that a recent initiative spearheaded by Dr. K.C. Morrison has created an opportunity for international students or students majoring in Political Science or Black studies to participate in a study tour group to Ghana. Outreach to the community that attracts a broad array of students to apply to UMC along with the need for scholarship money and the status of affirmative action

¹⁶ Dr. Julius Thompson passed away on October 26, 2007, one week after this dissertation was defended.

were also cited by Dr. Thompson as major concerns of black students on the UMC campus. When Dr. Thompson was asked, if there was one thing he could do to implement positive change on the UMC campus for black students, he stated, "(fostering) unity among black students, trying to consolidate their organizational efforts at the undergraduate level to push for an effective program for the advancement of black students regardless of their majors and minors, and working to increase black faculty and staff and students so that they have a greater opportunity for educational, social development, political awareness and able to take the long view in terms of where their at as students and where they hope to be ten to fifteen years from now" (Personal Interview, May 21, 2007). Dr. Thompson also stressed the importance of having a Black faculty Staff Organization in place to help eliminate the problem of isolation among black faculty and to "further promote unity, strength, compassion and aid for other black faculty and staff at UMC and to also encourage other academic units to become flexible in terms of diversity within their departments" (Personal Interview, May 21, 2007). To expound further upon the topic of diversity, a UMC faculty member provided his insights regarding the past and present state of diversity issues at UMC.

Interview with a UMC faculty member

On Tuesday, June 5, 2007, a faculty member shared their views concerning previous and current race relations and diversity issues at UMC. When asked, what types of policies or programs the UMC administration or student organizations such as LBC has implemented between 2000 and 2007 to help improve race relations and to promote diversity on the UMC campus, The faculty member reflected on past initiatives relating to diversity and, stated that, while he served in a former position on campus, " one white student and a group of black students (along with himself) formed a team to set forth the initiatives of a recruitment marketing program of which one of the important pieces was fellowship administration. We developed (funding), and one of them was (identified the name of the scholarship) which was named after an African American to be awarded a degree at UMC. These funds were centralized. The scholarship program along with (identified the name of another scholarship) were funds centralized in the (named the department on campus) along with the existing funding that had already been here and that had never been awarded to a (person of color). So, there was some resistance to the (identified the name of the scholarship) program and to some of the other scholarship programs because (some) said you are favoring (people of color) over whites. Those people never took into consideration that in all of those years leading up, those

scholarship funds that had existed had never gone to any blacks. There was even resistance to recruiting black students and so as the years went on beginning in the late 1980's going into the early 90's, we begin to get federal dollars, for the (scholarship) program, By the mid 90's, some seven years after I arrived, we successfully wrote a grant to the (identified the name of the organization) ...and we were able to get a grant that was aimed at preparing underrepresented (students of color) in the Life and Physical Sciences. I knew from my years of experience that it would be next to impossible to get an ample supply of (identified certain) students to come to the University of Missouri who resided in the state of Missouri. So, we initially constructed that program to reach into Louisiana where we had been tremendously successfully that would be the African American component, Oklahoma and Colorado for the Native American component. When the (identified the name of the Organization) reviewed that, they said they would not approve that, and so they said you have a problem in Missouri. But at that time, we had developed (identified the name of an organization) and the reason it was called (identified a specific name) because we were attempting to stretch tentacles geographically from Missouri to other areas in the country. The (identified an organization's) program officer, said, if you will confine it to the state of Missouri, we will fund it; so we did, we got a

(identified the amount of money) a year for (certain number of) years. Then we were able to really flex our muscles in building materials and recruitment campaign flyers, brochures, visits and they began to swell the ranks of (identified specific) students; simultaneous to that, (identified the name of another faculty member) was working in the undergraduate school, so we had a two pronged approach going on and we also supported medical students and law students all out of the graduate school office. It met with mixed reviews, the current chancellor was at that time, was (identified the name of the person). They were concerned about how these efforts would be received in...the rural sections of the state and in the legislature. People felt that they were not engaging in fair treatment and they (referring to the UMC Administration) did not see the need to create an environment that would be welcoming to people who were different. They never saw the need for that! But that didn't impede us, we kept chugging along, we had now our (identified the name of the scholarship) program, we had the (identified another scholarship) program, we had (identified the name of funding) dollars, we had a number of programs going on. After successfully writing grants for, then receiving and administrating these programs we applied for a piece to support (identified specific) students to study for the (named a specific degree), the (identified the name of the) program, we got another five

million dollars for that, so we had ten million dollars; and that should had been a great outcome, but it wasn't a great outcome, they (referring to the University administration) decided to reorganize the(identified the name of the department). In reorganizing the (identified the name of the department), they first said they wanted to bring in someone who had a degree in (named a specific area) because of the (named a specific) initiative. They wound up bringing in a (referred to a female's skin color and gender) with a (identified a specific ethnic) surname to be (identified the position the individual was to serve in) of the(named the department) The year before they brought (identified the person again) aboard, we had applied for this (specific) recognition for our (named specific) efforts. When (named the person again) came aboard, they had just reorganized, we won the award and they give (named the person again) the credit for it. I was terribly disappointed! Since then, it has gone down, the (named the specific scholarship) program does not reside in the (named the department), it's shifted out to the programs on campus, the number of the (named specific group of)students has gone down and nobody cares about it, so to answer the question, what programs have been put in place, I am really not aware of any. The reorganization led to the creation of an enrollment management division headed by a (identified a certain person serving in a certain role) and

they were never really aggressive in going after (identified a specific group of students. They were always concerned about the (named a certain test) and those kinds of things. Our internal research indicated that there was no relationship between success on the (named the specific test) and the completion of a (named a specific) degree. What their GRE data had shown was that there was correlation between higher scores and successful completion of the first year of (named a specific area of) study, it didn't talk about getting the degree, but they didn't hear that, they were concerned that the legislators and the others simply would not look with favor, so as I said, they reorganized the (named the specific department), sent all the programs out. Moreover, faculty member also stated that, the absence of a Minority Affairs Officer has affected the entire minority environment on the campus. If one raises that, as some faculty did, they are met with scorn and marginalization...That's the state of affairs, there is no perceived need to develop and support a nurturing environment for (named a specific group of students) on the Missouri campus anymore...It's not a good state of affairs and were back to really a worse situation than we had before I arrived here in (named the year of arrival to UMC) in my judgment.

Furthermore, the faculty member also stated that some of the major events that have occurred between 2000 and 2007 to

enhance the quality of life for (named specific) students living on the UMC campus were the initiatives brought out by (named a specific University administrator) to implement Freshmen Interest Groups (FIGS) in the UMC dormitories. According to the faculty member, in the FIG groups, "there was some cultural and diversity values that were woven into that, so that was a good one. I think that the support for (named a specific area of study) is important, I think that it should be enhanced way beyond what it is. I think the creation of a chair to honor Arvah Strickland (is important), so there some important initiatives that have been launched since 2000 and those are among them. My only suggestion is that it is a good beginning and it's not enough to bring real evidence robust support for a continued ...minority student body. We need to use the athletics recruitment model as an example. The athletic arena, I really think that they have come a very long way when you look at the football team and when you look at the basketball team, you see people who have earned the positions because of the output. There are other barriers out there, but the athletic arena is much more successful than the academic arena in that regard". (Personal Interview, June 5, 2007).

The Current state of Race Relations at UMC

Between 1999 and 2001 the Campus Climate study was conducted on the UMC campus. The purpose of this study was to "reveal the perceptions of these campus constituents concerning the climate for diversity with respect to people of color; people with disabilities; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals; non-Christians; non-native English speakers; and women" (<http://diversity.missouri.edu/campus-climate/mccs-3.pdf>). Findings of this study indicated that fifty nine percent of people of color reported experiences of harassment based on race and ethnicity. Also, with regard to race and ethnicity, "fifty seven out of the 142 hate incidents that were reported were based on race and ethnicity. Hate incidents included offensive jokes, editorials, and public displays of signs and symbols. Participants did not perceive responses from university officials regarding hate incidents to be effective" (<http://diversity.missouri.edu/campus-climate/ccs-executive-summary.pdf>). Moreover, participants who served as employees on the UMC campus "rated effectiveness of diversity training, staff knowledge and availability of resources low". Furthermore, respondents also stated that "they did not receive training on dealing with underrepresented groups while (working) at UMC" (<http://diversity.missouri.edu/campus-climate/ccs-executive-summary.pdf>)

Summary

After examining the historical interactions relating to blacks on the UMC campus, and listening to the viewpoints from Dr. Julius Thompson and another UMC faculty member, it has become evident that history regarding race relations among black and white students and issues centered on diversity is in need of continual improvement. It appears that the only time race relations and diversity were improving on the UMC campus was during the later 1980's and the mid 1990's, however, beyond that race relations and the diversity climate at UMC tends to be an issue that is tolerated, but not welcomed or encouraged as a universal theme in the campus wide community. The following chapter will provide a description of the research study that was conducted to explore the perceptions that current black and white students have of racism at UMC. Survey and focus group findings will be reported and expounded upon in greater detail.

Chapter 5-Methodology and Results

Overview

This chapter will discuss how a sample of students was chosen for this study and will explain how data was collected, transcribed and analyzed. The limitations of this study's methodology will also be discussed in greater detail. In addition, this chapter will provide detailed information about student's responses on the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance. Excerpts from student' responses in the focus groups will also be reported and will serve as a supplement to the statistical findings. Finally, additional focus groups results will be discussed in relation to students' perceptions of prejudice, racism, and social distance on the UMC campus.

Methodology

This study utilized surveys and focus groups to collect data. After being notified of approval to conduct this study¹⁷, the researcher contacted the Coordinator over Freshmen Interest Groups (FIG) in the UMC residence halls to obtain participants for the qualitative component of the study. The Coordinator sent e-mails to student leaders of the FIG groups in the residence halls, and the student leaders sent e-mails to freshmen in their FIG groups to solicit their participation

¹⁷ This study was conducted after the researcher received approval from the University of Missouri's Institutional Review Board.

in the focus groups. Freshmen were asked to send an e-mail reply to the researcher if they were interested in participating. Some freshmen did respond to the e-mail and the researcher set up a time to conduct the focus group in the dorm where FIG members lived. In some cases, the researcher discovered some students who responded to the e-mail did not attend the focus group. In this event, the researcher used a convenience sampling method which entailed knocking on student's doors in the residence hall to gain participation for the focus groups.

In terms of participation for the survey, the Director over the First Year Experience course was contacted to see if freshmen in these courses could be surveyed for the quantitative component of this study. The director's administrative assistant was forwarded information about the study and she then informed instructors of the First Year Experience that the Director approved the researcher's inquiry to survey students enrolled in these courses. The researcher then contacted the instructors by e-mail to set up a time where the survey could be explained and distributed to students. Before the survey was disseminated to students, the researcher provided informed consent forms and confidentiality statements to the students about the length of time it would take to complete the survey, who to contact if they had questions, and that the survey was completely voluntary and

students had the right at any time to cease from completing the survey. The researcher also contacted instructors who taught Introduction to Rural Sociology and Population and Ecology to obtain participants for the survey and focus groups. Students who were enrolled in these courses were informed that if they had responded to participating in the focus group, they were asked not to participate in the survey. The instructors of the Rural Sociology and Population and Ecology courses were contacted to determine an appropriate time that the instructor could come in and discuss the details of the study and survey to freshmen in the class. To obtain both qualitative and quantitative data for this study, the researcher conducted focus groups and distributed social distance surveys to freshmen who were members of FIG groups and who were enrolled in the courses mentioned above during the Winter and Fall semester of 2006.

Students who participated in the survey or focus groups had to be first or second semester freshmen at MU. All focus groups and surveys were conducted and disseminated by the researcher who was a 2nd year African American, female doctoral student in the department of Rural Sociology at UMC. The survey that was used to gauge freshmen's perceptions of racism on the UMC campus was the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance. This scale has been used in research studies to determine the

comfort level that an individual of one ethnicity has with another individual of a different ethnicity.

Focus Groups

A total of four focus groups were conducted, 3 of the focus groups were conducted with freshmen and 1 focus group was conducted with all graduate students.

The first focus group was made up of 2 white females, and 1 black female, the second focus group was comprised of two white females and 1 African American/Hispanic Male, the third focus group was made up of 2 white females and 1 Iranian female, and finally the fourth focus group was comprised of 3 black females and 1 black male, all of which were graduate students at UMC.

All four focus group conversations were transcribed, the first two were transcribed by the researcher, the third focus group conversation was transcribed by a graduate student in the School of Social Work and the fourth focus group conversation was transcribed by a former graduate of the School of Social Work and the researcher. Both individuals were given instructions by the researcher to transcribe the data as it was transcribed in the first two focus groups.

The focus groups that have been conducted with first and second semester freshmen along with a group of graduate students aim to understand the views that these students have

of other students from different ethnicities than their own. Focus groups created an opportunity for students to freely discuss if they were in favor or not in favor of having social interactions with students of different ethnicities. As a result, focus groups provided an opportunity for students to share their experiences regarding the positive or negative encounters they had with students of other ethnicities.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of utilizing Focus Groups

The advantages to utilizing focus groups to study social distance is that one can present questions or scenarios in a certain way that has the capability of eliciting a certain type of response from individuals. By allowing individuals the opportunity to expound on questions, the researcher can obtain a greater understanding of their perceptions and viewpoints regarding certain groups of people. The other advantage to conducting a focus group is that individuals who hear other persons talk about their reluctance to interact with members of other minority groups may become more likely to share their feelings of discontent as well. The disadvantages to utilizing focus groups to measure social distance is that individuals may not readily open up discuss their personal biases until the tape recorder is off. As a result, the researcher can listen and take field notes on what the participants reported to him or her after the session is

over, but may lose the authenticity of the participant's response if it is not recorded. The other disadvantage to utilizing focus groups is that mortality becomes an issue. When the researcher solicits individual's participation for a study, they may have a high response rate until the actual time of the focus group is conducted. Consequently, the researcher may not have a diverse group of participants and their responses may be similar in nature, which makes it difficult for the researcher to report various perspectives or paradigms in his or her research study.

Bogardus Scale of Social Distance

Students who completed the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance for Winter Semester 2006, were asked to provide their gender, major, ethnicity, year in school as well as to identify if they were from a rural or urban area and provide the name of the area in which they were from. Students who were sampled in four of the First Year Experience Courses and two of the Introduction to Rural Sociology courses during Winter 2006 were asked to state whether they approved, disapproved or had no objection to interacting with Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, Caucasian Americans or Biracial Americans of any combination in terms of their comfort level with having

individuals from these ethnic groups interact with themselves in one of the following situations:

1. As one of their in laws
2. As their partner or spouse
3. As their co-worker
4. As their next door neighbor
5. As one of their close friends
6. As a person who attends their religious organization
7. As a member of their favorite professional sports team
8. As their employment supervisor
9. As their roommate
10. As one of their classmates
11. As their classroom instructor
12. As their religious leader

At the end of Winter Semester 2006 and during the Fall Semester of 2006 students were sampled a second time in the Introduction to Rural Sociology Courses and a group of students who were enrolled in the First Year Experience course and in Population and Ecology who had not been previously sampled were asked to state if one of their close friends would approve, disapprove or have no objection to interacting with individuals from the ethnic groups mentioned above in the previous social situations listed. The researcher's rationale for changing the wording for students completing the survey was to obtain a more candid response from students regarding

their perceptions of the ethnic groups mentioned in on the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance. The researcher anticipated that students would be more willing to express the views that their close friend had about certain ethnic groups than to disclose their own feelings. **The researcher wanted to determine if results generated from the surveys also were similar to the statements respondents provided in the focus groups.**

Advantages and Disadvantages of utilizing Surveys

The advantage to utilizing surveys to measure social distance is that anonymous surveys compel some individuals to be honest about their views regarding certain minority groups. As a result, the researcher is able to sample a large number of participants and quantify their overall responses in a general sense. However, the disadvantage to utilizing surveys to measure social distance is that individuals may only put down politically correct answers or may not complete or fill in all information on the survey. Consequently, the researcher is left with the task of how to handle missing data in the quantification of his or her statistical analysis. In addition, they must also determine what to report in terms of research findings given that participants may have only reported politically correct answers.

Limitations of the Research Methodology

Some of the limitations of this research study include the absence of another investigator to assess the nonverbal language of the respondents during the course of the focus group discussion and to provide another perspective on flow of the discussion to the primary investigator after the focus group was finished. According to Krueger (2002), the assistant moderator takes comprehensive notes, operates the tape recorder, handles the environmental conditions and logistics (refreshments, lighting, seating, etc.) and responds to unexpected interruptions...(the) assistant is also extremely helpful in performing the post-meeting analysis of the session" (p. 104). In addition, the small number participants in each of the freshmen groups which only amounted to three impacted the diverse responses that could have been received had there been more participants present. According to Krueger (2002), "the disadvantage of the mini-focus group is that it limits the total range of experiences because the group is smaller" (p. 79). In addition, since focus groups were only held one time with various freshmen respondents, familiarity with the topic could not be developed over time given that the groups only met once during the semester to discuss issues regarding race. Research has shown that "several focus groups are often needed to gain a sense of how the questions are working and if they need to be revised" (Krueger, 1994, p.

144). Moreover, in terms of collection for the quantitative data, given that the researcher was an African American woman who surveyed black and white freshmen, her ethnicity could have impacted the white freshmen's responses on the survey to put down politically correct answers instead of their true opinions. Although, researchers have discovered that "just because the moderator is of the same ethnicity as participants, doesn't mean the groups will function effectively" (Krueger, 2002, p.216). In addition, the transcriptions of the focus group conversations for the first two groups were transcribed by the researcher and the last two focus groups were transcribed by two former social work graduate students and the researcher. As a result, a lack of exposure to the topic of social distance or inability to clearly hear participant responses may have influenced the other two transcriber's ability to interpret and transcribe participant's responses accurately. Furthermore, multiple transcribers could have also impacted the reliability of how responses were interpreted. Research has shown that when using a tape based analysis, "that the analysis (should be conducted) by the same individual who moderated the focus group" (Krueger, 2002, p. 143).

Summary

Obtaining an understanding of the methodology used in this study has provided sociological insight regarding the most appropriate methods that can be utilized to measure social distance and obtain additional reasons for why it may be greater or less in particular situations rather than in others. The following section will discuss the quantitative and qualitative results that were generated from the research methods that were employed.

Survey Results

Fifty seven percent of the students who participated in this study completed the survey during Winter Semester 2006, Forty two percent completed the survey during Fall Semester 2006. Forty six percent of the sample participants were males and fifty three percent were percent were females. Fifty nine percent of the participants identified majors in Business, Journalism, Education or as being undecided. The remaining forty percent identified majors in a variety of other disciplines. Seventy seven percent of participants identified as Caucasian or White, while the remaining twenty two percent identified as being apart of a minority group such as Hispanic American, African American, Asian American, Caucasian American, or Biracial of any ethnic combination, or Russian, Anglo-Saxon or Iranian. Moreover, all students surveyed were first-year college freshmen enrolled in their first or second semester. Forty three percent of the participants identified themselves as being from a rural area while fifty six percent identified as being from an urban area. (Give USDA guidelines for Rural and Urban Here). Thirty two percent of the students were from St. Louis, MO, while eight percent were from Kansas City, MO. The remaining fifty three percent of the students in the study were from a combination of cities and towns within Missouri and small rural towns and large cities in other states. In terms of income, most of the students surveyed identified that that average household of their close friend ranged between fifty and seventy five thousand dollars per year. See the table below for a summary of demographic variables.

Summary of Demographic Variables

Demographic	Total (N)	Percent
-------------	-----------	---------

Variables		
Respondents in Winter '06	109	57%
Respondents in Fall '06	81	42%
Males	88	46%
Females	101	53%
Students who majored in Business, Journalism, Education, or identified as undecided	112	59%
White Students	147	77%
Minority Students (who identified as Hispanic, African American, Asian American, or Biracial American of any combination)	42	22%
Students from a Rural Area	83	43%
Students from an Urban Area	106	56%
Students from St. Louis, MO	61	32%
Students from Kansas city, MO	16	8%
Students from a combination of cities and towns within Missouri and small rural towns and large cities in other states	112	53%
Average household income--- Range between \$50,000 and %75,000 per year	28	27.5%

Ethnic Categories of UMC students

Category	Frequency	Percent
Hispanic American	3	1.6%
African American	28	14.7%
Asian American	3	1.6%

Caucasian American	147	77.4%
Biracial American	6	3.2%
Other	2	1.1%

To further examine the ethnic backgrounds of students who completed the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance, as observed in the table above, seventy seven percent of students identified as Caucasian, while a little over fourteen percent identified as African American, a little over three percent identified as being biracial while a little over one percent identified as being Hispanic, Asian and other.

Household Income Levels UMC students identified their Close friends as having.

Category	Frequency	Percent
\$5,000-49,999	40	39.2%
\$50,000-74,999	28	27.5%
\$75,000-100,000	34	33.3%

A little over thirty nine percent of the UMC students estimated their close friend's household income level between five thousand and forty nine thousand, while a little over twenty-seven percent of the UMC students estimated their close friend's household income to range between fifty thousand and seventy four thousand. In addition, a little over thirty three percent estimated their close friends household level between seventy five thousand and one hundred thousand.

**UMC Students comfort level with ethnic groups on
Bogardus Scale of Social Distance**

(NA 1) Having a Native American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	90	47.4%
(2) No Objection	84	44.2%
(3) Disapprove	16	8.4%

(NA 2) Having a Native American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	51	27.0%
(2) No Objection	68	36.0%
(3) Disapprove	70	37.0%

(NA 3) Having a Native American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	133	70.0%
(2) No Objection	56	29.5%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(NA 4) Having a Native American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	131	68.9%
(2) No Objection	54	28.4%
(3) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(NA 5) Having a Native American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	134	70.5%
(2) No Objection	48	25.3%
(3) Disapprove	8	4.2%

(NA 6) Having a Native American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	129	68.6%
(2) No Objection	54	28.7%
(3) Disapprove	5	2.7%

(NA 7) Having a Native American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	145	76.3%
(2) No Objection	41	21.6%
(3) Disapprove	4	2.1%

(NA 8) Having a Native American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	115	60.8%
(2) No Objection	59	31.2%
(3) Disapprove	15	7.9%

(NA 9) Having a Native American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	99	52.1%
(2) No Objection	63	33.2%
(3) Disapprove	28	14.7%

(NA 10) Having a Native American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	147	77.4%
(2) No Objection	43	22.6%
(3) Disapprove	0	0%

(NA 11) Having a Native American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	130	68.4%
(2) No Objection	54	28.4%
(3) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(NA 12) Having a Native American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	94	50.3%
(2) No Objection	65	34.8%
(3) Disapprove	28	15.0%

In terms of respondent's interactions with Native Americans, they expressed strong approval for interacting with them as classmates, having them as players on their favorite sports team and interacting with them as close friends and as co-workers. However, respondents' greatest disapproval of interaction with Native Americans was observed in having them as a partner or spouse and as a religious leader. Moreover, respondents exhibited a large amount of no objection to having Native Americans as in laws, roommates and as a religious leader.

(HA 1) Having a Hispanic American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	85	44.7%
(2) No Objection	79	41.6%
(3) Disapprove	26	13.7%

(HA 2) Having a Hispanic American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	61	32.4%
(2) No Objection	68	36.2%
(3) Disapprove	59	31.4%

(HA 3) Having a Hispanic American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	135	71.1%
(2) No Objection	50	26.3%
(3) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(HA 4) Having a Hispanic American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	130	68.4%
(2) No Objection	51	26.8%
(3) Disapprove	9	4.7%

(HA 5) Having a Hispanic American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	134	70.5%
(2) No Objection	46	24.2%
(3) Disapprove	10	5.3%

(HA 6) Having a Hispanic American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	131	69.7%
(2) No Objection	51	27.1%
(3) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(HA 7) Having a Hispanic American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	148	77.9%
(2) No Objection	37	19.5%
(3) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(HA 8) Having a Hispanic American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	111	58.7%
(2) No Objection	61	32.3%
(3) Disapprove	17	9.0%

(HA 9) Having a Hispanic American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	98	51.6%
(2) No Objection	65	34.2%
(3) Disapprove	27	14.2%

(HA 10) Having a Hispanic American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	144	76.2%
(2) No Objection	45	23.8%
(3) Disapprove	0	0%

(HA 11) Having a Hispanic American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	126	66.3%
(2) No Objection	54	28.4%
(3) Disapprove	10	5.3%

(HA 12) Having a Hispanic American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	91	48.7%
(2) No Objection	71	38.0%
(3) Disapprove	25	13.4

Similar to Native Americans, respondents also felt comfortable interacting with Hispanic Americans as classmates, close friends, co-workers and as members on their favorite sports team. Respondents expressed disapproval of interacting with Hispanic Americans as in laws, partner or spouses, roommates and as having them as religious leaders. Similarly, respondents also expressed no objection to having Hispanic Americans as religious leaders, roommates, in laws, partner or spouses and as their employment supervisor.

(AA 1) Having a African American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	81	42.6%
(2) No Objection	76	40.0%
(3) Disapprove	33	17.4%

(AA 2) Having a African American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	62	32.8%
(2) No Objection	47	24.9%
(3) Disapprove	80	42.3%

(AA 3) Having a African American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	135	71.1%
(2) No Objection	50	26.3%
(3) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(AA 4) Having a African American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	128	67.7%
(2) No Objection	49	25.9%
(3) Disapprove	12	6.3%

(AA 5) Having a African American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	142	74.7%
(2) No Objection	40	21.1%
(3) Disapprove	8	4.2%

(AA 6) Having a African American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	137	72.9%
(2) Objection	49	26.1%
(3)Disapprove	2	1.1%

(AA 7) Having a African American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	154	81.1%
(2) No Objection	35	18.4%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(AA 8) Having a African American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	120	63.8%
(2) Objection	56	29.8%
(3)Disapprove	12	6.4%

(AA 9) Having a African American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	104	54.7%
(2) No Objection	59	31.1%
(3) Disapprove	27	14.2%

(AA 10) Having a African American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	147	77.4%
(2) No Objection	41	21.6%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(AA 11) Having a African American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	134	70.5%
(2) No Objection	50	26.3%
(3) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(AA 12) Having a African American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	109	58.3%
(2) No Objection	61	32.6%
(3) Disapprove	17	9.1%

In relation to African Americans, respondents approved of interacting with them, as a member on their favorite sports team, as a member in their religious organization, as a close friend, co-worker, as classmates, and having them as a classroom instructor. Respondents express the most disapproval in having to interact with African Americans as in laws, partner or spouses and as roommates. Moreover, respondents expressed no objection the most in having to interact with African Americans as in laws, roommates and as a religious leader.

(ASAM 1) Having a Asian American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	75	39.5%
(2) No Objection	82	43.2%
(3) Disapprove	33	17.4%

(ASAM 2) Having a Asian American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	49	25.9%
(2) No Objection	61	32.3%
(3) Disapprove	79	41.8%

(ASAM 3) Having a Asian American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	136	71.6%
(2) No Objection	53	27.9%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(ASAM 4) Having a Asian American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	129	67.9%
(2) No Objection	55	28.9%
(3) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(ASAM 5) Having a Asian American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	131	68.9%
(2) No Objection	49	25.8%
(3) Disapprove	10	5.3%

(ASAM 6) Having a Asian American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	129	68.6%
(2) No Objection	53	28.2%
(3) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(ASAM 7) Having a Asian American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	144	75.8%
(2) No Objection	43	22.6%
(3) Disapprove	3	1.6%

(ASAM 8) Having a Asian American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	115	60.8%
(2) No Objection	57	30.2%
(3) Disapprove	17	9.0%

(ASAM 9) Having a Asian American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	97	51.1%
(2) No Objection	69	36.3%
(3) Disapprove	24	12.6%

(ASAM 10) Having a Asian American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	143	75.3%
(2) No Objection	46	24.2%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(ASAM 11) Having a Asian American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	118	62.4%
(2) No Objection	60	31.7%
(3) Disapprove	11	5.8%

(ASAM 12) Having a Asian American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	87	46.5%
(2) No Objection	69	36.9%
(3) Disapprove	31	16.6%

Students expressed the most approval of having Asian Americans as co-workers, as members on their favorite sports team and as classmates. They expressed no objection the most in having Asian Americans as in laws, as a partner or spouse, as roommates and as their classroom instructor and as a religious leader. Students also expressed the greatest disapproval in having Asian Americans as their religious leader.

(CA 1) Having a Caucasian American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	150	79.4%
(2)No Objection	33	17.5%
(3)Disapprove	6	3.2%

(CA 2) Having a Caucasian American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	156	82.5%
(2)No Objection	22	11.6%
(3)Disapprove	11	5.8%

(CA 3) Having a Caucasian American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	147	77.8%
(2)No Objection	40	21.2%
(3)Disapprove	2	1.1%

(CA 4) Having a Caucasian American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	149	78.8%
(2)No Objection	38	20.1%
(3)Disapprove	2	1.1%

(CA 5) Having a Caucasian American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	156	82.5%
(2)No Objection	31	16.4%
(3)Disapprove	2	1.1%

(CA 6) Having a Caucasian American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	140	74.9%
(2) Objection	44	23.5%
(3)Disapprove	3	1.6%

(CA 7) Having a Caucasian American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	152	80.4%
(2)No Objection	34	18.0%
(3)Disapprove	3	1.6%

(CA 8) Having a Caucasian American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	144	76.6%
(2)No Objection	41	21.8%
(3)Disapprove	3	1.6%

(CA 9) Having a Caucasian American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	152	80.4%
(2) No Objection	34	18.0%
(3) Disapprove	3	1.6%

(CA 10) Having a Caucasian American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	151	79.9%
(2) Objection	37	19.6%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(CA 11) Having a Caucasian American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	149	78.8%
(2) No Objection	39	20.6%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(CA 12) Having a Caucasian American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	137	73.7%
(2) No Objection	42	22.6%
(3) Disapprove	7	3.8%

As observed in the tables above, students express the most approval in interacting with Caucasians in all of the scenarios above. Their choice to have no objection or disapprove in interacting with Caucasians is very low in all of scenarios.

(BA 1) Having a Biracial American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	87	47.8%
(2) No Objection	79	43.4%
(3) Disapprove	16	8.8%

(BA 2) Having a Biracial American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	71	39.0%
(2) No Objection	67	36.8%
(3) Disapprove	44	24.2%

(BA 3) Having a Biracial American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	130	71.0%
(2) No Objection	53	29.0%
(3) Disapprove	0	0%

(BA 4) Having a Biracial American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	127	69.4%
(2) No Objection	52	28.4%
(3) Disapprove	4	2.2%

(BA 5) Having a Biracial American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	128	69.9%
(2) No Objection	53	29.0%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(BA 6) Having a Biracial American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	127	70.2%
(2) No Objection	53	29.3%
(3) Disapprove	1	.6%

(BA 7) Having a Biracial American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	140	76.5%
(2) No Objection	41	22.4%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(BA 8) Having a Biracial American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	112	61.5%
(2) No Objection	64	35.2%
(3) Disapprove	6	3.3%

(BA 9) Having a Biracial American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	105	57.4%
(2) No Objection	66	36.1%
(3) Disapprove	12	6.6%

(BA 10) Having a Biracial American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	136	74.7%
(2) No Objection	45	24.7%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(BA 11) Having a Biracial American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	126	68.9%
(2) No Objection	55	30.1%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(BA 12) Having a Biracial American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	96	53.6%
(5) No Objection	71	39.7%
(6) Disapprove	12	6.7%

Students expressed the most approval in having Biracial Americans as their Co-worker, religious organization, as member of their favorite sports team and as a classmate. Students expressed no objection the most as having Biracial Americans as in laws, as a partner or spouse, as a supervisor, as a classroom instructor, and as their religious leader. Students also expressed the greatest disapproval in having Biracial Americans as their partner or spouse.

A comparison of frequency and percents by ethnic groups in relation to social distance statements

(NA 1) Having a Native American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	90	47.4%
(5) No Objection	84	44.2%
(6) Disapprove	16	8.4%

(HA 1) Having a Hispanic American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	85	44.7%
(5) No Objection	79	41.6%
(6) Disapprove	26	13.7%

(AA 1) Having a African American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	81	42.6%
(5) No Objection	76	40.0%
(6) Disapprove	33	17.4%

(ASAM 1) Having a Asian American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	75	39.5%
(5) No Objection	82	43.2%
(6) Disapprove	33	17.4%

(CA 1) Having a Caucasian American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	150	79.4%
(2) No Objection	33	17.5%
(3) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(BA 1) Having a Biracial American as an In-Law

Category	Frequency	Percent
(7) Approve	87	47.8%
(8) No Objection	79	43.4%
(9) Disapprove	16	8.8%

In terms of all ethnic groups, students expressed the most favorable interaction with having Caucasian as in laws. They expressed the no objection the most in having a Native American as in law, and they expressed the most disapproval in having an Asian American and African American as an in law.

(NA 2) Having a Native American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	51	27.0%
(5) No Objection	68	36.0%
(6) Disapprove	70	37.0%

(HA 2) Having a Hispanic American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	61	32.4%
(5) No Objection	68	36.2%
(6) Disapprove	59	31.4%

(AA 2) Having a African American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	62	32.8%
(5) No Objection	47	24.9%
(6) Disapprove	80	42.3%

(ASAM 2) Having a Asian American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	49	25.9%
(5) No Objection	61	32.3%
(6) Disapprove	79	41.8%

(CA 2) Having a Caucasian American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	156	82.5%
(2) No Objection	22	11.6%
(3) Disapprove	11	5.8%

(BA 2) Having a Biracial American as a partner or spouse

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	71	39.0%
(4) No Objection	67	36.8%
(5) Disapprove	44	24.2%

In relation to having someone as a partner or spouse, students expressed the most approval in having a Caucasian as a partner or spouse. They expressed no objection the most in having a Biracial as a partner or spouse and they expressed the most disapproval in having an African American and an Asian American as a partner or spouse.

(NA 3) Having a Native American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	133	70.0%
(5) No Objection	56	29.5%
(6) Disapprove	1	.5%

(HA 3) Having a Hispanic American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	135	71.1%
(5) No Objection	50	26.3%
(6) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(AA 3) Having a African American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	135	71.1%
(5) No Objection	50	26.3%
(6) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(ASAM 3) Having a Asian American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	136	71.6%
(5) No Objection	53	27.9%
(6) Disapprove	1	.5%

(CA 3) Having a Caucasian American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	147	77.8%
(2) No Objection	40	21.2%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(BA 3) Having a Biracial American as a co-worker

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	130	71.0%
(5) No Objection	53	29.0%
(6) Disapprove	0	0%

Students approval in having someone as a co-worker was greatest for Caucasian Americans, but as observed in the tables above, students approval of having someone in the ethnic groups above serve as their co-worker were all above 70%. Students reported no objection the most in having a Native American and a Biracial American as their co-worker. Moreover, students expressed a very small amount of disapproval with having any individuals from the ethnic groups above serve as their co-worker.

(NA 4) Having a Native American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	131	68.9%
(5) No Objection	54	28.4%
(6) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(HA 4) Having a Hispanic American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	130	68.4%
(5) No Objection	51	26.8%
(6) Disapprove	9	4.7%

(AA 4) Having a African American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	128	67.7%
(5) No Objection	49	25.9%
(6) Disapprove	12	6.3%

(ASAM 4) Having a Asian American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	129	67.9%
(5) No Objection	55	28.9%
(6) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(CA 4) Having a Caucasian American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	149	78.8%
(2) No Objection	38	20.1%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(BA 4) Having a Biracial American as a next-door neighbor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	127	69.4%
(5) No Objection	52	28.4%
(6) Disapprove	4	2.2%

In terms of having an individual as a neighbor, students most approved of living next door to a Caucasian American. Students expressed the most no objection in living next door to an Asian American. However, students mostly disapproved of living next door to an African American.

(NA 5) Having a Native American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	134	70.5%
(5) No Objection	48	25.3%
(6) Disapprove	8	4.2%

(HA 5) Having a Hispanic American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	134	70.5%
(5) No Objection	46	24.2%
(6) Disapprove	10	5.3%

(AA 5) Having a African American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	142	74.7%
(5) No Objection	40	21.1%
(6) Disapprove	8	4.2%

(ASAM 5) Having a Asian American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	131	68.9%
(5) No Objection	49	25.8%
(6) Disapprove	10	5.3%

(CA 5) Having a Caucasian American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	156	82.5%
(2) No Objection	31	16.4%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(BA 5) Having a Biracial American as a close friend

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	128	69.9%
(4) No Objection	53	29.0%
(5) Disapprove	2	1.1%

In terms of having someone as a close friend, students mostly approved of a Caucasian American. They expressed the no objection the most in having a Bi-racial as a close friend and they expressed the most disapproval in having a Hispanic and an Asian American as a close friend.

(NA 6) Having a Native American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	129	68.6%
(5) No Objection	54	28.7%
(6) Disapprove	5	2.7%

(HA 6) Having a Hispanic American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	131	69.7%
(5) No Objection	51	27.1%
(6) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(AA 6) Having a African American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(6) Approve	137	72.9%
(2) Objection	49	26.1%
(3)Disapprove	2	1.1%

(ASAM 6) Having a Asian American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	129	68.6%
(5) No Objection	53	28.2%
(6) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(CA 6) Having a Caucasian American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1)Approve	140	74.9%
(2) Objection	44	23.5%
(3)Disapprove	3	1.6%

(BA 6) Having a Biracial American as a person who attends their religious organization

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	127	70.2%
(5) No Objection	53	29.3%
(6) Disapprove	1	.6%

In terms of having someone attend their religious organization, students expressed the most approval in having a Caucasian and an African American attend their religious organization. They expressed no objection the most in having an Asian American and a Native American attend their religious organization. Moreover, the students showed very minimal disapproval of having an individual from the ethnic groups listed above attend their religious organization.

(NA 7) Having a Native American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	145	76.3%
(5) No Objection	41	21.6%
(6) Disapprove	4	2.1%

(HA 7) Having a Hispanic American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	148	77.9%
(5) No Objection	37	19.5%
(6) Disapprove	5	2.6%

(AA 7) Having a African American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	154	81.1%
(5) No Objection	35	18.4%
(6) Disapprove	1	.5%

(ASAM 7) Having a Asian American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	144	75.8%
(5) No Objection	43	22.6%
(6) Disapprove	3	1.6%

(CA 7) Having a Caucasian American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	152	80.4%
(2) No Objection	34	18.0%
(3) Disapprove	3	1.6%

(BA 7) Having a Biracial American as a member of their favorite sports team

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	140	76.5%
(2) No Objection	41	22.4%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

In terms of having an individual as a member of their favorite sports team, students mostly approved of African Americans. They expressed no objection the most in having an Asian American or a Biracial American as member of their favorite sports team and they showed minimal disapproval of having an individual from any of the ethnic groups listed above serve as a member of their favorite sports team.

(NA 8) Having a Native American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	115	60.8%
(5) No Objection	59	31.2%
(6) Disapprove	15	7.9%

(HA 8) Having a Hispanic American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	111	58.7%
(5) No Objection	61	32.3%
(6) Disapprove	17	9.0%

(AA 8) Having a African American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(6) Approve	120	63.8%
(2) Objection	56	29.8%
(3) Disapprove	12	6.4%

(ASAM 8) Having a Asian American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	115	60.8%
(5) No Objection	57	30.2%
(6) Disapprove	17	9.0%

(CA 8) Having a Caucasian American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	144	76.6%
(2) No Objection	41	21.8%
(3) Disapprove	3	1.6%

(BA 8) Having a Biracial American as their employment supervisor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	112	61.5%
(5) No Objection	64	35.2%
(6) Disapprove	6	3.3%

In terms of having an individual as their employment supervisor, students mostly approved of Caucasian American. They reported no objection the most in having a Biracial American as their employment supervisor and they most disapproved of a Hispanic American and Asian American serving as their supervisor.

(NA 9) Having a Native American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	99	52.1%
(5) No Objection	63	33.2%
(6) Disapprove	28	14.7%

(HA 9) Having a Hispanic American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	98	51.6%
(5) No Objection	65	34.2%
(6) Disapprove	27	14.2%

(AA 9) Having a African American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	104	54.7%
(5) No Objection	59	31.1%
(6) Disapprove	27	14.2%

(ASAM 9) Having a Asian American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	97	51.1%
(5) No Objection	69	36.3%
(6) Disapprove	24	12.6%

(CA 9) Having a Caucasian American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	152	80.4%
(2) No Objection	34	18.0%
(3) Disapprove	3	1.6%

(BA 9) Having a Biracial American as their roommate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	105	57.4%
(5) No Objection	66	36.1%
(6) Disapprove	12	6.6%

In terms of having a roommate, students mostly approved of having a Caucasian American as their roommate. They expressed no objection the most in having an Asian American as their roommate, and they also reported that they mostly disapproved of having a Native American, a Hispanic American and an African American as their roommate.

(NA 10) Having a Native American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	147	77.4%
(5) No Objection	43	22.6%
(6) Disapprove	0	0%

(HA 10) Having a Hispanic American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	144	76.2%
(5) No Objection	45	23.8%
(6) Disapprove	0	0%

(AA 10) Having a African American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	147	77.4%
(5) No Objection	41	21.6%
(6) Disapprove	2	1.1%

(ASAM 10) Having a Asian American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	143	75.3%
(5) No Objection	46	24.2%
(6) Disapprove	1	.5%

(CA 10) Having a Caucasian American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	151	79.9%
(2) Objection	37	19.6%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(BA 10) Having a Biracial American as their classmate

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	136	74.7%
(5) No Objection	45	24.7%
(6) Disapprove	1	.5%

In regards to having an individual as a classmate, students approved the most of having a Caucasian as a classmate; they reported no objection the most to having an Asian American and a Bi-racial American as a classmate. Furthermore students reported minimal disapproval with having an individual from the ethnic groups above serve as their classmate.

(NA 11) Having a Native American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	130	68.4%
(5) No Objection	54	28.4%
(6) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(HA 11) Having a Hispanic American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	126	66.3%
(5) No Objection	54	28.4%
(6) Disapprove	10	5.3%

(AA 11) Having a African American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	134	70.5%
(5) No Objection	50	26.3%
(6) Disapprove	6	3.2%

(ASAM 11) Having a Asian American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	118	62.4%
(5) No Objection	60	31.7%
(6) Disapprove	11	5.8%

(CA 11) Having a Caucasian American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	149	78.8%
(2) No Objection	39	20.6%
(3) Disapprove	1	.5%

(BA 11) Having a Biracial American as their classroom instructor

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	126	68.9%
(2) No Objection	55	30.1%
(3) Disapprove	2	1.1%

In regards to having someone as a classroom instructor, students mostly approved of having a Caucasian American as their classroom instructor, they reported no objection the most in having an Asian American as their classroom instructor, and they also mostly disapproved of having an Asian American and a Hispanic American as their classroom instructor.

(NA 12) Having a Native American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	94	50.3%
(5) No Objection	65	34.8%
(6) Disapprove	28	15.0%

(HA 12) Having a Hispanic American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	91	48.7%
(5) No Objection	71	38.0%
(6) Disapprove	25	13.4

(AA 12) Having a African American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	109	58.3%
(5) No Objection	61	32.6%
(6) Disapprove	17	9.1%

(ASAM 12) Having a Asian American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(4) Approve	87	46.5%
(5) No Objection	69	36.9%
(6) Disapprove	31	16.6%

(CA 12) Having a Caucasian American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(1) Approve	137	73.7%
(2) No Objection	42	22.6%
(3) Disapprove	7	3.8%

(BA 12) Having a Biracial American as their religious leader

Category	Frequency	Percent
(10) Approve	96	53.6%
(11) No Objection	71	39.7%
(12) Disapprove	12	6.7%

In regards to having someone as a religious leader, students mostly approved of a Caucasian American. They reported no objection the most in having a Biracial American as their religious leader and mostly disapproved of having an Asian American as their religious leader.

To understand the significant differences that existed between men and women, Whites and minorities, members of the lower, middle and upper class, as well as individuals who reside in urban or rural areas, a chi-square cross tabulation was performed to see how these demographic groups interacted with various ethnic groups. Below are the list of variables that were cross tabulated with each other and the results that were found to be significant.

List of Variables that were cross tabulated

Gender-(1)=Male, (2)=Female
Minority-(0)=White, (1)=Minority
Urban/Rural--(1)=Rural, (2)=Urban
Income-(1)=5,000-49,999, (2)=50,000-74,999, (3)=75,000-100,000

Native American-NA1...NA12
Hispanic American-HA1...HA12
African American-AA1...AA12
Asian American-ASAM1...ASAM12
Caucasian American-CA1...CA12
Biracial American-BA1...BA12

Social Distance Statements for each ethnic group

- 1- As one of their in laws
- 2- As their partner or spouse
- 3- As their co-worker
- 4- As their next door neighbor
- 5- As one of their close friends
- 6- As a person who attends their religious organizations
- 7- As a member of their favorite professional sports team
- 8- As their employment supervisor
- 9- As their roommate
- 10- As one of their classmates
- 11- As their classroom instructor
- 12- As their religious leader

Variables that were cross tabulated with each other, but were found to be not significant, were not mentioned in the following results.

**Bogardus Scale of Social Distance Survey
(Cross Tabulation Results)**

Note: In the cross tabulation results below, statistical significance was identified at the .05, .01 and .001 alpha levels. These levels illustrate that the results stated in the tables below are likely to occur less than 5%, 1% and .1% of the time by certain factors (that can be supported by research evidence), but not by chance¹⁸.

Gender and African Americans

Do men or women favor having African Americans as one of their next door neighbors?

N=188

Gender	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Men	(52) 59.8%	(26) 29.9%	(9) 10.3%	(87) 100%
Women	(76) 75.2%	(22) 21.8%	(3) 3.0%	(101) 100%

Chi-Square=6.829, p<.05

Gender and Asian Americans

Do men or women favor having an Asian Americans as their partner or spouse?

N=188

Gender	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Male	(31) 35.2%	(26) 29.5%	(31) 35.2%	(88) 100%
Female	(18) 18.0%	(35) 35%	(47) 47%	(100) 100%

Chi Square=7.323 p<.05

In relation to the findings on men and women and their interaction with African Americans and Asian Americans, As stated in the chapter 3 on social distance, "females expressed more favorable racial attitudes than males...and were found to be more willing to be friends with people of other races, to live near them and work with them, and to have their future children associate with them" (Johnson & Marini (1998), p.250). In addition, as stated in chapter 1, the study conducted by Odell, Korgen and Wang (2005) found that White males exhibited a greater social distance towards Blacks than White females. Moreover, this finding may also be reflective of how women are socialized to be helpful and to form relationships where as "men relate to others in a less personal manner" and thus, do not place a high

¹⁸ Waigandt, A. (2003). An introduction to research & statistics. Iowa: Kendall/Hunt..

value on relationships as compared to their careers (Johnson and Marini 1998, p. 247).

The excerpt below is from a White female who participated in the second focus group. She is discussing her relationship with a male from India. Her experience is reflective of how women are more likely to be friends with an individual from an ethnic background different from their own as seen also in the scenario above.

Researcher: "As you stated earlier, can you tell us a little more about that your boyfriend is from India".

Caucasian female from Illinois---"He's from India, but his parents are from India and migrated to the United States and so...he and his friends just sort of kinda like adapted that like hip hop culture, um that started in like the African American community. They listen to a lot of rap music, they dress in like baggy pants, they wear a lot of sweat pants, um and they talk like , "yo, da you know what are you doing today", I mean like, it sort of like they use that slang that originated in the African American community, we do have more extreme case, we have like some White girls who talk like really, really similar to inner city African Americans, because they found that group easy to hang out with and they could assimilate easier, um, but it's interesting with him because it sort of like I would picture him with like some like you know Black girl, a Latino girl of more the hip hop culture, but like I'm White, I mean I look attractive... but I mean I'm like nowhere near, I don't really follow that hip hop culture very much. It's funny that we ended up together". *(The female is elaborating on how her boyfriend's culture is different from hers and it has shocked her that she would be in a relationship with someone that is Indian and immersed in the hip-hop culture, a culture that she is not integrated into, and one that is very different from the suburban culture she has grown up in).*

Researcher: If you don't mind me asking, are you all from similar social classes?

Caucasian female from Illinois—Yes!

Researcher: Oh, Ok

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Although he grew up I think, um, actually like his dad was a doctor, but I don't think they've ever handled a lot of money, like I'd say, their probably a little bit lower than we are. But like we live in like the same kind of neighborhoods."

Whites, Minorities, and Native Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a Native American as a person who attends their religious organization?

N=187

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(107) 73.8%	(35) 24.1%	(3) 2.1%	(145) 100%
Minorities	(21) 50.0%	(19) 45.2%	(2) 4.8%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square= 8.598, $p < .01$

Whites, Minorities, and Native Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a Native American as a member of their favorite sports team?

N=189

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(118) 80.3%	(27) 18.4%	(2) 1.4%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(26) 61.9%	(14) 33.3%	(2) 4.8%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=6.605, $p < .05$

Whites, Minorities, and Native Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a Native American as their religious leader?

N=186

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(80) 55.6%	(43) 29.6%	(21) 14.6%	(144) 100%
Minorities	(14) 33.3%	(21) 50.0%	(7) 16.7%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=7.104, $p < .05$

Whites, Minorities and Hispanic Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a Hispanic American as their religious leader?

N=186

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(78) 54.2%	(48) 33.3%	(18) 12.5%	(144) 100%
Minorities	(13) 31.0%	(22) 52.4%	(7) 16.7%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=7.136, $p < .05$

In regards to Native Americans and Hispanic Americans, the research in chapter 3 states that Blacks who are identified as a minority group were not as accepting of Native Americans and Hispanic Americans as Whites were. Whites may have been more willing to interact with Native Americans and Hispanic Americans in the scenarios above because they were not forced to engage in close intimate situations with them. Given that the minority variable in this study is comprised of views from mostly Blacks, and the

remaining Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian Americans and a few other small amount of minorities which identified as Iranian or Russian, not accepting another minority such as Native Americans may substantiate the research finding stated in chapter 1 that stereotypes aid in the cognitive biases that an individual or group may develop about another group which may lead one ethnic group to develop social distance from another group. Stereotypes become embedded in one's mind through the process of socialization, individual motivation or an individual's cognitive biases. Cognitive biases involve any "negative information an individual has received about a member of a group that is different from their own and as result, this negative image causes the individual to develop an undesirable perception about the outside member" (Bobo, 2001, p. 275-276. This may be the case with minorities' reluctance to interact with Native Americans in sports activities and with Hispanic Americans along with Native Americans in religious organizations as seen in the results above.

Whites, Minorities and African Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having an African American as their partner or spouse?

N=188

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(36) 24.7%	(39) 26.7%	(71) 48.6%	(146) 100%
Minorities	(25) 59.5%	(8) 19.0%	(9) 21.4%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=18.658, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and African Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having an African American as a person who attends their religious organization?

N=187

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(111) 76.6%	(32) 22.1%	(2) 1.4%	(145) 100%
Minorities	(25) 59.5%	(17) 40.5%	(0) .0%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=6.089, p<.05

In relation to Whites and minorities views about African Americans, as stated in chapter 1, White's reluctance to engage in interracial relationships with Blacks stems from the negative stereotypes they have learned about them¹⁹. However, Whites decision to favor having an African American as a member of their religious organization is reflective of research conducted by Crull and Bruton in 1984 which stated that "Whites comfort level with Blacks had advanced to the friend and neighbor level"(McClelland & Auster, 1990, p. 615). In terms of the results above, this may be the reason why Whites are

¹⁹ Research conducted by Bobo (2001) showed that White's decision not to support interracial relationships with Blacks...stem from the racial stereotypes that they have learned about Black people.

more comfortable with having a Black person attend their religious organization as opposed to engaging in an intimate relationship with them. Furthermore, as stated above, since the minority variable in this study is comprised of mostly African Americans, and the remaining Hispanic, Asian, Native, Biracial, Iranian and Russian Americans, the research in chapter 1 that said, individuals who share commonalities with one another are referred to as members of the "in-group", whereas individuals who possess opposite characteristics than those in the in-group are referred to as members of the out group (Levin and Rabrevonic 2004, p.65). Consequently, minorities may approve of having an African American as their partner or spouse because they feel that their identification as a minority categorizes them as members of the same in-group. Moreover, minorities may disapprove of having a minority as their spouse or partner because they may also see other minorities as members of the out-group given their skin color or socio-economic class or given the serotypes they have learned about each other. This may prevent minorities from choosing another minority as their spouse or partner.

In terms of Whites' willingness to date or marry Black Americans, the comment from a White female from a suburb in St. Louis who participated in the first focus group illustrates the feelings that she believed her parents probably would express about her participating in an interracial relationship.

Student #3 (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)—"Um, ok how they would respond, well, I think my parents would be like very disappointed in me and kinda like the worst feeling for me is like if your parents are disappointed in what your are doing, I don't think they would respond badly, like they would have to get used to it. Like, I wouldn't be kicked out of the house or anything, but like they would be very distant and kind of to their self and wouldn't really talk to me. I'm sure I would slowly be kind of pushed out of my family because my grandparents, my dad's parents are actually very racist so that's like how he was raised up so that the way it works from there."

In addition, the excerpt below which is from the third focus group describes a White female's perception of a Black and White interracial couple in her church and she also discusses how she perceives the older church members feel about this interracial couple in their church. This example further illustrates how some Whites feel about Blacks attending their religious organization as observed in the scenario above.

Iranian Female from Denver—"Like it is really common. And the very thing that I heard always in my family at church, there is a married couple. They have to be at least seventy—in their late seventies. They are older. And it's this really huge tall sweet Black man and a cute little Caucasian lady. And like, they're just so cute. They always come to church together. They're married. And um, he's the only Black person I know that comes to my church. And um, like at first I was really, really like, " Oh wow, that's cool". And the older I get I appreciate them cause um, they still get kind of weird looks from like the older people in church. Like I have some teenagers that think, "Oh that's

cool." But like the older members of the church, like, they're still not comfortable with it, I think. Um, but I think it's really cool".

The Iranian female's perception is also reflective of research conducted by the Foundation for Ethnic Understanding in November of 2005 on racial attitudes. Findings from this study indicated that individuals between the ages 18-34 (as compared to older Americans) are more sensitive" and open to totally new experiences across demographic lines, and things are not so Black and White" (Moorer, The New York Amsterdam News, November 2005, p. 34).

Whites, Minorities and Asian Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having an Asian American as one of their close friends?

N=189

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(104) 70.7%	(39) 26.5%	(4) 2.7%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(26) 61.9%	(10) 23.8%	(6) 14.3%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=8.722, p<.01

Whites, Minorities and Asian Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having an Asian American as a person attends their religious organization?

N=187

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(107) 73.8%	(34) 23.4%	(4) 2.8%	(145) 100%
Minorities	(21) 50.0%	(19) 45.2%	(2) 4.8%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=8.556, p<.01

Whites, Minorities and Asian Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having an Asian American as a member of their favorite sports team?

N=189

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(118) 80.3%	(28) 19.0%	(1) .7%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(25) 59.5%	(15) 35.7%	(2) 4.8%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=9.276, p<.01

Whites, Minorities and Asian Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having an Asian American as their employment supervisor?

N=188

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(95) 65.1%	(41) 28.1%	(10) 6.8%	(146) 100%
Minorities	(19) 45.2%	(16) 38.1%	(7) 16.7%	(42) 100%

Chi-Square=6.670, p<.05

Contrary to White's views of African Americans, their views of Asian Americans are more accepting than minorities' views of them²⁰. However, "Whites' views of Asian Americans are "quite positive. Asian Americans have often been viewed as the 'model minority' by Whites because they value hard work, responsibility and family" (Blaine, 2000, p.87). Thus, Asians values are similar to that of traditional White family values which is why they may be appreciated more by Whites and be more willing to befriend them, accept them as a member of their religious organization, as a member of their favorite sports team, and is willing to have them as their employment supervisor as observed in the scenarios above.

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as one of their in-laws?

N=188

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(126) 85.7%	(21) 14.3%	(0) .0%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(24) 58.5%	(11) 26.8%	(6) 14.6%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=27.443, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as their partner or spouse?

N=188

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(138) 93.9%	(7) 4.8%	(2) 1.4	(147) 100%
Minorities	(18) 43.9%	(15) 36.6%	(8) 19.5%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=57.251, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

²⁰ In relation to Blacks acceptability of Asian Americans, Native Americans and Hispanic Americans, "Blacks were found to be less acceptable with these three target groups than Whites did in all domains" (Hraba, Radloff and Gray-Ray (1999), p. 537).

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as their co-worker?

N=188

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(121) 82.3%	(26) 17.7%	(0) .0%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(25) 61.0%	(14) 34.1%	(2) 1.1%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=13.132, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as their next door neighbor?

N=188

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(124) 84.4%	(23) 15.6%	(0) .0%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(24) 58.5%	(15) 36.6%	(2) 4.9%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=16.839, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as a person who attends their religious organization?

N=186

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(120) 82.8%	(25) 17.2%	(0) .0%	(145) 100%
Minorities	(19) 46.3%	(19) 46.3%	(3) 7.3%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=27.724, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as a member of their favorite sports team?

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(127) 86.4%	(19) 12.9%	(1) .7%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(24) 58.5%	(15) 36.6%	(2) 4.9%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=16.561, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as their employment supervisor?

N=187

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(119) 81.5%	(27) 18.5%	(0) .0%	(146) 100%
Minorities	(24) 58.5%	(14) 34.1%	(3) 7.3%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=16.469, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as their roommate?

N=188

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(128) 87.1%	(19) 12.9%	(0) .0%	(147) 100%
Minorities	(24) 58.5%	(14) 34.1%	(3) 7.3%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=22.210, p<.001

Whites, Minorities and White Americans

Do Whites or minorities favor having a White American as their religious leader?

N=185

Race	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Whites	(121) 84.0%	(23) 16.0%	(0) .0%	(144) 100%
Minorities	(16) 39.0%	(18) 43.9%	(7) 17.1%	(41) 100%

Chi-Square=44.547, p<.001

Whites comfort level with interacting with other Whites as in laws, partners or spouses, co-workers, next-door neighbors, in religious organization, as players on a sports team as their roommate and as their religious leader as observed in the nine scenarios listed above may be due to their perception that minority groups presence any various social situations limits the availability of social resources for themselves and their perceptions of minorities may be negative. As a result, "Dominate groups view increases in the relative size of minority groups as problematic because...great numbers of minority group members increase competition for valuable but limited social resources, such as access to schools, jobs or housing, (moreover) recent findings have also shown that areas with larger or growing minority populations show greater attacks on minority groups (Green, Strolovitich and Wong 1998), and higher levels of

negative attitudes toward minorities" (King and Wheelock, March 2007, p. 1257). Minorities disapproval of engaging in social interaction with Whites as in laws, partners or spouses, co-workers, next-door neighbors, in religious organization, as players on a sports team as their roommate and as their religious leader may stem from the belief that...a comparatively high percentage of Blacks and Hispanics, express the view that there is "a lot" of discrimination against, respectively Blacks, Hispanics and Asians..." (Bobo, 2001, p. 280). Minorities' perceptions of racial discrimination against them may lead them to be refrain from interacting with Whites in several situations similar to the scenarios listed above.

The excerpt below describes responses that were given by students who participated in the first focus group as to why certain people feel more comfortable around individuals who are from their same ethnic group and it also discusses the reasons why individuals on a college campus may feel uncomfortable around other persons who are not from their same ethnic group. Their responses are also reflective of why minorities may only want to interact with minorities and why Whites may only want to interact with Whites as seen in the scenarios above.

Researcher: "The first Question basically dealing with, "What factors do you all think contribute to why some people would distance themselves from others as compared to another group, and anybody can start"?"

1st Student (Black Woman from Chicago)—"Um, One thing is that you feel more comfortable around people that you think experience the same things as you experienced so you kind of shift towards them, Cause like one thing I noticed on campus is like when African American sees another African American, we like automatically smile and wave and like hug each other, but we don't necessarily do that when we see like a Caucasian girl walking with us, I don't know you if feel more comfortable around them, I don't know!"

Researcher: Ok, ok, anybody else

2nd student (White Woman from suburb of St. Louis)—"I totally agree with that I think that it definitely has to do with like your background and maybe even like how you were raised, because I can see like what you were saying in like a rural community, I can definitely say that like people probably don't get to experience like any different races or even religions and stuff like that, there pretty much like stuck in their community."

3rd Student (Other White Woman from suburb of St. Louis)—"Yeah, I agree with how you were raised because I was raised in a White, I grew up in a catholic um grade school and so that was practically one ethnicity and then I went to a public high school and it was really diverse and it took me a while to get used to it then uh, I came to Mizzou and one of my good friends she came from really small farm town and so she is just used to being around Caucasian

people so it was a big shock to her. And so I definitely think it was how you were raised up..."

Moreover, the second excerpt below describes the towns where students who participated in the fourth focus group were from. They discuss the socioeconomic and ethnic make up the neighborhoods they lived in while growing up. Their responses help to serve as indicator of the class of people that are most likely to live in neighborhoods that are predominantly White or predominantly Black.

Researcher: "Would you all say that in terms of a class dynamic in your neighborhood, would you say it was more heterogeneous or homogeneous. Was it all one type of classes or was it diverse classes? Because you talked about how the people in your neighborhood (referring to Black female from Monroe City, MO), you were the only family that had two parents? So that gives me some indication of a class issue in that neighborhood, how would you all describe that (posing the question to the entire group)?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City: "In my neighborhood, from middle school to high school, it was a predominantly White area, upper middle class, most people, college educated, um two parent home and few Blacks there as well. The area where we moved from the all Black neighborhood, it was pretty much the same, two parent home...the majority of the people there were home owners. I guess it wasn't economically a big move or shift".

Researcher: What was the name of the neighborhood you moved from and then if you could tell us the neighborhood you moved to?

Black Female from Oklahoma City: "Ok, I moved from Musgrave to Edmond".

Researcher: In Oklahoma, Oklahoma City

Black Female from Oklahoma City: "Yes I moved from Edmond in Okalahoma City, not a big difference, Oklahoma City has a lot of what you all would call suburbs...Edmond tries to be it's own little town".

Researcher: "What about you (referring to female from Junction City, Kansas), would you say it was middle or upper class, How would you describe that"?

Black Female from Junction City Kansas: "It was probably upper middle class...They (Referring to the people in the military) shared our city basically, they shared our district. We went to high school together. We had separate junior highs, but we did a lot of things together so um...so it was very diverse in terms of African American and Caucasian American...and I think that we were almost oblivious to it because I remember when I played basketball, my situation was very unique given where we were at and when I played basketball, we played some smaller towns and it never dawned on me, we talked about this on the bus afterwards, we laughed about it. But, we went to this tournament, and this was somewhere in southwest Kansas and when we ran in, the opening school, yelled, "SOUL TRAIN!" That's what they called us, the

soul train school, and we were like why are they calling us that, and we never realized, our whole team was Black, it never dawned us, we had one little White girl and she kind (played) between JV and Varsity. But it never dawned on us that we were all African American because of the environment that we were in the high school and you know..as for as the interaction we never had any type of race wars or anything that you hear some high schools having particularly in urban (areas), I don't really think it was a big issue".

Black Female from Monroe City Missouri: "I'd say um, my family was middle class, however the surrounding families were lower. I think also too, I guess I never really thought about it, but my parents were the only ones with a college education. The only place for African Americans to work in the town, most of them worked in the factory, my dad was an engineer at the factory whereas everybody else's parents worked out in the factory and my mom worked at the other factory in town, but she was a computer operator whereas my cousin's parents worked out in the factory and ran the machines...and my siblings, we were the only ones with a college education. Sad to say, but half of my cousins who did go to college were females came back because they ended up pregnant. Not one of my cousins who are from Monroe graduated from college. But, I think it's because, they don't have the family support either, but, so I'd say lower".

Researcher: Ok

Black Male from Las Vegas: "I grew up in the projects of Las Vegas. Uh, growing up in the projects, my mom got remarried and we moved from the projects when I was in seventh grade. So, I think it started a lower class, but (referring to new area he moved to)was probably was lower middle class...my step dad drove a brand new Cadillac every year. It was good, we would take trips every year and go down south. But yeah, circumstances changed after she got remarried".

Income and African Americans

Do individuals who earn a low, medium or high income favor having an African American as their partner or spouse

N=102

Income	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Low (5,000-49,999)	(19) 47.5%	(6) 15.0%	(15) 37.5%	(40) 100%
Medium (50,000-74,999)	(8) 28.6%	(6) 21.4%	(14) 50.0%	(28) 100%
High (75,000-100,000)	(3) 8.8%	(10) 29.4%	(21) 61.8%	(34) 100%

Chi-Square=13.342, p<.01

As stated in chapter 3, Odell, Korgen and Wang (2005) found that "social class is related to social distance when comparing Blacks and Whites...wealthier Whites have a slightly greater level of social distance from Blacks than do less economically well off Whites. Researchers have also discovered that individuals who possess higher socio-economic statuses to tend to exhibit greater social distance levels from Blacks [(Browman, neighbors, and Jackson 1988; Demo and Hughes 1991; Thornton et al. 1997), Smith & Moore, 2000, p. 5]. This research finding may be reflective of why those that earn a higher income (who are also likely to have identified as White in this study) in the table above possess a strong disapproval of having an African American as their partner or spouse.

Income and Asian Americans

Do individuals who earn a low, medium or high income favor having an Asian American as one of their close friends?

N=102

Income	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Low (5,000-49,999)	(27) 67.5%	(8) 20.0%	(5) 12.5%	(40) 100%
Medium (50,000-74,999)	(12) 42.9%	(13) 46.4%	(3) 10.7%	(28) 100%
High (75,000-100,000)	(26) 76.5%	(6) 17.6%	(2) 5.9%	(34) 100%

Chi-Square=9.569, p<.05

As stated earlier, Asians values have been identified as being similar to that of traditional White family values which is why they may be appreciated more by Whites. Moreover, as stated in chapter 2, research conducted by Stolte and Fender (2007) stated that "an individual internalizes general frameworks...from the culture in which he or she is embedded and socialized...Because a given social value framework is permeated by a person wishes, hopes, fears, and desires, she/he is likely to have a clear-cut, personal value-based position in regard to the social situational outcomes she/he favors or opposes". As a result, Whites may more likely to favor engaging in close friendships with Asians as observed in the table above because their values are similar.

Income and White Americans

Do individuals who earn a low, medium or high income favor having a White American as their religious leader?

N=98

Income	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Low (5,000-49,999)	(22) 55.0%	(13) 32.5%	(5) 12.5%	(40) 100%
Medium (50,000-74,999)	(17) 65.4%	(8) 30.8%	(1) 3.8%	(26) 100%
High (75,000-100,000)	(28) 87.5%	(4) 12.5%	(0) .0%	(32) 100%

Chi-Square=10.800, p<.05

Given that individuals that earn a high income are less likely to interact with Blacks, they may be more likely to interact with Whites because most Whites earn higher incomes. In regard to this study, most respondents identified as being White and the average income in the study ranged between \$50,000 and \$75,000 a year. As a result, most of the respondents who answered the question above also identified with being from a middle to upper class. Moreover as stated in chapter 1, individuals who share commonalities are more likely to interact with each other because they identify themselves as members of the in-group" (Levin and Rabrevonic 2004, p.65). This may be the reason why individuals who earned higher incomes felt more comfortable interacting with other White Americans.

Income and Biracial Americans

Do individuals who earn a low, medium or high income favor having a Bi-racial American as one of their close friends?

N=101

Income	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Low (5,000-49,999)	(29) 72.5%	(11) 27.5%	(0) .0%	(40) 100%
Medium (50,000-74,999)	(12) 42.9%	(14) 50.0%	(2) 7.1%	(28) 100%
High (75,000-100,000)	(25) 75.8%	(8) 24.2%	(0) .0%	(33) 100%

Chi-Square=11.860, p<.05

As stated in chapter 3, by research conducted by Odell, Korgen and Wang (2005) found that being apart of a wealthy social class and having prior cross racial friendships before coming to college...would influence their level of social distance while on the college campus.

This research finding may be reflective of the reason why students who identified with higher incomes in the table above were more likely to have bi-racial Americans as their close friends.

Income and Biracial Americans

Do individuals who earn a low, medium or high income favor having a Bi-racial American as their roommate?

N=101

Income	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Low (5,000-49,999)	(25) 62.5%	(15) 37.5%	(0) .0%	(40) 100%
Medium (50,000-74,999)	(10) 35.7%	(13) 46.4%	(5) 17.9%	(28) 100%
High (75,000-100,000)	(19) 57.6%	(11) 33.3%	(3) 9.1%	(33) 100%

Chi-Square=9.775, $p < .05$

As stated in chapter 1, research conducted by Cruz-Janen (1999) on biracial Americans, found that Mainstream culture "is obsessed with Whiteness and the exclusion of anyone not perceived as White enough...(moreover), Anglos are elevated to superior status with everyone else struggling for acceptance...even when biracial Americans are part White, they are designated as persons of color" (Cruz-Janen, 1999, p. 6). Given that research findings by Bobo revealed that...when Whites act on their perceptions about Blacks or any other minority group, racial discrimination can occur. Given that most of the respondents in this study identified as White and coming from households that had medium or high incomes, their likelihood of living with someone that differs from themselves in terms of class or ethnic background is highly unlikely. Furthermore, those that identified as earning a lower income may have been more willing to room with a biracial American because of how they were socialized as a child. The process of early childhood socialization²¹ has significant impacts on racial attitudes and thus, on ...student's choice to engage with each other in a college setting. It may have been that the students who identified as coming from a household with a low income was brought up to befriend people of different ethnicities. This may be one factor that has contributed to the results in the table listed above.

The excerpt below which was given by a male who was biracial (African American and Hispanic background) from Blue Springs, MO which is a middle class suburb outside of Kansas City serves an indicator for why his close friend was a Caucasian female.

²¹ Socialization is "the lifelong social experience by which individuals develop their human potential and learn culture" (Macionis, 2001, p.115). Socialization encompasses the social class an individual's family identifies with, peer groups members of the family are apart of, the schools family members attended and the type of community they lived in.

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—“I come from a school 95% White and the other 5% is broken down into other categories. So I mean, there’s never been a huge um like Black population at my school and so I mean, I don’t really like gravitate towards Black people, I just, I mean, It’s kind like I’m speaking, but like I’m like contradicting myself because if you see me out, my friends and stuff there Black, but it’s because I’ve known, I have like 3 main people I hang out with here besides my best friend, but the other three are Black, but I’ve known them since middle school. I went to middle school with them and so it’s just like a comfort thing, I’ve always known them and so they just happen to come from the same school I did. You know you just hang out with the people you’ve known forever. I mean I haven’t really gone out and made anymore Black friends, I haven’t specifically like sought them out or anything like that and like my best friend she’s White. She’s a girl and she’s White and she’s my best friend. We lived across the street from each other and so like we would always like ride to school together and stuff like that, we hang out all the time. I go over to her house every night cause she doesn’t actually live on campus. She’s the lucky one and didn’t have to live in the dorm; she got an apartment, so she lucked up with that. So I always go and talk to her and stuff like that. I guess I would say I divide my time equally, but I spend more time with her because she’s been my best friend and I’ve known her now for nine years”.

Demographic Area and Asian Americans

Do individuals who live in rural or urban areas favor having an Asian American as their partner or spouse?

N=188

Demographic Area	(N) Approve	(N) No Objection	(N) Disapprove	(N) Total
Rural Area	(14) 17.1%	(27) 32.9%	(41) 50.0%	(82) 100%
Urban Area	(35) 33.0%	(34) 32.1%	(37) 34.9%	(106) 100%

Chi-Square=7.060, p<.05

As stated in chapter 1, research findings cited by Johnson and Marini (1998) also indicated that “urban residents have more liberal attitudes about (race)” [p. 249, (Schuman et al. 1985; Steeh and Schuman 1992; Wilson 1984)]. Given that thirty two percent of the students in this study identified themselves as being from St. Louis which is considered an urban area, results shown in the table above may be reflective of the diverse ethnic groups that are present in the St. Louis area. Students from this area may have been accustomed to living in an

area with a diverse group of people and as a result would feel comfortable choosing an Asian American as their spouse or partner.

In addition, a Black female who was from Chicago that participated in the first focus group elaborated on how Chicago, an urban city and the high school she attended was very diverse, her comment is also an indicator of why urban residents may feel comfortable having an Asian American as their spouse or partner.

Black Woman from Chicago---“Um because I mean everybody that is from Chicago, Chicago is like really diverse and so were already use to it so when we get into the high school it wasn’t like you never seen like a Caucasian person before or it wasn’t like the rural areas... at my high school, it was really diverse, everything was like an equal group of people of every different race so we would were basically all mixed up through high school and we really felt comfortable around with each other so like even with like little groups that started like the Indian club”

Additional Focus Group Results

There was additional information that students provided about their perceptions of prejudice, discrimination and racism that were not asked on the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance but were discussed in the focus groups. **This additional information helps to answer the central question of this research study, which is “What are college freshmen’s perceptions of racism on the UMC campus?** The categories listed below describes students’ perceptions about the topics mentioned above

Category 1–Beliefs Focus Group Participants have about Black and White students perceptions of racism on this campus stem from the following:

- Type of community one was socialized in
- Student’s views regarding the percentage of majority student population compared to the minority student population on this campus
- How minorities are treated by people from different ethnic groups

Category 2–Focus Group participant’s personal perceptions of a prejudice or racist situation are described by:

- How their own parents or friend's parents view people of other races
- How comfortable parents would feel if their son or daughter dated a person of a different race.

Category 3—Focus Group participant's specific examples of personal perceptions of prejudice or racist situations are described by:

- Someone's use of the N-word and tone of voice
- Someone's choice to serve a Caucasian person before an African American person or refusal to serve an African American person in a restaurant setting
- Someone's attitude toward a person
- How an individual from one ethnicity perceives visual looks from another group of people from a different ethnicity

Category 4—Focus Group participants classifications of a prejudice or racist situations are describe by:

- Referring to a physical attribute of a member of a certain ethnic group, such as how their hair or how their body odor smells
- Someone's preference for dating a person of a certain ethnic group based on their physical traits such as how they dress or speak and the likelihood that they have received a college education
- Using word phrases such as "people like that", "those types of people", or "people who act ghetto" when referring to a certain ethnic group
- The utilization of racial slurs to describe certain ethnic groups
- acting differently toward a person because of their race or their age
- a preconceived notion about the way a person is going to act
- (unconsciously or consciously) not accepting someone just because they're different
- Having feelings or acting a certain way toward any group

Category 5—Focus group participant's definition of racism is described by:

- Using speech that would degrade a person
- Showing disrespect to a person in some manner only because of their race
- Thoughts and attitudes exhibited towards someone of a different ethnicity
- Marginalization or disenfranchisement of certain ethnic groups
- Judging for bad or good because of somebody's race
- The use of power (by a majority group against a minority group)
- Discriminating against someone because of their race or ethnicity

Category 6—Focus Group participant's experiences with racism on this campus are described by witnessing:

- Two individuals from different ethnic groups engage in a physical fight for an unknown reason or because the N-word was used

The following excerpts from the focus groups describe student's responses to their perceptions of racism, Black culture, and policies that promote the presence of Black employees in a particular clothing company. These excerpts will be analyzed according to the color blind racism frames mentioned in chapter two that Bonilla Silva used to describe White's conversations about Blacks.

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"I don't know, I guess I

don't really hang around people who have race issues, like I guess I could say the biggest person in my life who has race issues would be my Dad. He actually, me and my sister talk about this all the time, like if we ever brought home a Black guy like as boyfriend type like he would have a heart attack, like he would have a heart attack just because, I don't know, he is very old fashioned, but he's very old fashioned...but like he has no problem with like educated, but I like I think it's the whole rap community like he sees me watching MTV and watching music videos with rapping and he thinks it's crap like, so I think like he has no problem with educated Black people, but I think when it comes to like inner city Black kids, I think that's where like he draws the line, but other than that none of my friends has race problems at all".

The student above is describing how her father is the only racist person she knows, she states that he is old fashioned and has no problem with educated Black people, but with Blacks that are apart of what she calls the rap community. She also states that if her or her sister ever brought home a Black boyfriend, her dad would have a heart attack, *According to Bonilla Silva, this type of frame would be identified as Cultural Racism Frame, because the fathers perceptions of Blacks in the rap community are magnified by his stereotypes of individuals in this group.*

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"I think social distance overall, I think my view is that almost the Black culture has separated themselves from society. Like to me I think there's so much information out there that like we have like Black history month and we have like a Black culture center on campus like we don't have what we call a White culture center for White people, I feel like that's separating themselves, like why, like to me that's segregating themselves, like people say that like a lot of people are racists and stuff like that, like that's separating themselves, like how do we cross that barrier if there not coming half way, it's almost like, I don't know, like they, like Black culture has like different opportunities too like, I don't know, like college entrance and stuff like that like they maintain a certain amount of Black kids so they can just have diversity in college, I don't know, I just think there are different opportunities between our social class".

The female above is describing her thoughts about how she believes that Blacks separating themselves from society and she states that there is a Black Culture Center on campus and not a White Culture Center. In addition, she says that some say that a lot of people are racist, and questions how the barrier should be crossed, if (they) referring to Black people are not coming half way. Furthermore, she states that different opportunities exists for Black kids in terms of college entrance, social class and diversity in college. *Bonilla-Silva would define this frame as abstract liberalism because the female does not believe governmental policies should not be used to achieve equal enrollments of Blacks on the college.*

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"And a couple years ago, they were getting sued because they didn't have Black people working at their store and now you have to have so many Black kids like entered in college or you have to have so many Black people working for your company, like I don't think just because their Black that they should have, like you just should just like let them in, like I think they should go the proper qualifications, like race issue shouldn't be apart, I don't care if your White, Black or yellow, like I don't care if your Mexican or Black, I think you should be qualified to do the job".

In this excerpt above, the female is voicing her opinions about why she does not believe that Blacks should be hired to work for a clothing company just because they are Black, she strongly feels as though race should not be an issue and the hiring of any employees should be based solely on qualifications to perform the job. *Bonilla Silva would also define this frame as minimization of racism, because the female believes that race should not be an issue in hiring employees for a specific clothing company.*

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"My friend Nicole, she not biracial, but she's really light skinned for a Black person, she's about your color (referring to the researcher), but she's just really really light skinned and um, because she's Black she doesn't have like the typical Black person's hair...and like I was with her this weekend and I ...I did, what's funny, it happened, and apparently we were hanging out... and she actually hangs out with Black people and when were in high school all of her close friends except for me were like White people and so I was just that's weird, but I was like well it's cool you know or whatever...and we were leaving after we dropped off one of her friends and they called her and asked her if she could take them to a dollar store and she was like sure, and she's a really nice girl and I got really made at her for it and I was just yelling at her about God knows what and she told me that I looked at her and said, 'Yeah, but their ethnic'"

The male in the excerpt above is describing his feelings regarding another group of Black students and refers to them as ethnic, *Bonilla-Silva would define this frame as Cultural Racism because the male is highlighting an aspect of Black students culture based on his own stereotype of them.*

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "I think it's three things, it's vernacular, it's dress or appearance and it's what you do, your actions. I'll give this example of how I was operating on some prejudice information based on those three things. I had a student on first guess is what you (referring to the researcher's discussion of ghetto earlier) articulated as "ghetto". He's got the sports wear on the hat, the St. Louis, He's from St. Louis, the timberlands, the baggy jeans, the big bubble coat and he's dressed like that every single day, every single day. He's got the silver chains. When I first met this guy as a freshmen, he came into my office, we had a conversation, had a long conversation. And, I looked at him and said, let me see where this cat's from? And he debunked every prejudice notion in my brain. I was like this kid is from this background, he speaks like this and that means he's from this socioeconomic group. False, every last one of them. This kid was from a middleclass, although he talks like he's not. He is interested in some intellectual activities and topics that folk from inner city St. Louis typically don't get down with. He was talking about Religious Studies, he's almost fluent in Japanese now. But he impressed me. I was like dude, I like you, your just blowing all my notions What it means to be from St. Louis is all about it. We have developed a relationship over the years and he's getting ready to graduate. He's got like a

3.9 GPA and I'm trying to convince him to go to Grad School, but his folks had never gone to grad school, never gone to college, but he's still middleclass, he doesn't talk, dress, act like he's from middleclass, but he is and the kid is destined for greatness. I think so, just on the ball, sharp guy, but you wouldn't know it just by looking at him".

The male above is describing the stereotypes he had about a Black student he had met for the first time who initially, he thought was from "the ghetto" but after speaking with him, he had come to realize he was an intelligent student. *His assumptions led him to believe the stereotypes that he had preconceived in his mind before actually getting to know the student for himself. Bonilla-Silva would also identify this as the Cultural Racism frame, because the male had pre-determined that the Black student was going to be a certain way because of how he was dressed.*

Moreover, one of the Caucasian women in the focus group also commented that she felt that a group of African American women that were enrolled in one of her classes, "acted ghetto"...she then said, I feel comfortable saying that here (referring to the focus group), but not there (referring to the classroom). In terms of Goffman's dramaturgical analysis, this particular comment illustrates how the Caucasian woman acted a certain way in the classroom while she was in the presence of the African American women(which could be classified as the front region), but while in the focus group (which can be classified as the back region) commented that her behavior was "ghetto".

This contradictory behavior illustrates how students of one ethnicity can perform a certain role in front of a student from another ethnicity while behaving a different way when they are around students of their own ethnicity. Students can also oscillate between the performance of these two roles given the racial composition of their audience and the particular region that they are in. Moreover, given that the White woman's perception of the African American women in her class is one of "ghetto", if the African American women discovered that the Caucasian women felt this way, Goffman would say that the discovery of this dark secret could cause her performance as Caucasian woman to be questioned. Consequently, the Caucasian woman's true feelings about the African American women in her class could then be viewed as cynical because her performance in the front region is contradictory to her statements in the back region.

Summary

The quantitative and qualitative findings reported in this chapter provided a descriptive picture of how students' responses in the focus groups are also related to responses given by students on the surveys. In regards to gender, women favored having an African American as a their next door neighbor, however, in relation to Asian Americans, men favored having Asian American as their partner or spouse as compared to women. Also, in relation to Whites and minorities interactions with Native Americans, Whites approved of having Native Americans and Hispanic Americans as their religious leader, however, they only approved of having Native Americans as members of their religious organization, as their religious leader and as members of their favorite sports team. In terms of Whites relationships with African Americans, they were more likely to be in favor of having them attend their religious organization rather than engage in an intimate relationship with them. Moreover, White's relationship with Asian Americans appeared to be more favorable because they approve of having them as close friends, members of their religious organization, and on their favorite sports team and as their employment supervisor. Overall, it appears that Whites would prefer to interact with Whites as co-workers, next door neighbors, as attendees in religious organizations, as members on the favorite sports team, as employment supervisors, as roommates, and as their religious leaders. In terms of income, people who earn lower incomes are more likely to have African Americans as a

partner or spouse as opposed to individuals who earn higher incomes.

Consequently, those that earn higher incomes were more likely to disapprove of having an African American as their partner or spouse. In addition, those that earn high incomes are about 5% more likely to have Asian Americans as close friends, than individuals who earn lower incomes. Furthermore, individuals who earn higher incomes are more likely to favor having an Asian American as their religious leader. In addition, the relationship between income and bi-racial Americans indicates that individuals who earn a low or high income are more likely to have a biracial American as their friend; however, persons who earned higher incomes were not as likely to approve of having a biracial American as their roommate. Moreover, persons who reside in rural areas are not as open to having an Asian American as their spouse as compared to their urban counterparts. Furthermore, the focus group findings that were mentioned were also used to serve as indicators for several of the cross-tabulation results,

In addition, examples of the various types of racism frames that Bonilla-Silva uses to discuss Whites conversation about minorities were applied to Whites and minorities conversations about members of an ethnic group in the focus groups. Specifically, the cultural racism frame was frequently cited as an indicator of the stereotypes Whites and minorities ascribed to certain ethnic groups during their focus group conversations.

Overall, additional focus group results helped to provide detailed information about why students may possess certain views about prejudice, racism and social distance on the UMC campus. The following chapter will discuss the significance of these findings and strategies for reducing the level of social distance among Black and White students on the UMC campus.

Chapter 6—Summary, The Impact of Racism on Social Distance Implications, Revisions and Recommendations

Overview

This chapter will discuss a summary of the this dissertation's findings, sociological implications of this study, suggestions for how this study could have been conducted differently and the relationship that exists between racism and social distance. It will also recommend strategies the University of Missouri-Columbia can implement to lessen the amount of social distance between Black and White students on the campus.

A Brief Summary of the Dissertation Study

The purpose of this dissertation was to understand college freshmen's perceptions of racism at the University of Missouri-Columbia. I examined the levels of social distance that existed between White and Black freshmen at UMC. My purpose for utilizing the social distance scale was to understand why certain students would be more willing to socially interact with certain ethnic groups rather than others. The students' preference for some groups over others in specific situations aided me in learning more about biased or racist perceptions some students possessed. I reviewed social distance studies that had been conducted at other

universities and examined the historical interactions that existed among Blacks and Whites in the United States and on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus to better understand why Black and White students would still choose to distance themselves from one another during this present time.

I also explored Erving Goffman's dramaturgical analysis and frame analysis to guide my thinking about why some students act certain ways in the presence of other students and to gain sociological insight regarding how people talk about their social experiences. I also examined Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's theory on Color-Blind racism to understand how some students who participated in focus groups could voice their support for equality among all ethnic groups, while yet unconsciously using language that subtly oppressed a certain ethnic group.

In terms of my methodology, I distributed surveys to one hundred and ninety first year freshmen that were enrolled at the University of Missouri-Columbia during Winter and Spring semester of 2006. I also conducted four focus groups with freshmen who resided in the dorms during this same year. In these focus groups, I asked specific questions related to perceptions college freshmen had of racism on the UMC campus. I transcribed conversations from the focus groups, organized students' perceptions of racism into categories and ascribed

Bonilla-Silva's color-blind racism frames to responses students provided in the focus group discussions.

I utilized a Chi-square cross tabulation to analyze my survey results and to identify any significant differences that existed among pairs of variables. My results indicated that gender, race, social class and if students were raised in an urban or rural area were all related to the level of social distance they chose to employ with students from different ethnic groups than their own while on the UMC campus. Furthermore, the results of my study revealed that women were more open to living next door to African Americans, while men were more open to having an Asian American as their partner or spouse. With regard to Whites' interactions with Native Americans, they felt comfortable having them as members of their religious organizations and as team mates on their favorite sports team and as their religious leader. However, with respect to White's relationships with Hispanic Americans, Whites only favored having them as a religious leader. In relation to White's interactions with African Americans, they did not favor having them as a partner or spouse, but did favor having them as a member of their religious organization. In relation to Asian Americans, Whites were more favorable of interacting with them as close friends, as members in their religious organization, as team mates on their favorite sports team and were favorable of having them as their employment

supervisor. However, it does appear that Whites would prefer to interact with other Whites as co-workers, next door neighbors, team mates on their favorite sports team, as members in their religious organization and as roommates. Results also indicated that Whites favored having other Whites as their religious leader and as their supervisor. Results also showed that people who earned lower incomes favored having an African American as their partner or spouse as compared to individuals who earn higher incomes. Moreover, it was found that individuals who earned higher incomes were slightly more likely to have Asian Americans as close friends than individual who earned lower incomes. Furthermore, people who earned higher incomes were more in favor of having an Asian American as their religious leader. In regards to the relationship between income and biracial Americans, results indicated that individuals with low or high incomes favored having a biracial American as their close friend. However, those that earned higher incomes were not in favor of having a biracial as their roommate, but did favor having a White American as their religious leader. Moreover, results also indicated that urban residents favored having an Asian American as their spouse or partner as compared to their rural counterparts. Overall, it appeared that Whites were more prejudiced towards African Americans and were more accepting of Asian Americans. In addition, it also seemed as though

those individuals who earned higher incomes were more likely to socially distance themselves from members of ethnic groups as opposed to those persons that earned lower incomes.

In the following sections, I will discuss the impact of racism on social distance, sociological implications of this study and will recommend community development strategies that the University of Missouri-Columbia can implement to lessen the amount of social distance that exists among Black and White students.

The Impact of Racism on Social Distance

After examining the interactions that have historically existed between Blacks and Whites, and learning more about the theoretical perspectives that were discussed to explain the racism, one can begin to understand why social distance would occur between persons of different ethnic backgrounds. As discussed in chapter one, stereotypes have helped to shape the negative perceptions that Blacks and Whites have historically possessed towards each other and as a result, it has guided their decision in determining the amount of interaction they will engage in with one another in various social settings. As stated in chapter two, the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance was used to assess the willingness of an individual of one ethnicity to interact with an individual of a different ethnicity. The concept of social distance helps one

understand which social settings certain individuals of one ethnic background are willing to engage in less or greater physical proximity with individuals from another ethnic background. According to Bonilla Silva, someone who is a colorblind racist may be willing to work alongside, participate in social organization or even attend class with someone from a different ethnicity while simultaneously possessing racist feelings towards the individual. They can achieve this because their level of social distance does not require them to engage in close social interaction with the individual that is from a different ethnic background than their own. In this regard, Goffman would say that the individual who is a colorblind racist is simply masking their true feelings for the sake of performance given their social status as an employee, associate or classmate.

However, a person who does not possess racist feelings may be more willing to engage in a more intimate social situation with a person of different ethnicity. For example, this individual would be comfortable with dating, marrying or having someone from different ethnicity as an in law. As a result, their level of social distance would be minimal because their perception of someone from a different ethnicity is optimistic rather than pessimistic. Consequently, the concept of social distance helps one assess if an individual of one ethnicity may be racist towards someone of a different

ethnicity based on their choice to engage in less or greater physical proximity with individuals who are racially different from themselves in various social settings.

Sociological Implications

The process of socialization and one's socioeconomic status has significant meaning for the results of the study and the broader field of sociology. As stated in chapter 1, The process of early childhood socialization²²... influences a person's view of the world and their idea of culture²³. Given that gender and socio-economic class (measured as income in the study) were found to be significant in relation to social distance levels with African Americans and Asian Americans may stem from how our society, and specifically how our family of origin have socialized males and females to perceive individuals that are racially or ethnically different from themselves. As sociologists, we must seek to challenge the social construction of reality that society has ascribed to the role of men and women. Sociologists can accomplish this by educating our students to use their sociological

²² Socialization is "the lifelong social experience by which individuals develop their human potential and learn culture" (Macionis, 2001, p.115). Socialization encompasses the social class an individual's family identifies with, peer groups members of the family are apart of, the schools family members attended and the type of community they lived in.

²³ Culture is a compilation of one's "values, beliefs, behavior; and material objects that, together; form a people's way of life. Culture includes what we think, how we act, and what we own" (2001, p. 61).

imagination²⁴ to see the world beyond its norms, but in relation to themselves and others. By encouraging students, to see the world from a sociological perspective, cognitive transformation can occur and can help us possess new information about the world around us and as a result, new behaviors among men and women towards persons of other ethnic groups may begin to manifest in the society that we live in. Moreover, sociologists must be cognizant of the fact that our society is moving from a nation that has historically made distinctions between persons who are Black and White, but is now distinguishing members of society in two categories, one rich, and one poor. In this millennium, it is crucial for sociologists to educate students about the impact that the wealthier class has on the social interaction of all members of society regardless of their ethnic group. Sociologists can begin to teach students that social experiences can determine social interaction rather than wealth. Utilizing social experiences as determining factor in social interaction can potentially help Whites and minorities to see commonalities in their perceptions of each other and can possibly create meaningful interaction between one other.

The theoretical implications of this study stem from Goffman's theory on frame analysis which states that

²⁴ Sociological Imagination—"is defined as the quality of mind that will help an individual what is going on in their world and what may be happening in themselves" [(Mills, 1959, 3-5), Macionis, 2001, p.10]

individuals talk about their social experiences in frames. In relation to his theory on dramaturgical analysis, all persons are performing a role for the purpose of impression management. In terms of my research study, the theoretical implications of this study are that students talk about their experiences related to race based on the roles they played in their social relationships with other students, relatives or intimate partners from various ethnic backgrounds. Students in this study provided accounts of their social interactions with students of other races in a social framework based on their roles as a student, daughter, son or intimate partner. The students' discussion of their experience provided understanding about why they maintained a certain level of social distance with students from different ethnic backgrounds on the UMC campus. Moreover, the theoretical implications of this study can encourage sociologists to train students to understand that a diverse society does not equal a culturally competent society. Sociologists must begin to reevaluate how they have taught topics relating to race, racism and diversity to their students. Adopting a pedagogy that will incorporate social learning experiences with basic sociological knowledge will help students become culturally competent in how they think about and act towards individuals of different ethnic groups. Combining these two important sociological concepts will integrate principles of Goffman's

frame analysis and dramaturgical analysis and will aid students in understanding how their discussion of personal and social experiences impact the social role and the level of social distance they will assume with students from various ethnic backgrounds on the college campus.

Revisions to the Design of the Study

If I had an opportunity to conduct this study again, I would have utilized a stratified sample instead of a convenience sample. This would have provided me with an equal number of Black, White, Hispanic, Asian and Biracial students for my study. Given that most of the students were White, my findings were rather skewed and do not represent the overall views of students of various ethnicities on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus. In addition, I would have also had at least five participants for the focus groups instead of three and I would have held at least three focus group sessions with each group of students in order to gain trust with them as a researcher and to give them an opportunity to develop a sense of familiarity with the topic of social distance. Moreover, I would have probably run a regression statistical analysis instead of chi-square to understand which variables were the best predictors of social distance for certain ethnic groups. However, since all of my variables were categorical, in addition to my sample being skewed rather than

normal, a chi-square analysis was more accurate to run rather than a regression analysis. I probably would have also incorporated another student who was of a different ethnicity to act as a researcher for the study. Given that I collected all the data for the study, both for the survey and for the focus groups, students who were from a different ethnicity may have had different responses if the research would have been conducted by a member of the same ethnicity as themselves. I would have also had five choices for students identify their comfort level with social distance with individuals different ethnic groups. Finally, instead of giving students the option of marking approve, no objection or disapprove, I would have utilized strongly approve, approve, neutral, disapprove, and strongly disapprove. This would have allowed me to determine if some students felt more willing or unwilling to interact with some ethnic groups rather than others.

Recommendations

The role of that the field of community development can play in lessening the occurrences of racial social distance among Blacks and Whites on college campuses is promoting the principles utilized to sustain a community such as engaging in mind mapping exercises, as well as identifying an action plan that contains a purpose and vision for the university to address issues related to racial conflict. This action plan

could also be used to promote cultural competence²⁵ and to foster community development among administrators, faculty, staff and students of different ethnicities on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus.

In Margaret J. Wheatley's book, *"Leadership and the New Science"*, she explores how various "sciences contributes to the way the world operates..."(1999, p. xv-xvii). In regards to lessening the occurrence of racial conflicts on campus, Wheatley's theoretical perspectives can help members of the university community realize that cultural competence must be studied from a campus wide holistic approach and not from the perspective of a single department. According to Wheatley, "We inquire into the part as we hold the recognition that it is participating in a whole system" (1999, p. 141). In terms of administrators, faculty, staff and students on the UMC campus, this principle helps them understand that cultural competence cannot only be understood from a faculty member or student's perspective, but it must be examined as a collective viewpoint of all parties recognizing that this same paradigm is embedded within the entire fabric of the university environment. According to Wheatley, "we understand the whole by noting how it is influencing things at (a)...local level" (1999, p. 141).

²⁵ Cultural Competence—"refers to the ongoing and intentional attainment of skills that lead an individual to function effectively in the context of differences...For an organization, it refers to the skills, protocols and structures that integrate the value of diversity and intentionally promote effective work with all employees and all consumers" (Reyes, 2007, slide 16).

Wheatley's perspective helps members of the university realize that cultural competence can only fully be explored when it is evaluated in regards to how it impacts the relationships between all members of the university community. In the eyes of Wheatley, administrators, faculty, staff and students should unify to implement cultural competency initiatives, (they should)... "engage together to learn more about their collective identity (and how) it affects them as individuals in a unique way. Consequently they will be able to see how their personal patterns and behaviors contribute to the whole" (1999, p. 144). As a result, Wheatley assists members of the university community in recognizing that cultural competence initiatives on campus will not be effective until administrators, faculty, staff and students merge together as a unified body.

The university's central goal could be to collectively gather administrators, faculty, staff and students together to identify why racial conflict arises on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus. In order to accomplish this task, the computer services department on campus could be contacted to disperse information to administrators, faculty, staff and students regarding a series of cultural competency forums that could be held to brainstorm the root of racial conflicts on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus. E-mail addresses for university administrators, faculty, staff and students and

computer services would also be needed in order to inform the entire campus community about the forums. The first forum could be entitled, "Recognizing our Differences". This forum could provide an open mic for students and faculty to discuss their differences in terms of ethnic background, gender and class. Helping them recognize what their differences are may actually help them also see some commonalities that they had not recognized once before. This forum could also provide administrators, faculty members, staff and students with an opportunity to talk about their views regarding how cultural competence should be promoted within campus organizations and in the classroom. Hosting these forums could potentially allow administrators, staff, faculty members and students to create public knowledge about diverse issues. According to a community development module on Dealing with Differences and Conflict, "purposeful interaction creates public knowledge". (Dealing with Differences Power-point).

Next, these individuals could collectively engage in a mind mapping exercises to determine which ideas relate to one another and then agree on a common goal that could be set to address this issue. Their immediate goal could be to promptly address racial conflict that occurs between staff and among students of different ethnic backgrounds over the next six months to one year. After the goal has been identified, they could then develop an action plan to accomplish this goal.

In the first stage of the campus action plan, task force members could be asked to develop a purpose and vision. According to the community development module on community action planning, "an organization's purpose defines the reason why it exists, and an organization's vision is a statement regarding where the organization sees itself in the future"(Community Action Planning Power-point). Within the action plan, they could also identify a purpose and a vision for the taskforce. The purpose of the taskforce could be to "lessen racial social distance between university administrators, faculty, staff and students and among students of different ethnicities". The vision of the task force could be, "A culturally competent campus capable of possessing intercultural interaction among university administrators, faculty, staff and students at all times". After the purpose and the vision is identified, they could identify resources, that they would need such as computers that have internet access as well as past and current newspaper articles centered around issues related to racial conflict on campus.

The task force could also ask for the data that was reported to the University Administration Board concerning the number of cases that involved prejudice, discrimination or racism in the past and evaluate that data in terms of the possible conversations or nonverbal behaviors that led to the occurrence of the racial conflict. This action plan could

also identify key stakeholders such as the director of the multicultural office, the Women's Center and The Disabilities Office, to help support their efforts.

After key stakeholders are identified, task members should be encouraged to collect data as well as develop a timeline to achieve the tasks outlined in their action plan in an efficient manner. The information and assistance needed will be data regarding the number of minority students enrolled in classes and those who also participated in campus organizations. Moreover, data will be needed that discusses the percentage of minority administrators, faculty staff and students on the UMC campus. In addition, faculty members and students will also need information regarding the number of minority administrators, faculty, staff and students operating in leadership roles on campus. Most importantly, information must be collected regarding the description and number of racial conflicts that have occurred on the University of Missouri-Columbia campus within the past six months to one year. Obtaining data of this nature will provide them with insight regarding where cultural competence is lacking or flourishing on campus.

To inform the campus community about the findings generated from the action plan, task members could develop a report that would be published in the student newspaper and sent via e-mail to the various departments on campus. This

report could highlight the major findings yielded from the action plan. The results of this report could also be outlined in a formal letter which could be sent to the University Administration Board. After the taskforce had been operation for at least 6 months to a year, they could check back with the University Administration board to see if the reported number of situations to the University Board concerning racial conflict had decreased.

This would lead the taskforce to surmise that they had achieved their goal in addressing the issue of racial conflict among university administrators, faculty, students and staff and between students of different ethnicities as well as achieved their overall purpose in lessening the occurrence of racial social distance among Black and White students on the UMC campuses effectively. These findings would also lead them to believe that they were well on their way to achieving their vision of having a culturally competent campus capable of possessing intercultural interaction among university administrators, faculty, staff and students at all times.

Appendix 1-Focus Group Transcription #1

Focus Group #1

(1 African American Female and 2 Caucasian Females)

Researcher: "Ok Ladies I just want to say thank you again for allowing me to come and learn more about your issues and perceptions of racism on MU's campus. And tonight were just going to talk about some things that I have here that of sort of relate to social distance as we talked about before".

(Question #1)

The first Question basically dealing with um, "What factors do you all think contribute to why some people would distance themselves from others as compared to another group, and anybody can start?"

1st Student (Black Woman from Chicago)-"Um, One thing is that you feel more comfortable around people that you think experience the same things as you experienced so you kind of shift towards them, Cause like one thing I noticed on campus is like when African American sees another African American, we like automatically smile and wave and like hug each other, but we don't necessarily do that when we see like a Caucasian girl walking with us, I don't know you feel more comfortable around them, I don't know."

Researcher: "Ok, ok, anybody else."

2nd student (White Woman from suburb of St. Louis)-"I totally agree with that I think that it definitely has to do with like your background and maybe even like how you were raised, because I can see like you were saying in like a rural like community, I can definitely say that like people probably don't get to experience like any different like races or even like religions and stuff like that, there pretty much like stuck in their community."

3rd Student (Other White Woman from suburb of St. Louis)-"Yeah, I agree with how you were raised because I was raised in a white, I grew up in a catholic um grade school and so that was practically one ethnicity and then I went to a public high school and it was really diverse and it took me a while to get used to it then uh, I came to Mizzou and one of my good friends she came from really small farm town and so she is just used to being around Caucasian people so it was a big shock to her. And so I definitely think it was how you were raised up and how you..."

Question #2

Researcher: "Ok, my next question would be growing up and you talked about high schools and you talked about the schools that you attended, outside of school, let's say in any social activities that you were involved in , was there a lot of diversity?"

1st Student (White Woman from suburb of St. Louis)—"Um, I would definitely say no, like when I get to high school more or less yes, because I like started, when I went to like my private high school, there weren't, it was pretty much like all Caucasian, like I started hanging out with like public school kids with like (says name of other white woman from suburb) and it got my diverse, I started expand like my range of friends and stuff like that."

Researcher: "Ok, what would you say...(motioning to the black woman)"

2nd Student (Black Woman from Chicago)—"Um a my high school, it was really diverse, everything was like an equal group of people of every different race so we would were basically all mixed up through high school and we really felt comfortable around with each other so like even with like little groups that started like Indian club"

Researcher: "That very interesting with question #2Coming from Chicago and that being an Urban City um would you say that the clubs that began at the high school uh were those due to those group of people moving in the city and then enrolling in the high school, how do you believe that people were ok with clubs like that and there was no friction?"

Black Woman from Chicago—"Um because I mean everybody that is from Chicago, Chicago is like really diverse and so were already use to it so when we get into the high school it wasn't like you never seen like a Caucasian person before or it wasn't like the rural areas cause it some like suburban areas in Chicago, that are like mostly like Caucasians there like Oak Park, Forest Park like places like that so we never really stick to the City urban area"

Researcher: "Anybody else, you guys are from St. Louis and I know I from St. Louis, in some ways, But you know St. Louis in some ways can be segregated, when you think about that, now I grew up like I said in Vinita Park near University City and the area that I grew up in was a suburban area. Growing up, there was a mixture, uh the street I lived on is interesting, one half of the block was Caucasian and the other half of the block is and the other half of the block was African American you know and so um, but what I can remember is just playing with the African American kids, but I don't recall engaging in leisure activities you know with Caucasians that lived on the street. Now when I think back, we were diverse in neighborhood, but not in interaction I guess if you were to classify it like that. Um, That is interesting, really interesting, it kinda leads me to think about this too..."

Question #3

Researcher: "Do you think that when different groups of people live, let's say blacks and whites live near each other, do you think that that automatically presence can create friction or opposition, or do you think that it just sort of depends on the individual, I guess what are some of your thoughts about that?"

Student #1: (White Woman from Suburb of St. Louis)-"I like I say it depends on the individual, because like growing up like my neighborhood was like predominantly white because I started notice as I got older more African Americans were moving in and like my parents were fine with it and like we had friends that were like African Americans and stuff like that, but I could tell like an African American would move up the block and like the next week 3 White houses went up for sale, and it was just like I could definitely tell."

Researcher: "Wow...What neighborhood did you live in?"

Student #1: (White Woman from Suburb of St. Louis)-"I lived in Barrington Downs which is in North County. And like, I mean, its like such a shock because like we all live together were all like, I mean obviously for if were like buying houses like right next to each other, were all like coming from the same status you know its like doesn't make sense to me, I don't know."

Student #2: (Other White Woman from Suburb of St. Louis)-"Well My parents like everybody's like ok moving farther out or whatever to get away from like if there's t they think that St. Louis or North County is getting to ghetto per-say and so everybody wants to move out to like Wentzville, O-Fallon and I'm just like, my parents are really like well everybody is already here so were just staying where we are and it's fine and we have like black neighbors on this side and like black neighbors on that side and then Caucasians and then we have Chinese neighbors we get along with them all really well and so we have never had any problems with our neighbors so we have a diverse court actually"

Researcher: "Now I am going to get to this with you as well (referring to black woman)...You bought up an interesting point, you said you all are from the same status"

Student #2: "Yeah!"

Question #4

Researcher: "Now that is an interesting variable because I don't know a lot about Barrington Downs, but I know that is more of an upper middle class neighborhood, um and this is something that is very interesting because even if blacks and whites are of the same

class, why do you think that they would still choose to move out of the neighborhood?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman for Suburb)- "I think honestly I think like White people don't think that way like really it's awful to say, but just like I think people still have in their minds I feel like our generation is the first one to be okay with like interracial marriages and like stuff like that and I just feel like and I mean like my parents are okay with it, but I have like lots friends whose parents aren't okay with it. And I just feel like people still have that mindset and you know and I think like now a days attitudes are changing."

Researcher: "Ok, What do you say, referring to the other White Woman from Suburb of St. Louis."

Student #3 (White Woman from Suburb in St. Louis)-"Um, My parents are actually the parents who do not like biracial marriages and I don't, I don't even know why, but I like two older sisters and an older brother and they are all against them too, but for me going to Hazelwood Central and it was like a public school, it was practically fifty-fifty Caucasian African American and you know you had like Asians and whole spurt of everybody and to me and my growing up I was raised that way , but my perspective completely changed when I went to a public school."

Researcher: Interesting

Student #3 (White Woman from Suburb in St. Louis)-"And so, And I starting hanging out with everybody else and then I just figured that it was alright, you know but if I ever did per-say bring home a An African American like Male friend or boyfriend, it wouldn't fly like in my household so, yeah"

Researcher: "Interesting, Were going to come back to that, I know you are trying to chime in here (referring to black woman)"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"Oh, well with My parents, they have a problem with interracial dating, like especially with my brother, like my mom kinda don't mind if my and my sister like, she would kinda care, but it's like a bigger thing with her son like bringing home a Caucasian female or a Latino female or anybody, I asked her why and she honestly can't tell me why, its just kind a little clitch with her, I don't why she doesn't like it, But with my neighborhood, its mostly I am in a mostly African American neighborhood, but its slowly more or less Latinos moving in nearby and we had like these um Caucasian neighbors that we were like best friends with cool with them so that doesn't really matter but I don't know"

Researcher: "You know And you all really hit something, I just thought about this when you were saying that um now where were your parents raised?"

Student #3-(White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"My parents were raised in the St. Louis area, My mom was raised in Florissant and my Dad was raised in Ferguson."

Researcher: "In Ferguson, Ok, Ok, alright, interesting, interesting and where is the majority from St. Louis or did they migrate to St. Louis."

Student #3 (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"They are primarily from St. Louis"

Researcher: "OK!"

Student #3 (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"My Mom has um family in uh California and Mississippi and but the nothing really, predominantly, most of our family is in St. Louis."

Researcher: "Is in St. Louis, OK, What about your family (referring to other White Woman from suburb of St. Louis)"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)-"My family is pretty much from St. Louis, like my Dad was raised in Ferguson and my mom was raised like in the St. Ann Area pretty much, yeah."

Researcher: "And What about your family (referring to the black woman)."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"Um both my parents are from like the West side of Chicago which is predominantly black."

Researcher: "Predominantly Black."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"Yeah, like there neighborhood was just basically all black, like my father and my mamma's."

Researcher: "Ok, that is interesting, that's always interesting, cause a lot of times what you find, now my parents, my dad was born in Alabama, but then he was raised in a little town called Joiner, Arkansas and see my dad was born in 55 but what happened was they migrated to St. Louis when he was about 16 because I had a cousin that was dating a Caucasian woman back in the 60's and he was lynched and after he was lynched in Arkansas is when my family then migrated to St. Louis, that's why I always ask because sometimes you understand why families are so adamant about having their children date someone of the same culture, now my family is sort of that I can remember growing up and the experiences that my dad had in Arkansas were so racially infused if you will, he was against and so one of my relatives went to (a University in another state) and was playing (a specific sport) for (a University in another state) and got up there and he started dating a Caucasian girl, well when it got back to the family they were very displeased about that because of everything that they had endured in Arkansas and so they were definitely uh, they were not open to it, they couldn't understand it

and we had some family members that thought it was disgrace and I had to understand where that mindset was coming from, now something else that you said earlier and we can throw this out too because I think this is relevant was that uh, (referring to black woman) if you were to bring home that's interesting of someone of another ethnicity, you said it would not fly, now my next question is uh, we can really put this out here is uh..."

Question 5

Researcher:—"How did you think they would respond and what do you think they would do?"

Student #3 (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)—"Um, ok how they would respond, well my, I think my parents would be like very disappointed in me and kinda like the worst feeling for me is like if you parents are disappointed in what your are doing um, I don't think they would respond badly, like they would have to get used to it. Like, I wouldn't be kicked out of the house or anything, but like they would be very distant and kind of to their self and wouldn't really talk to me and I sure I would slowly be kind of pushed out of my family because my grandparents, my dad's parents are actually very racist so that's like how he was raised up so that the way it works from there."

Researcher: "Huh, I see, Now, the Dad's parents are from St. Louis as well."

Student #3 (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)—"From Ferguson."

Researcher:—"From Ferguson, Ok, anybody else want to jump in on this."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)—"Um, Ok, I was going to say my brother, not me, but if my brother brought home like a Caucasian woman, she (referring to her mother) she would be pissed off, like pissed off to the extreme, I mean she would still love him or whatever, she'll still be okay with the girl, like she wouldn't be like cussing the girl out or calling her names or whatever but she'd be really pissed off and she probably wouldn't talk to him for a while, my dad too!"

Researcher:—"That's Interesting"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)—"My parents would be fine, like I don't know, my grandparents on my mom side are somewhat racist but I mean not like bad, not like I don't know, I don't how to describe it , but my parents totally are not and actually like about a two years ago I was kinda like thinking about dating this African American guy and mean and like it didn't work out and like I asked my dad about it and like what would you guys think, and my dad was just like concerned about me like I think it would be hard for

you just because of like the way the world is like people would be looking at you and you would be kinda like a challenge for you and if you were to get serious or something, but there were like no if he's a good guy and he's good to you that's all that matters so, I don't know my parents would be fine with it"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)—"And I think that Black women in general have a problem with interracial dating with like African American males and Caucasian women, it really is a problem because I don't know I guess um , I guess they see it as an insult like you can't like I don't like black women isn't good enough for you so you go outside the race, that's how they kinda see it especially if they were interested in a guy"

Researcher: "I have seen that on this campus, that's interesting and that really kinda brings us to another subject is interracial marriages and interracial dating and as I was saying before this notion of social distance of survey says how comfortable would you feel um having someone of another ethnicity as your spouse and that's one of the questions on the survey, and I'm gonna throw this out to you guys."

Question #6

Researcher—"Would it be something you agree with, disagree with or your neutral about...Let's throw this out, Let's say if it is you is this something that you are comfortable with, why or why not...Anybody can start?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)—"Ok I feel like in my family, my ant, um adopted three girls and like two of them are from India and another one is from Colombia, and my cousin from Colombia, she's dating a Caucasian guy and like he comes to our family stuff and were all cool with it and then like on my mom's side, my ant she's actually married to an African American guy and they have a kid and it's like we have a lot of diversity in our family and so stuff like that."

Researcher:—"That's interesting, and so your from basically a middle class family?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)—"Yeah!"

Researcher:—"Ok, Ok, what were you gonna say?"

Student #3 (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)—"Um, I'm neutral, like there's no diversity in my family like its just all Caucasian people, so like I'm not against interracial dating at all and I'm not against myself doing it, I'm just against myself being in a serious relationship with another ethnicity so because I think so highly of my family so..."

Researcher: " I see, so it's more of that, the family pride thing, that's an issue, ok."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"Um, I think I'm neutral because, I don't know, I just not attracted to any other ethnicity besides African American men and I have a cousin that's dating a girl from Puerto Rico and she come's by like all the time and my family, I don't know there kinda two-faced, because in her face t here like ah, ah, yada, yada and then she like leaves and there like why you dating that and then they say all this crazy stuff."

Researcher: "That's interesting!"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"I mean, I guess they don't want to be rude to the girl, but they have a problem with it and like it's been to the point where like some of my uncles say something to him and be like why don't you know find a nice black girl and they have only been together three years, he's even visited like Puerto Rico with her cousin and stuff and so there really like getting serious, but yeah it's kinda like my family is two faced and with me yeah, I kinda neutral with it, but I don't see myself doing it!"

Researcher: "You bought up a very interesting point, um, we can, you can put this on so many different levels, and families do things like this and were okay and they could be of the same ethnicity and then when he leaves, ...you know how families are, but you were nice to him when he was here, now the question on the table is..."

Question 7

Researcher:-"Uh, would we consider that racism if the person entered the room and you were nice to them, but when they left you expressed thoughts of dislike about them, Is that racism or is that, how would you all classify that?"

Student #3 (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"I'd say it's definitely racism, because I mean even if you tell a joke or something like even though people of that ethnicity aren't there it's still like racism, I don't think it like casual conversation."

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)-"I don't believe it's racism because my family were a very critical family, even like I could bring home like right now I have a boyfriend and he is Caucasian and of course after I brought him home like and he left and of course they have tell you their point of view about him and they would do that the same with anybody so its not any different it is the same for everybody so I don't believe that's racism."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"I don't think it was racism because they could of just like been mean to the girl and like called her all out her name like to her face and like really disrespected her but that just showed their opinion like after it and saying well like I don't really like him dating outside his race

or whatever so it's kinda racism, but they kinda gave her the common like a little bit of respect by not saying like oh you little I don't know something."

Question #8

Researcher: "Interesting, you all are going in the direction, because this is interesting to me, what's your definition of racism...Let's talk about that, that is clearly where were going, You know, If somebody were to say you, know how would you all define racism, what would be your response?"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)- "I don't know, I think it would be speaking lower of someone else based on their race or ethnicity. Uh, That's the only thing I can really think of, basing it purely on that not on anything else."

Researcher: "So your perception is more of it's a thought, ok anybody else."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)- "Like Being disrespectful to a person just because their of a different race."

Researcher: "Disrespect, more of an attitude here, Ok."

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)-"I think it's a little bit of both, thought and attitude towards somebody that is not the same ethnicity as you or even... you can have that same way of thinking and acting towards with your own culture, so I believe it's a little bit of both."

Researcher: "You bring up an interesting point, cause something else I want to get to, um have you guys heard about that situation at Duke University, you guys have not heard about it, you've heard about it, you want to share a little bit about it"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"The lacrosse players invited over like a stripper."

Researcher: "Two black Strippers!"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"And allegedly they all raped her, yeah allegedly they raped her and she's pressing charges against the whole team, but I was watching ESPN the other day and they didn't , like they didn't find any evidence that she was raped, so they were saying, the dude, the Lacrosse attorney was trying to like drop the charges, but she is still going to court for like another reason."

Researcher: "Ok, give you a little synopsis and she, she pretty much shared it, but uh, there were two female black strippers, they were from uh a different university, uh, was it North Carolina A & T, it

wasn't North Carolina A & T, it was something, it was some different university, but basically the jist of the story is, they went over, they were two female black strippers went over to strip at a party where Duke University Lacrosse players were throwing, when they got over there, one of the strippers said allegedly uh three of the Lacrosse players pushed her in a bathroom and proceeded to rape her, and then it came out in the media that she pressed charges. Well, then later in the media, did you see the piece about uh one of the Lacrosse Players sent an e-mail to another player and it said um, language was very derogatory and but I gonna be brief, basically he said uh, um , "yeah I gonna invite those two black such and such's back over and when they come, (I'm paraphrasing) and when they come, I'm going to cut the skin off of them. It's pretty degrading, pretty degrading, and my question is, she is pressing not only rape charges, but racial charges, racism charges, now when you think about this situation, would you classify that as being racist?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb –"I mean if it what he means by like saying he's gonna cut the skin off them, if he is really talking about the color of their skink, then I would say like yeah, its definitely racial!"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)–"Yeah, that's what I was thinking, like if you wouldn't have told me about the e-mail, I would have said no, it's just guys being like jerks against women and taking advantage of strippers, yeah I definitely believe that is racism because he said he's gonna cut the skin off of them!"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)–"Yeah, and I heard that while they were there, they were like saying the N-word like the whole time they were there, like get those two N-words over here and stuff like that, oh yeah, that is definitely racism if it is true about what happened."

Question 9

Researcher: "Interesting, now my next question, because were open up something else was, Have you all witnessed any racial acts on this campus that you would consider racism or have you observed situations that you would say yeah I would say that's discrimination that's racism, what's been your experience, that's kinda what I'm, what I'm getting to?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)–"I can't really think of anything."

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)–"I probably have one of them, because I am a smoker so I go outside late at night and we smoke over by the fence and stuff and there's just like a

whole bunch of different people who do that because the balconies lock at 11:00 so um actually I was watching and over at Laws campus, uh Laws dorm, there was an African American guy beating up uh an Indian guy and he was just like , um, because the African American guy after they got in a fight he came over and he was talking to us which I was fine with it, I mean I was a little scared because he seemed a little heated but um, yeah he like supposedly his friend got his cell phone stolen and the Indian boy said he didn't have it and he just started beating him up and so I, that's the only thing I saw and that was really odd for me and this guy just really scared me, so when I see him now, I just avoid him."

Researcher: "That was about 11 o'clock at night."

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"Yeah, it was the late end of 11:00, yeah it was actually, the African American guy came over and started talking to us and he was telling us where he was from and he was like the bad part of Kansas City or something and he was like you shouldn't talk back to me, so he was telling us all this stuff."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"Is his name...?"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"Yeah!"

Researcher: "Oh my!"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"Yeah! So he was telling us all this stuff and he made a little nervous."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"One of my friends, (Gave student's name), he's not my friend, now, but they were playing basketball at the rec center and everybody basically him and all his friends were all black against like this white team that was playing and he claimed that they kept, I don't know they were playing elbow by elbow with them and just playing like a little griny game of basketball or whatever, and so then like they just, I don't know they started fighting, and then like the white people, the Caucasian people like started saying the N-word and stuff and so they just really started fighting after that, but it got broken up, but that's the only one I can think of!"

Researcher: "It's interesting, uh because when you hear or you see things like that, I always think about how could the people around those scenarios, you know like you saw that, but you said, he frightened you, you know!"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"Yeah!"

Question 10

Researcher: "And I often wonder, what compels people not to get involved or to get involved? What I mean by that is, let's say pick

up the phone and call or just say, I not going to get in that, you know what is it that moves us to action or does not move us to action, That's what I am thinking?"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)—"Um, one thing I have noticed with like African American males is like what would move them to not like call for help, but like jump in the fight is they feel like the boys is being disrespected so they would like jump in and try to help the boys out, but as for as sitting back and watching and not really saying anything is kinda like your kinda fighting and you don't want to jump in as yourself or anything to get involved so you just kinda sit back and watch!"

Researcher: "Anybody else!"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)—"I mean like yeah, I think mean my thing would be, if it was like two guys fighting, I would never get involved, I guess if there was like two girls and there was a real reason, I wouldn't really like fight anybody, but yeah if like there was like some real reason I guess, That's all I can think of!"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)—"I saw this other guy sitting on the ground cause these other guys were beating him up, so I just kept walking closer, closer and closer and I finally stopped, I mean I was still scared, but I just thought I need to help this guy because he was just getting beat up real bad so I don't know I don't know, I could never just sit by and watch something happen, I'm not one to do that like even when two guys are fighting, I don't care if I get hit or anything, I just want to stop everything, so!"

Question #10

Researcher: "You want to stop what's going on with the event, ok, ok, that's interesting! And really we've hit on a couple different things just discussing these issue, but uh, my next question, basically would be how do you all believe that black and white students perceive uh racism on this campus, what's there perception of it?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)—"Um, I think it all stems from where you come from. Like if you've grown up in a society where there is a lot of racism then like you may feel like animosity towards like different races, but I think if you've come from a place where it's not that really big of a deal, then like you're still not gonna think it's not that big of a deal here."

Researcher: "Anybody else."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)--..."You kinda expect it, because it's like 6% African Americans here, but I haven't experienced any racism at all...so I don't know you kinda expect it to come out eventually!"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)—“Yeah, like that’s what I would think too, cause, I don’t even know, like that’s what I was thinking, like if you were a minority, like if you were a minority, I mean if I were a minority, that what, there’s different kinds of people and all of them treat you differently, sometimes good and sometimes bad so you just kinda gotta go with the punches.”

Question 11

Researcher: “I guess my next question would do you all as individuals, what would you perceive to be a racist act, if it was you in a situation, just give me an example?”

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)—“Probably like, I would say like using the N-word, or like, I don’t know talking to someone in a derogatory tone would definitely be racism and also like any silent act like pushing or shoving would definitely be.”

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)—“I guess um, for me like, I’ve seen it before...like I’ve seen it before, like if an African American or something gets served and if a Caucasian would get served like food and if they get treated differently or like some waiter or waitress don’t want to take their table like that’s what I guess I would consider racism because they will gladly take the Caucasian’s table, but they won’t take the African American’s table.”

Researcher: “Interesting!”

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)—“ Just your, I don’t know, just your attitude toward the person like, I don’t like sometimes on campus you be walking and like whole another group will like look at you like your going to jump them, like eat them or something, there just kinda like hesitant around you, just like the tone you use when your talking to another group of people.”

Question 12

Researcher: “You bring out, all of you bring out some interesting points. Uh, You specifically talked about using language as a way to make people feel degraded and then you sort got into actions and yours dealt with a look, that’s interesting a look and just the person’s demeanor towards another group of people. I’m going to share this and I had this, when I worked at the agency, you all kinda brought my mind back, uh I used to supervise bachelor of social work students that were doing their internships and they would come and uh spend maybe 4-6 weeks at the agency. Well this one particular student I had, um, she was a Caucasian woman and she was in her senior year in the social work program and we had developed a great relationship. She shared with me that she had an African American Female friend and so they were over in Ellis Library this one particular day and uh the African American female

saw my supervisee at that time in the library and spoke to her, hey, how are you doing, basically and um proceeded to go up to the counter where you could check out a laptop and so she said when the African American woman went up to the counter and she said I want to check out a laptop, had her Id present, and the woman said well you know we don't have anymore and you know her perception was well you just kinda handed out some, I just saw that. You know basically, what's the deal? So, she proceeded then to go tell my supervisee which was Caucasian, she said I tell you what, she said I believe this woman is prejudice, she said, why don't you go to the counter and see if you can get the laptop because I know she's not going to give it to me and I know they have some more back there. Well she goes up to the counter, asks the woman, has her Id ready, asks the woman, can I check out a laptop, woman comes right back with the laptop, here you go! The when she brings the laptop back out, the African American Woman walks up and she goes, basically I thought you said you didn't have any more, so the woman is standing there now with this blank look on her face, and you know I bring that up to say that uh I really believe that racism whether its on this campus or another campus has a lot to do with the services that are available and with the integrity of the individual that's rendering those services and basically what I mean by that if they are willing to be honest with each student regardless of what their ethnicity is. When she shared that with me, it was really shocking! Because um, you know the university does pride itself in being an equal opportunity institution, that's on all of letterheads and the letters at the bottom, you know that and um I was really shocked when she shared that with me, cause my mind began to wonder, how much of that is really going on that is not being reported, you know! And see that's another term that sociologist use that called aversive racism or covert racism, had the supervisee not been present, the young lady would have never gotten her laptop, so those are some things that are not blatantly outward derogatory term, but its more or less whether or not your going to have the ability to get this service or to get this resource or whatever you want to call it. Those or some things that uh some times when you talk to some people, they say no, I don't think its, but given the situation and how she handled it to other female, it's something for us to take a look at! Can we really say or maybe she didn't give it to her because it wasn't in or something, you know there are so many different vehicles we could come up with to discuss why she did not release the laptop to her. Uh, what do you all think about that, what are some of your thoughts?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)-"I would definitely say that was racism, that's the only thing I think it could be!"

Researcher: "Could you classify it as anything else?"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"Like maybe they were all gone and she just happen to get it back, but most likely your mind goes

to that was racism, maybe she thought she was going to steal it or ...like black people."

Researcher: "Interesting, Interesting!"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"Well I thought the same thing, it could be a small chance that something else happened, but it's like 99.8% you thought it was racism because the Caucasian woman went up there right after she had asked, she just handed her a laptop that would make me feel mad!"

Question 13

Researcher: "You know how do you think those situations should be handled on the campus, what can the student body do and then what can administration do to lessen events of that nature on the campus, What do y'all think?"

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"One thing that I heard happen was, it was an article in the Greek Chronicle where this one girl wrote on a black group to stay away from or not be involved with anything from a white group and they need to like they don't do anything to help with the community and all this other stuff, so what the black group did they wrote a letter to the administrator like telling them about the article and everything, so girl got fired from the Greek Chronicle or the man eater, but she doesn't write for them anymore, so they can do that, like a write a letter or like go up to them and tell them what happened and see what actions the administrators take."

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)-"I mean if I was in that situation with the lady and the laptop, I would definitely want her fired because if were suppose to be a campus of equal opportunity and how can you like expect us students to do it if like our administrators and like faculty and staff aren't doing it, like they should be setting an example for all of us."

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"Yeah, that's actually what I believe too!"

Question 14

Researcher: "That's interesting, uh, do you all, let me throw this out to you, this is another thing that I have really been thinking about. Do you all think program on campus such as the multicultural affairs office, programs that are designed to promote diversity, do you all believe that those programs are effective, or do you all believe that they are ineffective, or what are some of your thoughts?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)-"I would say more that it helps like minorities feel more comfortable on campus, I don't know

about maybe the majority known about the minority, like you know what I'm saying, like it helps like the minorities feel comfortable, but it doesn't like give information out to everyone else on campus, like I think that's something they would need to work on."

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"That's how I feel too., I feel like the minorities flock to the place and it doesn't really diverse anything, minorities stick with the minorities and the majority stick with the majority so like everybody's affected in a small way, but not as much as we really want it to be."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"I think it could be effective, but I don't think, its helping at all, because all its doing is like getting minorities together and they really come to each other and if they have a problem they go to each other and they don't really like mix with the majority, so I don't think it's really helping that much!"

Question 15

Researcher: "Now what would you all say we as student body and the administration could do to lessen this amount of social distance and to include diversity overall, what are some of your thoughts?"

Student #2 (Other White Woman from Suburb)---"I don't know, I can't think of something they would do, it would have to be like on an individual, you would have to like change your own attitude about how you perceive people."

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)-"I believe different majors unite with different ethnicities, like I'm an animal science major and I haven't seen very many other ethnicities in my field besides like Caucasian, like I mean I've seen very few African Americans and maybe one or two like Latino or Asian people, but like nothing big, like also think it has to do with we segregate each other from what major we pick and we will stick with them our group or ethnicity that way too."

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)-"I can't really think of a way to change it, but I mean they could have like more events like where all of us could come together for like a reason for a festival or a party or something like that, because like most of the parties are like targeted towards the different ethnicities and I don't know."

Question 16

Researcher: "Interesting, and my last question you know basically deals with, and I think one of you all said it, it has to be your own individual, you have to work on the individual, or is there anything that the university or student organizations can do to encourage people to work on themselves in regards to diversity and social distance?"

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)–“Like I know that there are a lot of functions around Mizzou, but like having some kind of like culturally diverse function where like there’s different kinds of food or something to get everybody together cause you know food always gets people together, so like maybe you might have like, boiled food, like all around the world kinda food, I don’t know, but there will still be like people who won’t go and you can’t make everybody go if they don’t want to go because I mean people make up their own minds and there going to do what they want to do!”

Student #1 (Black Woman from Chicago)–“One thing at my high school I remember was that we had international days where its basically like different ethnicity clubs like dance and do like different things like a festival in the gym and with that I got to know a lot more people like from different ethnicities through that because I was there with the Indian Culture and they were belly dancing and so I danced with them and got to know like about their culture and like I got to know about other people’s culture because they had little booths set up where you like go visit the booth and they teach you about their culture and so if we did something like that, I think that’ll really help!”

Student #3: (White Woman from suburb in St. Louis)–“At my high school, we had what’s called the OBA, like the African American Achievers and like every year in February they put on like this huge performance, they have all kinda things like step and dance and like flags and stuff like that and it’s so cool, my senior year we and some of my friends we joined it and it was so wonderful , we put on a huge dance at the end and like, it was four African American Seniors and like me and my other friend and we did like a senior dance and were all up on stage and it was so fun like you don’t think about like diversity and race and stuff when your surrounding yourself, I feel just like were all just like people, I don’t’ know, it’s fun!”

Researcher: “Any last thoughts that you guys would like to share. Alright, well I thank you guys again just for sharing, I really appreciate that!”

Appendix 2-Transcription 2

Focus Group Transcription #2
(2 Caucasian Females and 1 African American Male)

Researcher: "Good evening, how are you guys doing?"

Students: "Good, How are you?"

Researcher: "I am doing well. As you know, were here to talk about social distance in terms of racism on the MU campus and I'd just like for you all to start by stating your first name and your major and where your from".

Caucasian female from Illinois: "Hi I am...and I am majoring in journalism and I am from Masonville, Illinois which is an hour south of Chicago"

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota: "I am... and I'm majoring in journalism with an emphasis in magazine journalism and I am from Lakeville Minnesota"

Researcher: "Alright, How far is that from Minneapolis?"

Stephanie: "Um, like 20 minutes."

Researcher: "Really! Oh my goodness, What brings you to Mizzou?"

Stephanie: "Journalism."

Researcher: "Journalism, Everybody is here for Journalism. Well that is awesome, just to tell you a little bit about myself, My name is Nadie, I'm a third year doctoral student in Rural Sociology and my emphasis is in Community Development. This is so unlikely; all of my degrees are from Mizzou. I came here in '94 to work on my bachelors and I ended up getting a bachelors degree in Human Development and Family Studies. As I was stating came here in 94 to get my bachelors degree and I got a bachelors degree in Human Development and Family Studies with an emphasis in Family Studies and I graduated in '99 with my bachelors and so from then I went on and I worked a year as a preschool teacher here in town and after that I came back to school summer of 2000 and I started working on my Master's in Social Work and my emphasis there was in Planning and Administration and so I finished my masters in '02 and I worked for an agency here in town as a social worker and I did that for about a year and a half and oh January of '04, I came back to work on my doctorate, and I getting a doctorate in Rural Sociology with an emphasis in Community Development. I'm a third year doctoral student, so I will actually finish up next summer. So I'm really excited. It's really been a good experience. I've learned a lot as I was sharing with the ladies earlier. Sitting and talking with students about their experiences here on campus in dealing with the

concept as I was sharing before about social distance that's basically a concept that measures how likely an individual of one ethnicity is let's say have an individual of another ethnicity as their roommate, their spouse, their girlfriend, their classroom instructor, their supervisor, their religious leader, as in law, how likely they are to socially feel comfortable with that and that's basically what I've been looking at in terms of race and this research here has really opened my eyes to some people's perceptions of racism on the MU campus. I've really targeted freshmen because the theory behind this research is as people become more educated, they are less likely to be biased in terms of certain issues. And so looking at freshmen, they have not necessarily completed the education process, its interesting to see what their views are and to see if those views line up with my own hypothesis. So I am actually learning a great deal, some of it last semester panned out to be true and some of it didn't so we'll see as I complete the focus groups this semester if my hypothesis is right or is it wrong. What I want to start with tonight in this focus group is just discussing your views in regards let's say interacting with faculty on this campus and how has your experiences been so far, were only in the third week of school, is it the third week of school now?"

Students: "Yeah!"

Question #1

Researcher: "Were in the third week of school and I don't know if you got here let's say the week before some of the dorms opened, like Thursday, Wednesday or Thursday, people were just moving in, but what's been your experience in terms of dealing with faculty members on this campus? If anyone could share so far, although it's been three weeks of school, what have you gathered from interacting with some of your professors? If you could just talk a little bit about that and anyone can start."

African American/Mexican Male—"Um, I don't know, I've only actually interacted with two of my professors so far and one of them is Garrison."

Researcher: "Who's your Rural Sociology Teacher, Garrison, oh, ok!"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"She's my rural sociology teacher and she seems really nice and stuff and she really wants to help and stuff and I like her. Another one was my diet therapy for health professions teacher, I can't remember her name, but um she seems really nice, like she told us and she broke it down and the whole purpose of the class, like but she's not like trying to change us, but she is trying to change the way we look at things, but she's just making sure we have a better important view of the way we look at things, but she really seemed like she was into teaching and making sure we understand things."

Researcher: "Good, anybody else."

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"Um, I've interacted with three of my professors, um I had a lot of lecture classes...I realized like the first couple of days, everybody's rushing up to professors, like they've been told you should go interact with professors, but I didn't do that because it be I don't know like 50 kids after class everyday and there all just like going up there and like craving his attention so I didn't do that, but the first day, um, me and my English 1000 teacher actually got locked outside of the building and we just walked around outside the building and talked and I got a chance to know her and so that's a class of about 15 people and so it is easy to get to know her and then uh my human environmental sciences teacher, uh my lecture class is smaller than my other lecture classes, but um I waited till after class to...pick up a collection of papers and I waited till after class and just sat in the back of the lecture hall and waited and then went up and I was like the very last person to like leave and I got a chance to talk to her. And then, I'm also in a Freshmen Interest group, a fig and so um and my professor is actually a floor officer in my residence hall and she's a senior and she teaches and we had a chance to meet on Tuesday, so."

Caucasian female from Illinois—"...I've been taking classes since last semester, and compared to high school they seem better, but I don't know like in what ways, they seem like they know more about it and the professors seem more into it...And I have one big lecture class and that's Political Science and he does a pretty good job with just covering about getting into political stuff and without really getting into too much discussion, so there not a feeling of like there's too many people in that class so that's nice, um I have a economics class...and I'm like really really into it and I'm studying really hard for it, um I think that class a little bit laid back, he cracks jokes sometimes or whatever, but he's really good at what he does. And I have another class, early modern history, and I'm actually disappointed in the professor for that class. You might know him because he's been here a long time, but he just doesn't really seem to like have anything prepared when he comes to class...then Spanish, I have a professor who just got back from Spain yesterday and he doesn't speak English at all which I think is really neat...!"

Question #2

Researcher: "What has been some of you all's interactions with students on the campus, How have those interactions been in terms of your ability to get along, what has been some of your perceptions of those situations?"

Caucasian Female from Lakeville, Minnesota:--"I guess I would say I'm not as outgoing as back home like, Minnesota known for friendly people and I had really never heard that and I asked my sister about that and she said, she's heard that before too, but I notice like

when I go to my lecture classes, I'll like go and sit next to somebody, like right next to them even though there's seats open, just because its going to me more people filing in and make sense just to sit next somebody, they look at you ,like everybody sits like a chair in between in each other, they don't want to sit next you and so when you go and sit next to them, there just like what are you doing? I have no problem with it and then um I don't know, I was actually here a week earlier and I moved in with another girl who was doing rush and so I was here like a week early and I noticed the people aren't, there just not like"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"We like our space."

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"Yeah, because uh like I'm from Minnesota and so I know nobody really here and so I'm just like trying to make friends with people who are just not willing to reach out as much as I reach out."

Caucasian female from Illinois- "Like people from small towns like being chatty with each other because they know each another, like they want to automatically start making friends because they are from a small town because of the small town mindset, like people congregate in different areas because of the race card, like in my FIG class, we have like all white girls and then like 5 or 6 black girls, for some reason, all the black girls sit on side of the room and then like the white girls sit on the other and there like separated sort of and from where I came from there wasn't that many like black students in my school, but if you were in a class with like 3 or 4 of them, they would sit near their friends or whatever, they wouldn't necessarily all stick together like be friends with each other, I don't know people up here are like okay well she's black or whatever, like I'll go up and talk to her and well make friends and stuff, but if your white, it's like harder to break down the barrier..."

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"In my FIG class, we have four black girls and the rest of them are white and there's just one girl who always one girls who sits with the rest of the white girls...and there like caddy are whatever, but then the other three girls they all , I don't know if it just because they like know each other, but they all just sit together and sit by each other , there really friendly and there really nice, but they always segregate themselves from everybody else."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"I don't have a FIG, I didn't want to do a FIG because, I was like if a do a FIG, I'll be stuck in a certain dorm and I really wanted to get one of the suites and I got stuck in Schurz anyway, so, after that, but I don't know. I come from a school 95% white and the other 5% is broken down into other categories. So I mean, there's never been a huge um like black population at my school and so I mean, I don't really like gravitate towards black people, I just, I mean, It's

kind like I'm speaking, but like I'm like contradicting myself because if you see me out, my friends and stuff there black, but it's because I've known, I have like 3 main people I hang out with here besides my best friend, but the other three are black, but I've known them since middle school. I went to middle school with them and so it's just like a comfort them, I've always known them and so they just happen to come from the same school I did. You know you just hang out with the people you've known forever. I mean I haven't really gone out and made anymore black friends, I haven't specifically like sought them out or anything like that and like my best friend she's white. She's a girl and she's white and she's my best friend. We lived across the street from each other and so like we would always like ride to school together and stuff like that, we hang out all the time. I go over to her house every night cause she doesn't actually live on campus. She's the lucky one and didn't have to live in the dorm; she got an apartment, so she lucked up with that. So I always go and talk to her and stuff like that. I guess I would say I divide my time equally, but I spend more time with her because she's been my best friend and I've known her now for nine years."

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"One thing I've really noticed...like the first week were here, we had the midnight barbecue. It was like this big like dance party and like whatever on the street, but it was so like full, like everybody like all the black kids were together on like one half of like over by the like basketball courts and all like the white kids were over here and for the most part there were like all together and they all made a circle and they were like krumping and doing all this kinda like dancing like that and of course, like we went over because we were like interested and like wow we can't do that and so like I don't know and like I met like a lot of, like one of the girls I met who was from Minnesota, she's in the North and South Suites and that's where all the like football players are like...and so like all her neighbors are like the black football players, there all like so friendly and like I don't, they have like funny names for each other, like one of this guy's name is Spoon."

Researcher:--"You know it is interesting that you all talk about how you said at the Midnight Barbecue and even in your Fig classes and you had a different experience and I going to hit your experience in just a little bit, but how all the black people sort of sit together and all of the white people sort of sit together. Now what that actually is that shows you the level of social distance between those whites and the blacks in the classroom as well as those at the midnight barbecue. But what it is also saying is social proximity, who someone is like to be close to and a lot of times individuals like to be close to people that they've known or people that are quote unquote like them let's say in terms of socioeconomic status, background or even in terms of ethnicity. Now you had an interesting experience because what you said sort of mirrors some of

things I've looked in the study in addition to what they have said. But you said that your best friend is a Caucasian woman and that you've known her since you've grown up and even now being here in college you guys are really still close. Now your social distance exemplifies someone who is of a different ethnicity but is comfortable with having a friend of another ethnicity with being close to friend of another ethnicity and not having a problem with that. But you have a very small social distance, now someone that would separate themselves from a person of a group of another ethnicity has a greater social distance. I love the examples that you all gave because they are really hitting on what I'm learning about the research on social distance. Now something else I want to bring up because I don't think we hit it yet is, in terms of your interactions in the classroom, although your not in a FIG, but you got a dietary class you said, but you mentioned another class earlier."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"I've got five, yeah five, I have three classes everyday, but one of them's everyday."

Question #3

Researcher—"What I wanting to get in to now is, given your own personal experiences in terms of race, what are some of your perceptions, you can term is as racism or prejudice on this campus, How would your perceive it that? If I were to ask you, if you were on campus in a typical day, how would you classify the situation as being prejudice situation or a racist situation?"

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Um, I actually experienced something the other day that was, I heard a girl talking and it just shocked me how racist she would be. I don't know what we were talking about, I think we were talking about how my roommate where she lives in our dorm in Johnston, she lives in like 5 hall way, she lives in like the 5 hallway and we were talking about how in that hallway for some reason it's like mostly black girls, and there's not a lot of black girls in the other hallway and we were thinking like well maybe there friends and so if some of them are friends maybe and we were just like kinda worried, because we were like what if they separated them on purpose from us and like put them there on purpose or something, but then we thought well that can't be. This one girl was saying well black people oh my gosh, I heard they don't wash their hair everyday and she was just making comments like that and like I heard that they can't wash their hair everyday because it'll get dry and fall out and their hair smells and they smell and I was just like whoa, I have black friends in school and they do not smell, I was like really and pretty appalled behind it because I felt like at this stage our country is still...stereotypes I guess. When I come across a situation like that, I generally try to insert my opinion, I guess I think I'm right and I really feel like that type of comments shouldn't really be like tolerated."

Researcher: "Anybody else!"

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"I was actually talking with the girl from Minnesota, and we've like connected because we both are from Minnesota. We were actually talking about the other day like what kind of guys like were into, like what traits we look for in guys and she was saying how she like black guys, but she likes black guys who grew up with white people like...she likes black guys who are very educated and who speak proper English, she's not like really into like the ghetto type of guys who separate themselves from society, she really likes the clean cut, like well mannered, well educated black guys and instead of like the ghetto guys with shrunken pants and like think that they separate themselves from society and are like into the rap and stuff like that, but I think there's all like a difference between where people grew up in relation, like I find myself being able to relate to educated black people, like I don't think I fit in to the culture with rap..., that sort of their culture and I don't fit into that, so I think I may stray away from it because I don't understand it and I don't feel like I fit in."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"Don't even worry about it, I do the same thing, um, I don't know, I have my own social distance problems I guess. I find myself more drawn to White people, I think it's just because of the way I've grown up and where I grew up, there was in my neighborhood, there was one other black family I believed that lived down the street from me and I was friends with the daughter, she was really fun and we were friends and stuff, and then there was another older black couple that didn't have any children that lived farther down the street and then there was one other black family that I knew that a little bit always away from me in the neighborhood. And those are all the black families...my neighborhoods got a couple 100 houses in it!"

Researcher: "Tell me again the exactly what area your from? You said, Kansas City, right?"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"Yeah I live in the Independence area, well like the edge of Independence, the edge of Blue Springs...because I actually went to Blue Springs South, I went to Blue Springs South High school. I don't know I gravitate more towards white people, I honestly sometimes feel uncomfortable when I am surrounded by people who I guess act ghetto like with baggy pants and the big shirt. I just don't understand it personally, I don't understand why they want to wear it and I don't understand stuff like that personally so I usually don't find myself being as outgoing with people like that, if I like sitting with them or something, I'll talk to them and I'll try to get to know them, but honestly I won't go out of my way to like seek them out because like my friends, the friends that I was talking about earlier, they like to hang out with people like that and they feel more comfortable with people like that and so whenever I hang out

with those three friends, there are usually other people that are like that and so I'll get to know those types of people, but honestly I would say I have a lot more white friends than I do black friends and I just feel more comfortable, I don't know."

Researcher: "I gonna get back to something you said, because I hear two things flowing through, all of your responses, but share with me again the area that you grew up in, was it multiracial, what was the racial composition in your community, in your neighborhood?"

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"Um Lakeville is small about 2000 people and you could say it's middleclass, but a lot of Lakeville is upper-class, I would think, um, like I don't know, um, I guess it's like a lot of money, we have like a lot of Golf Courses in our city and we also have a lot of lakes...and if you look like out on a parking lot at school, you see like Mercedes, I would say like we have a lot money in our school, I would say like 98% of our school was like Caucasian, Out of my large group of friends I can only think of one black person we hung out with and he was a guy, but other than that. Like we had one group of girls in our school who were more of like the ghetto type of girls, They leaned more towards black girls than white girls, but they actually like segregated themselves too, like I remember at homecoming one year, they decided to look do some type of krumping stomp dance or whatever, and the whole school was like oh my gosh, what are they doing? You don't do that! Even our administrators were like, the dancing was like provocative, just like what they were doing, their body motions didn't really seem acceptable and they are always the girls that are in the hallways causing scenes and they kind of stood out in our school because they didn't seem as like well educated and they had that black slang about them, where it's like "You know girlfriend, like na na, whatever, like how they decided to talk like that. I think that's how people speak like segregated people because they decided to use like slang."

Researcher:- "Did you say like that was Napolesville?"

Caucasian female from Lakeville- "What, Where I Live...Lakeville?"

Researcher: "Lakeville, Lakeville, Minnesota, Ok, and you are from?"

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Naperville."

Researcher—"Naperville, Illinois, Ok, and what was the racial composition like in your time?"

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Well we probably have a really good number of Indian and Asian Kids for the most part, and we have a pretty good size black population too, were especially getting more black, inner city kids move out here and we live pretty close to Chicago which is very largely African American. There is a lot of African American culture that kinda trickles down into Naperville, but like the hip hop dressing is very popular at my school and a lot of like the Indian guys dress that way but they have sort of veered

off towards wanting to embrace like that black culture as well because they sort of don't have like that masculine Indian thing, there's sort of that very masculine aspect of black hip hop and they have kinda adopted that. Um a lot of Asian Kids have also adopted it, um some white kids have, but I would say it's probably at least 10 minorities out of 20 person class in every class that I took, um so we had like a pretty good mix, but something that I thought was interesting was when you were talking about how you didn't feel comfortable around that dancing that they were doing which was really different. At homecoming, our school started to get more inner-city kids and started a step team and it instantly was a hit and instantly, people really liked it and I think they did some dances that were like pretty provocative, but for some reason like most of the white kids at my school were like all cheering, I think just because like all the rap right now is popular you know like MTV and...and they like get excited about that. But also at our school, the dance policies are pretty lenient. Like a while back, there was a movement to stop grinding at dances and that was unacceptable, and so now it's like anything goes again and so a lot of our administrators don't really care what we do, so I guess that's how my school is."

Question 4

Researcher—"Interesting, Interesting, I want to go back to, because I think you sort of hit the question, but the question about how would you perceive issues of prejudice or race on campus, what would be a defining situation for you?"

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"Um, I don't know, I guess I don't really hang around people who have race issues, like I guess I could say the biggest person in my life who has race issues would be my Dad. He actually, me and my sister talk about this all the time, like if we ever brought home a black guy like as boyfriend type like he would have a heart attack, like he would have a heart attack just because, I don't know, he is very old fashioned, but he's very old fashioned...but like he has no problem with like educated, but I like I think it's the whole rap community like he sees me watching MTV and watching music videos with rapping and he thinks it crap like, so I think like he has no problem with educated black people, but I think when it comes to like inner city black kids, I think that's where like he draws the line, but other than that none of my friends has race problems at all."

Researcher: "What about you? referring to the African American/Mexican male from Blue Springs, MO."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"Um, kind of, well actually, a funny example, one of my really close friends, she does not like black people or Mexicans, stuff like that."

Researcher: "She's Caucasian."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"Yeah, she really doesn't like other races or whatever, I think it mostly has to do with the way she was born and raised because I met her mother recently. Her mother recently doesn't, she doesn't, but so, my friend, we've never had any problems or whatever, she loves me, I love her, were really good together. Her mother actually likes me, it so... because my friend even said, she likes you're like the only, because I'm black and Mexican, she said you're like the only Black-Mexican my mother likes, honest to God. There's another girl, who's actually half white, half black, her mother doesn't like her, um it's just really weird, I mean I don't understand it, her mom just really likes me."

Researcher: "Now your parents are black and Mexican, you mom is Mexican."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"My Mom is Mexican."

Researcher:--"Your Dad is African American. Ok, Ok, it is interesting because I hear this in all of you all's responses is, uh there is a greater social distance among whites towards inner city black people compared to educated black people, that's really what I'm hearing is that?"

Caucasian female from Illinois—"The term, inner city black people are educated, there just from a different culture, like they are educated, like when we use the term educated, like they are educated, there just not the same you know what I mean. Like they don't talk the same."

Caucasian female from Lakeville, Minnesota—"Like there from a different social class."

Caucasian female from Illinois—"But they are educated. I would say even like the rappers they are educated, there just different."

Researcher: "That is really interesting, you know this is something that I have looked at in this study is the variable of class and actually what I am finding out is class is a determining factor for most individuals in terms of how likely they are to be closer to a person of another ethnicity. If the person let's same is of the same class as them and they are educated, then their likely to have a close social distance. On the flip side, if their from a lower class and their uneducated, the social distance is likely to be greater. I'm seeing a pattern."

Caucasian female from Illinois—"You mean college educated or what do you mean?"

Researcher—"College educated, Let's say a bachelors degree or beyond."

Caucasian female from Illinois—"So since we haven't been through college yet, so what we be associated with?"

Researcher—"You would be associated with being educated because your in school."

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Right!"

Researcher—"And your getting a degree."

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Right, so like kids in are high school and stuff, we can't say like were educated because were in high school than like inner-city kids our high school like were more educated than them because we haven't been through college yet, so like I disagree, you know like I can see where you point is with the class issue but like you feel maybe like...like I don't think it's necessarily like were more educated, maybe we have had better school system than they have, but like I don't think were more educated."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"I think that's kinda the key with the social distance thing because I guess it has been proven like inner-schools are nowhere near as good as like suburban schools just because like yes they may have.., they also have there ways of crowded kids just in general so like kids don't get as much attention as they do in like suburban schools so when like take an inner city student and put them in a suburban type school I feel that it would be kind of hard or if you flipped it the other way around, it's going to be hard for that individual to get know people because their past and things they've come from, you know it is really kind of like a block and they have to just learn and keep going with that. I could see why it's more difficult and stuff and why there would be a bigger social gap, because honestly I think you could break it down and you could become best friends and stuff with someone who's from a totally different background than you, but it would just take work, like you would actually have to put like a lot work and stuff towards it and stuff like that, I don't think it would be something that just happened instantly. Because there's just so much in your past, Like there's just so much in your past, especially at our age there's just so much that's happened in our past now that you have to just work towards."

Question 5

Researcher: "In terms of you all's own definition of social distance, you brought out something really interesting, now your in a biracial relationship (referring to Caucasian female from Illinois)."

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Right!"

Researcher: "As you stated earlier, can you tell us a little more about that your boyfriend is from India."

Caucasian female from Illinois---"He's from India, but his parents are from India and migrated to the United States and so um he and his friends just sort of like kinda like adapted that like hip hop culture, um that started in like the African American community. They listen to a lot of rap music, they dress in like baggy pants, they wear a lot of sweat pants, um and they talk like , "yo, da you know what are you doing today", I mean like, it sort of like they use that slang that originated in the African American community, we do have more extreme case, we have like some white girls who talk like really really similar to inner city African Americans, they just because they found that group easy to hang out with and they could assimilate easier, um, but it's interesting with him because it sort of like I would picture him with like some like you know black girl, a Latino girl of more the hip hop culture, but like I'm white, I mean I look attractive... but I mean I'm like nowhere near, I don't really follow that hip hop culture very much. It's funny that we ended up together."

Researcher: "If you don't mind me asking, Are you all from similar social classes?"

Caucasian female from Illinois-"Yes!"

Researcher: "Oh, Ok!"

Caucasian female from Illinois-"Although he grew up I think, um, actually like his dad was a doctor, but I don't think they've ever handled a lot of money, like I'd say, their probably a little bit lower than we are. But like we live in like the same kind of neighborhoods".

Continuation of Question 5

Researcher: "What is your own view of social distance in terms of relationships, friends, roommates (referring to Caucasian from Minnesota)"

Caucasian female from Minnesota-"Um, I think social distance overall, I think my view is that almost the black culture has separated themselves from society. Like to me I think there's so much information out there that like we have like black history month and we have like a black culture center on campus like we don't have what we call a white culture center for white people, I feel like that's separating themselves, like why, like to me that's segregating themselves, like people say that like a lot of people are racists and stuff like that, like that's separating themselves, like how do we cross that barrier if there not coming half way, it's almost like, I don't know, like they, like black culture has like different opportunities too like, I don't know, like college entrance and stuff like that like they maintain a certain amount of

black kids so they can just have diversity in college, I don't know, I just think there are different opportunities between our social class."

Researcher: "You bring up, you hit on a couple the issues that I have looked at in this research and the issues dealing with college entrance. If you read a book called "Two Nations" It's by Dr. Andrew Hacker, but he writes about the differences among whites and blacks in terms of education, in terms employment, in terms of the family institution and one of the things that he brings up is this notion of reverse discrimination in terms of entrance into college, and basically what he says in a nutshell is that some whites do believe that blacks that are admitted based on solely of the factor of diversity, to some whites that is considered reverse discrimination because in the eyes of some Caucasians, the black person is taking their spot and if your were to read his account, it is phenomenal how he goes through those different institutional systems and really lifts up the differences and the similarities between blacks and whites and whites and blacks in terms of those three institutions. I have come across that in the literature, it's interesting that you say that."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"I think it's like apparent in society too, like we, like I worked for Hollister, which is apart of Abercrombie."

Researcher: "Yeah!"

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"And a couple years ago, they were getting sued because they didn't have black people working at their store and now you have to have so many black kids like entered in college or you have to have so many black people working for your company, like I don't think just because their black that they should have, like you just should just like let them in, like I think they should go the proper qualifications, like race issue shouldn't be apart, I don't care if your white, black or yellow, like I don't care if your Mexican or black, I think you should be qualified to do the job."

Researcher: "Now what your actually saying is, your getting into an issue on let's say admission into college should solely be based on the variable of merit instead of ethnicity. Merit in terms of your ability and your ability to do the work, your ability to make it in is what I hear you saying!"

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Yeah!"

Researcher: "Ok, That's interesting, now do you want to add on to that (referring to African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO)?"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"What I was going to say was the situation with Abercrombie was I think that

they were actually not hiring black employees, like they didn't have any working in their store is what I think was happening, I don't think it was the whole company, but I think it was a certain store that was getting discriminated, because they didn't have any black employees and they weren't hiring black employees. But they like hired lots of Caucasians and stuff. That's not saying anything about Abercrombie, because, I love Abercrombie clothes, I buy Abercrombie clothes, Dave Hollister clothes, I love it all, but I'm just saying I think that's more so what the case was and then in fact Tommy Hilfiger came out said that he did not make his clothes for black people and I mean it's just, I don't know."

Researcher: "I think Liz Claiborne had something similar years ago in regards to fragrances and even her clothes, it was something along the same lines that they were not made for black people to purchase This has been years ago, this was on Oprah, I'll never forget it, it was big thing, I was in undergrad at that time and it blew up here on campus, so that's why I remember that particular case."

Researcher—"what were you going to say in addition to (referring to Caucasian female from Illinois)"

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Oh, I was just going to add something about that, but I was curious."

Researcher—"Referring to Caucasian woman from Minnesota--you were going to add something in."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"Well I think at Abercrombie—in terms of Abercrombie, I think just knowing from working from at Hollister part of the big company umbrella, that they are specific and a very, very specific look they are looking for in employees, they even state that, they state were looking for a certain look and you have to look a certain way and like that's part of the company, like that is part of the company, like we all, like part of it is like you can't wear make-up, we can't have our nails painted."

Caucasian female from Illinois: "You can't wear make-up."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"No make up, they want you to look very, very natural, no make-up, you can't have your nails painted, you can't be like for a Caucasian girl, you can't be excessively tanny, like orange, like in the face."

Researcher: "Wow, and they state that, Wow!"

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"Yep, and like you can't have like very distinctive highlights, like they want you to like the conservative girl, kind of like a very natural kind of person and so like when you walk in that interview, automatically, their

looking at they way you dress. You to wear Dave Hollister clothes, they don't say you have to wear Dave Hollister Clothes."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"Well like it can have Hollister label on it, but they don't want you walking in with like an Abercrombie shirt or something like that."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"Yeah!"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"What your describing is very different from my friend, and she actually worked at Abercrombie at the mall in Independence, and she had to keep on tanning because they wanted her tanned, she actually had to wear make-up, they wanted her to spend that money so she looked perfect all the time...she had to wear like Abercrombie clothes."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"Well, yes, yes, they pressure you into it, but like I think I a lot of people go and work there because they want Hollister and Abercrombie."

Researcher---"Wow, I'm not going to get into this because I love sociology, that is what we call their social construct of reality, in other words, their social construct of reality for the employees in their store is one that looks conservative, but represents the persona of their company and that's what you told me."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"Also with Dave Hollister, like you'll never see an ad for them you'll never see a commercial is they tell us, their whole marketing campaign is your our you are their advertisement, you wearing their clothes and looking the way you do is how they sell their clothes and...like with any brand who has like a set of they know what they want their look to be."

Researcher: "We've kind of veered, but I've learned something, I didn't know that, um your own perceptions of social distance and how you view that in terms of your relationships and interactions with (referring to African American/Hispanic Male from Blue Springs, MO) with individuals of other ethnicities"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"Um, my friend Nicole, she not biracial, but she's really really light skinned for a black person, she's about your color, but she's just really really light skinned and um, because she's black she doesn't have like the typical black person's hair...and like I was with her this weekend and II did, what's funny, it happened, and apparently we were hanging out... and she actually hangs out with black people and when were in high school all of her close friends except for me were like white people and so I was just that's weird, but I was like well it's cool you know or whatever...and we were leaving after we dropped off one of her friends and they called her and asked her if she could take them to a dollar store and she was like sure, and she's a really nice girl and I got really made at her for it and I

was just yelling at her about God knows what and she told me that I looked at her and said, "Yeah, but their ethnic"

Researcher: "Wow!"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"And she was like I was outraged is what I felt. I guess I'm prejudiced against black people than white people, I mean it just shocked me that I would say that, it is obviously true how I feel because I said it and didn't have inhibitions about what I was saying because I just yelled it to her and it just kind of shocked me."

Researcher:--"Now you make an interesting point, and you bring in another variable and I've not looked at this variable, but ,how do you per say think individuals that are in relaxed setting and let's say having casual drinks respond around people of different ethnicities versus them being sober and let's say saying what's politically correct, If I could term it like that, uh I've not looked at that, I've not really taken time to delve into that, but your opening up another avenue for me to take a look at that because the question that really lies beneath that it, Is are we truthful when we under the influence of alcohol or are we being truthful when were sober, you know what's our true character and what will really reveal our true perception of social distance? In a lackadaisical state or in a classroom setting, you know really starting to take a look at some those constructs and evaluate those accordingly, that's interesting."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"I can quote what my friend said—I don't know where she got it from, but it said, I'd rather hear your drunken truth than your sober lies."

Researcher: "Interesting!"

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"Yeah, I thought about it and it's kind of true because when your are...you don't really qualms about what your saying because your like this is how I feel right known and I'm going to let you know how I feel right now, but when your are sober, there are so things you shouldn't say so you don't say and there so things that shouldn't do and you don't do them."

Researcher: "What do you all think, referring to Caucasian female from Illinois and Minnesota."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"Well I think people are so worried about labeling, people don't want to think that there racist, like what I'm saying in this focus group, I wouldn't dare say around black girls in my class, like why do you speak the way you do, why can't you speak correct English, like I would never say that, that like it's inconsiderate, it's labeled as racists."

African American/Mexican Male from Blue Springs, MO—"They would automatically label you as a racist."

Caucasian female from Minnesota—"Yeah I would be a racists, and I think there's more people, it's always white people who get labeled as racists, or black people who label white people as racists, it is. It's always like that. Like I'm a racist, you know like black people can't be racists, like that's how our society tells us, I don't know."

Researcher: "I'm glad you, I'm so glad you brought that up, my advisor and I have had this conversation over and over again with another graduate student in our department and the issue had come up that some black people don't think that they can be racists given that they are the minority in society, I don't know if you've heard that premise before, but um I have to you know call a spade a spade, I know many black people that are racists, when we talk about being racists, I don't know if we've really operationalized this or defined this but racism in terms of showing hostility towards a certain group in how you converse with them in you interactions or in your mannerisms toward a group or a toward a certain people, uh that's something that our society teaches us not to do, but I sort of look at like this and were almost done is how can you teach someone not to do what's already in them to do, do you understand, so if it is in you, it's naturally going to come out as you were stating earlier, and those are some things that I'm looking to really hone in on in this study and to really get to the truth of the matter as to why we may be biased towards certain groups or certain people, what is the deciding factor.., and you really said something earlier that really clicked, you said the only racist person that you really know is your Dad and the last focus group I did I came across that same response with a couple of ladies that said, I'm not racists, but my parents are. Now when I hear that, what I'm hearing is this, I'm hearing I was brought up in a household that quote unquote may not have necessarily like people of different ethnicities, but I didn't take that on, that's what I'm hearing in some way or another, and I also hear two other things, is that I grew up in a household like that and I may not necessarily know if I've taken it on or not because I've not been put in a situation where my social distance is close to someone of a different ethnicity, like I said, I 'm learning so much about this concept, and it has really been mind blowing. You were going to say something (referring to Caucasian female from Illinois)"

Caucasian female from Illinois—"Yeah about the certain thing where you can't really change someone that was brought up a certain way...whether in their mannerisms or whatever, I wish we could play role reversal sometimes because if we were in a room with um bunch of black people and they were all you know dressed a certain way and were dressed a different way, they might switch what say to us because I'm dressed the right way or speak like me because I speak the right way, and there is a higher level of education you can achieve in like special fields in like law and government and many of the higher paid professions if your sort of learn to sort of

assimilate into the majority culture or speak the same way as the majority or dress as the majority, you probably get a higher pay like than a black person with their inner city identity if they tried to move up through the social ranks when getting a job or whatever, but I think that comes with their experience...I think that's just something they need to experience for themselves otherwise they'll never fully (move up)."

Researcher: "Interesting, Interesting, We're going to go ahead and stop, this has been a great conversation, it really has, and I've a learned great deal in terms of class."

Appendix 3-Focus Group Transcription #3

Focus Group #3 (2 White Females and 1 Iranian Female)

Researcher: "Thank you ladies for showing up tonight. My name is Nadie and I'm a third year doctoral student in the department of Rural Sociology. My interest is in Community Development and basically my dissertation project for and that's basically the last piece before they will award you your PhD that I have been working on for the last three years is this concept called, social distance. Basically, social distance looks at how likely or how comfortable you are as an individual interacting with someone of a different ethnicity. For example, how comfortable would you be interacting with someone that was, let's say, a Native American, Hispanic American, African American, Caucasian American, or even a Bi-racial American if they were your roommate, or your classroom instructor, your supervisor, your religious leader, or even if they were your spouse or if they were your in-laws. How comfortable would you feel with something like that? social distance in the past, it's been used to assess different settings in terms of prejudice, or discrimination, or even racism. So basically, what I have been doing in the last couple of years, I've been looking at freshmen's perspective on this concept of social distance and how they feel about issues concerning social distance on campus in terms of faculty members, in terms of students/staff members on this campus, even in terms of, let's say when you go to the financial aid office and if you were to interact with someone of the same ethnicity or even a different ethnicity. When you leave there, what type of feelings do you have about your encounter after interacting with that particular office or department? So, those are some of the things that I've been looking at over the last couple of years and it's been pretty interesting. I started this last semester, actually collecting my data and when I did the very first focus group. I did it here in Lathrop with some ladies. Two of the ladies were from St. Louis, they were from suburban areas in St. Louis. One of the ladies was from Chicago. Her experience was a little bit different than the ladies who were from St. Louis. She had shared that she lived around different ethnicities because Chicago was so diverse in the sense that she lived around Mexicans, Asians, African Americans, and Caucasians and so when she came to the University it was something that was not of a culture shock to her. She had been in most of those types of interactions. So, what I like to do is putting it from your perspectives, some of your issues concerning this. Basically, tell me a little bit about where you're from, what you're majoring in, and how you like MU so far. We're almost at the end of the semester but when I came in, I'll share this, all of my degrees are from MU. That's highly unlikely and you normally don't hear something like that. I came to school here in '94 to work on my bachelor's degree and I have a bachelor's degree in Human Development and Family Studies with an emphasis in Family Studies. I

graduated in '99 and took a year off and worked as a preschool teacher and then I came back in 2000 and worked on my master's degree and that's in Social Work with an emphasis in Planning and Administration. When I graduated in '02 I got hired on as a lead social worker at an agency here in town and it was basically an agency that provided direct services to low income clients the Columbia community. So we helped with housing, did things for single moms with just formula and diapers, did help with hotel rooms for homeless people. I did a myriad of different activities. I did this for about a year and a half and I sort of got burnt out and I said I really like working with students. I love the campus environment and I decided to come back and get my doctorate, working on a doctorate in rural sociology with an emphasis in community development. I've been doing that since January '04 and I will be graduating next summer. I'm gonna turn flips and cart wills because I don't think I can do it anymore but that's my experience in a nutshell. I would like to get some of your thoughts as far as where you're from, maybe the high school where you've attended and what do you like about MU so far. Just your perspective or your paradigm about the university, you know, to this degree, this month."

White Female from Iowa: "Well I'm from Iowa, probably was born actually in Phillipino and a went to a public school there, graduated with about 270 so it's not really big but it's not really small either. I love Missouri. I came over to do journalism but got scared out of that basically and I switch over to social work, I think, or rural psychology. So, I don't know. We'll see how that goes, I guess. I like it here a lot. I really like the (?) and I like the professor and stuff. So yeah, it's great for me."

White Female from St. Louis: "I'm from St. Louis. I went to Parkway South. So, I went to...my class was like 600 people. It was a real big class. The biggest we ever had. I came here for education major. Right now, I'm still unsure if I want to pursue that or not and I love MU and I love it really well."

Researcher: "Was this your first choice?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Yes, I didn't even apply anywhere else."

Researcher: "So this was your first choice as well?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Yeah!"

Research: Okay. Interesting. "What about you?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Um, I'm from a suburb of Denver like in Colorado. I came for Journalism cause my teacher told me I should write. Okay, but I don't like journalism, I decided though cause I (?) not to write about every single day. And I want to write more like what I want write more opinion based and kind of argumentative cause that's how I am. I went to two different high schools. My first two years of high school I went to a family based school my

class ended up being 475 students that graduated and it was a very diverse high school. All sorts of people. Then I went to a really small high school, my graduating class ended up being 34 people and um kind of the reject kid's school where all that kids that got kicked out of other schools went there. So it was really small, not as big but I liked it there. And MU is pretty good."

Researcher: "And you are? What..tell me your name again?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Sarah!"

Researcher: "You're Sarah and you're from Denver. Right?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Yes!"

Researcher: "And then Ashley..you are from?"

White Female from St. Louis: "St. Louis!"

Researcher: "St. Louis and you are from Iowa?"

White Female from Iowa: "Yes!"

Researcher: Allison?

White Female from Iowa: "Yes!"

Question #1

Researcher: "Gotcha, okay. Um, how do you all feel about your interactions with your professors? What have been some of your experiences in terms of lecture classes or even in small classes? Do you feel a sense of well being or a sense of belonging when you're in that class?"

White Female from Iowa: "...Like in the lectures---I feel like my teachers are trying to make an effort but you know...I really like my lecture classes...and my other classes, I have a Spanish class that I'm actually horrible at but my teacher is really nice to me cause she knows that I'm going into like Spanish 3. So, she's good and she's from Cuba. She just came from Cuba about two years ago. So, she's trying to get use to it too. So, she's been really helpful to me. And my other teachers, I don't know. Some of my classes are really like...they know who I am though..."

White Female from St. Louis: "I would say that in the lecture halls, I feel like it's really, like impersonal like I wouldn't feel comfortable raising my hands and like asking a question. Maybe--- it's not because of the teacher but because of the number of students. I have one really small---well, I have two really small classes but one um it's my math class and my math teacher's not--- very much a people person. So, whenever I go to him for help I don't feel very comfortable."

Researcher: "Quick. Have you been able to get a tutor through the writing---the learning center?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Um, no. Well I've gone into math type sessions like at GCB and like the scheduled ones but I went to the student success center and they said that I was ineligible. I would have to pay and I hear it's really, really expensive so.

Researcher: I use to work for the writing center over there and I worked as a tutor for about two years and actually when I worked for them they weren't---it wasn't the student...they were actually located through A&S. And at that time they were still working out funding, I can remember, for tutoring and things like that. So, it's interesting that you say that."

Iranian Female from Denver: "Um, lecture classes are okay. Like, I think the teachers do make an effort which is hard cause like I recognize the people around me but it's not like you know them unless you sit next to people and you talk to them. And like my small classes are a little bit better. Um, I don't talk to my teachers to much. I don't really get along with any of them at the moment except my music class. There's about 150 kids and I love that class. My teacher knows me very well. Like she worries about my test when I take bad test and she talks to me after class about it."

Researcher: "You said that you're not on good terms with some of the other faculty members?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Yeah, just conflict like with class. There is nothing like really horrible."

Researcher: "Okay. You brought up an interesting point and sort of hear this. Um, you are in the class with the people but there is really not a relationship but there is not a relationship being established and that's interesting and I say that because one of the characteristics when dealing with the conflict of social distance is when an individual enters the room---when you sit and you go into the classroom and you sit down, do you leave a seat open or do you sit down right next to someone? And when you said that, that is what jumped out at me because normally, people that don't have a prior relationship with another person or they don't know them more than likely they tend to leave a space in between. But then you know that some people that they're---I would describe them as extroverts and so they can sit next to anybody and kind of strike up a conversation and feel pretty comfortable about it. But when you said that it just sort of clicked that's something we can really talk about is the issue of social proximity in the classroom. And when you---let's take you for instance---when you're there in class, do you sit in the front of the class, do you sit in the back, or when you sit in the row do you sit down right next to someone or what's your take on that?"

White Female from Iowa: "Well...my lectures, I usually have a couple of people that I usually go to class like just show up before...so then we usually go and sit like the three or four of us in one place

in like middlebush area. And like the first couple of days I would sit next to people and have a conversation just because no one knows each other but now we would go three or four rows in width and the four of us would sit there and we normally don't interact with a bunch of other people now. In the fall classes we almost had like seats where you always would go there...whether like just because you would...and you would talk to them because you would start to get to know them a little bit... That's what I do."

White Female from St. Louis: "I would say the same thing about the small classes. Just sit in the same place... Um, when I go to class, I usually get there early like because my classes are so close so I have ten minutes in between so I just get there like five minutes early and I always sit in the front like right in the middle like right in the front middle with all the seats really empty around me so."

Researcher: "Right in the front in the middle?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Yeah. Like not---a couple of rows back. Usually I like to sit towards the front middle."

Researcher: "And the rest of the seats are empty around you?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Yeah, cause I like to be the first to get there."

Researcher: "You know, people don't like to sit in the front."

White Female from St. Louis: "I do. I can't focus. I can't like---once I was late and I had to sit in the back of the lecture hall. I couldn't hear, I couldn't see. It was a horrible experience."

White Female from Iowa: "And the people in the back they don't pay attention half of the time. They're talking."

Iranian Female from Denver: "In every single one of my classes I sit in the very front because I'm blind and I have a very short attention span, extremely short. Like a couple of times I came in late to a lecture class and I just left because I was just messing around and I was not really feeling like I was getting anything done anyway. Yeah, I like small classes because you can just sit in the same spot because that's where you're always at and it feels kind of like a comfort thing. It feels like if someone comes in and messes that up---then everyone is like, oh my gosh! It's a terrible thing--a huge conflict."

Researcher: "Oh, that's interesting. You know I can remember something and I will never forget this. This had to be the most hideous experience. I took an Economics class in Middlebush auditorium for my undergrad experience and the class was so packed. There were people, I can remember, sitting along the wall, Indian style. I mean it was just scary walking in because you're like, "what?" "what is going on in here?" And the teacher, bless his heart,

he would kind of write small on the chalk board. You're thinking, "There are 300 people in this classroom." You don't get the overhead stuff. It was just an odd experience and you know I just remember that and I thought I just don't want to do this cause it had to be at least 300 people in that class. So, how do you--you can't really connect with people--not like you want to. But at the same time it's hard to connect with anybody because you're just a number. You know people wouldn't necessarily know that you were out there. You can be 648..87 you know. That's who you would be so it makes the social distance between the professor and the student....versus being smaller discussion session, you know. Those are some issues that I can relate to."

Question #2

Researcher: "Um, this is what I wanted to ask you. In those classes that you guys are in how would you describe diversity in terms of the student by population in the classroom? Would you say that the class is more/less homogeneous in terms of ethnicity or is there a variation of ethnicity? How would you describe it? Just take one of your classes and really begin to think about the student composition in that class."

White Female from Iowa: (mostly difficult to understand)

Researcher: "There are two or three girls and they are mostly?"

White Female from Iowa: "They're African American."

Researcher: "They're African American. Okay, what about you?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Um, I would say that there's a lot of diversity in my lecture classes. Um, my small math classes, Intermediate Algebra, and I think it's real interesting that there's only two boys in there. All girls, it's totally girl populated. So, it just goes to show you the left brain right but other than that class everything--um, I was shocked. I was in my orientation to education. I was expecting mostly girls but I would say evenly spread boys and girls."

Researcher: "That's interesting that you say that. I was reading some research here recently in terms of men and women and who are applying to college now more. So women exceed the men from the entry at the college level. So when you say that that really blows my mind in terms of education.... I did kind of see that. That's interesting. What about you?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Uh, all my lecture classes are really diverse but in my French class there's only one girl who, besides myself, is not Caucasian--oh wait, there's--there's two girls. One is African American and the other girl is from, I want to say Hungary but I know it's wrong. She's from-- forget. But um, and my...class is

a real diverse class but overall, like the campus, I don't think there are a lot of Hispanics and that's scary to me."

Researcher: "Now you--is that your ethnic background?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "No, I'm actually Arabian but I grew up around basically a Hispanic dominated neighborhood. It's really odd and Caucasians."

Researcher: "Okay. I want to pose another question to you. Um, and you all brought up some great points cause I sort of see that term, diversity out there and it's so broad and you guys talked about ethnicity, you talked about gender, and you even talked about majors in terms of being diverse. I was sitting in--I teach a class...and the title of the class is called preparing to be a graduate teaching assistant...and so basically I had about five students in the class and we go through issues that teaching assistants would encounter if they were assisting a professor and our eleventh lecture, we had a guest speaker to come in and he talked about issues centered around teaching cultural diversity. And when he talked about diversity one of the things that he went into that conversation was the issue of gender, the issue of ethnicity, the issue of even uh, uh, sexual orientation because diversity is more than just average background, they've encompassed so--gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and even talk about age for that manner. So they term it in research literature and topics continue to broaden though and we say diversity--and I tuned it out you all had so many responses. It is interesting how you um look at that and how you defined that term."

Question #3

Researcher: "One of the things that I want to draw out is um--now are you all--your roommates--are they of the same ethnic background or are they of different ethnic background? Can you talk a little bit about that?"

White Female from Iowa: "My roommate is Caucasian. She's from Chicago. So we have different experiences, I'm sure--she is a city girl, I realize and I lived in the suburb my entire life. So we have different experiences but um..."

Researcher: "Okay. So when you talk about and even Chicago, you said, it's very much different from Iowa, very much. So for regionally, there is some cultural or custom differences that exist within that. Do you see--and what I'm getting into with social distance--Do you see any variations here and how you ah, how you would look at things in terms of academics standards in terms of class work. Do you see something there?"

White Female from Iowa: "Um, more significant more so because she's from a private Catholic school. You know the education you get from a private school it's just very different from like a public school attitude. So like her background is much different from mine. Like her study habits are different from mine. Like she has way better

study habits than me cause she had to work so much harder in high school than I did. So we're different in that aspect. And she just has like so much experience with different kinds of people. Like, I was different, I was considered at my school people from Bosnia who goes to Iowa and African Americans there were few but it's really Caucasians...and she--her best friend is from Baja, Mexico, she has an Italian friend, like all these different people but I'm just like..."

Researcher: "Coming to MU, you're starting to experience some of that for yourself?"

White Female from Iowa: "Yeah!".

Researcher: "Okay, that's interesting. What about you?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Um, my roommate actually, we went to high school together. We were actually in the same cheerleading squad and we're pretty much from the same background. She's Caucasian. She's middle class so it's pretty much the same.

Researcher: "What about you?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "My roommate, I think she's African American/Jamaican. I think but she very rarely talks about it but--um, she's from Indianapolis so. Like our families, the details are a lot different. I don't know it's just different cause her family has like different views, my family has different views and that's how we were raised and then like um I guess mostly...family's...they seem kind of similar in like experience. Well when I went to a big school it was similar to hers."

Researcher: "You said that you all don't--you haven't talked very much."

Iranian Female from Denver: "Not about like ethnicity. No. That's not important."

Researcher: "Okay. You would be amazed at the types of things that I hear when you have two people that are in the same room and they're from different ethnic backgrounds. I've heard extremes and then I've heard things that are very similar in terms of...in terms of even living situations. So that's why I delved into that a little bit more. Um, now you are--I'm hearing things see--you're not but see these two are education? Okay."

White Female from St. Louis: "Well, actually it's the journalism thing."

Researcher: "That's the journalism field?"

White Female from Iowa: "We two are actually in both."

Question #4

Researcher: "Oh. Okay, Okay. That's interesting. Now within that field group, how did you define diversity?"

White Female from Iowa: "...So, it's diverse mostly because almost they are almost all out of staters because journalism is all out of state because...So we have a lot of people who are from Missouri and just like different parts of the place." (difficult to understand).

Question #5

Researcher: "How would you define the term prejudice? What would be your perspective on that? How would you define that?"

White Female from Iowa: "Oh, I guess I would define that as acting differently toward a person because of their race or their age or you know, any kind of thing like that but I think as long as you're acting differently because of that reason that would make it prejudice."

Researcher: "Okay. My next question is really going to follow that. What about you? (referring to White Female from St. Louis)."

White Female from St. Louis: "Um, I would pretty much agree. Um, maybe like a preconceived notion about the way a person is going to act about like the person you have—someone has a prejudice toward."

Iranian Female from Denver: "Um, I was going to say not accepting someone just because they're different...any act, I guess, conscious or unconscious."

Questions #6

Researcher: "And my next question is, what would be your definition of racism?"

White Female from Iowa: "I feel they're similar but, you know, in your mind prejudice sounds way less harsh than racism...Like I think racism sounds like she said. Like a conscious awareness that you're doing it. Like prejudice sometimes can just be like, you know like, depending like on your background, it can sometimes be put there without you realizing it. But I think they are similar but just different parts, I think."

White Female from St. Louis: "I would say prejudice applies to more like since racism is just like specifically for like a race, being prejudice towards a race. Um, and I would say prejudice is um more like feelings—having feelings or acting a certain way to any type of group, not just a particular race."

Iranian Female from Denver: "Um, I think racism just deals specifically with like race and ethnicity and um like discriminating against whoever just because of that. Prejudice is more like just a broader since of like, because they're wearing different clothes than you. Something like that."

Question #7

Researcher: "You said something that I want to go back and build upon what you said. You said that um prejudice had something to do with your background and my next question is, in your upbringing, your background, let's say from your parent's generation or even grandparent's generation, have you all seen that your views in terms of racism or prejudice is different from your own? Can you talk a little bit about that?"

White Female from Iowa: "Um, I think my views are very similar to my parents but not at all similar to my grandparents—my mom's parents more specifically. My dad's parents are very open just like we are. They are very accepting and we're taught that everyone is equal. Except my grandfather on my mom's side is very—he—he keeps on being racist. In how I feel I think he's very, he's very, yeah...he's not very accepting of other people... So I guess I'm pretty much like my parents cause they brought me up to be that way."

White Female from St. Louis: "I would totally agree on the same level. My grandparents are different from my parents but um, my parents and I are pretty much the same. I'm in the same situation."

Iranian Female from Denver: "Um, I don't really know too much about how my grandparents feel about it. I know they're prejudice towards a lot of things. Um, and like my parents, my mom is extremely prejudice and racist and practically so much that we got into a lot of fights about stuff like that. Like my step-dad, I'm not sure where he stands on it. I know he's prejudice towards certain people but he's not as—he doesn't voice his opinions outright. So he's kind of different."

Researcher: "And if you were to—if you don't mind elaborating on a little bit that your mom was um, you know some the research—when you look at the concept and you spend time with it, you tend to find out that some things are not just past down and sometimes people just really don't understand why um they may biased towards a certain group and they may not understand why that that feeling um, is so engrained there and they may not know how to deal with that. Do you see, you know within your, um, within your mom or have you heard stories within her upbringing, um, in regards to why there may be some biases towards certain people or what do you think that stems from?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Well, I don't' know if so much her upbringing or just like life experiences. Like um, when I asked her why she's a racist, she said well she got beat up a lot by African American girls in high school but sometimes like my brother and I would talk about it and I can see like that's not right but um, I think kind of like she has the tendency to say whatever. So, I think that might have contributed it and um you know, I've noticed people who are diverse, I mean...it makes no difference to me not matter who they are or what they are. A general disgust is just anyone who is

dark skinned. I know my um, my father...he was very good to her and she has a problem with that. I understand that but I don't really know. Like, my grandma is not as bad. I don't know where she gets that. Like, she lived in Mexico when her father died so, I don't know."

Researcher: "Interesting. You said your mom had altercations with African American girls while she was in high school. Um, let me just share what's running through my head and I'm going to share this and cause I think it will help you to understand, all of us understand what may be going on. My parents, my dad, he was born in Alabama and he was raised in Arkansas...Arkansas, a very small town. And um, my grandparents, they had ten children and he was the eighth child. They had six boys and four girls. So in the sixties they lived in Arkansas and I had a cousin at the time, he was dating a Caucasian woman. In the sixties that wasn't accepted then as it is now. You see interracial couples and you see them in public and it's okay to show affection but back then it really wasn't. And what happened was, um, my dad they would share with my cousin, "um, you know you cannot kiss people, be kissing her in public/in town. He said you can't do that in public, you know her father is not going to go for that. And so in Arkansas, things were very heated between Blacks and Whites and what ultimately happened was my cousin, they called him L.A., um, came up missing. And, um, they started searching for him, he was missing for days. And when they found him he was in a barrel in a river. He had been castrated and killed and they had put his body in the river. And when that occurred within my father's family, I often remember him telling me, he said, you know, after that, my father, he said we've got to get out of here because somebody could really end up getting hurt. And I think my grandfather, at this time, was so afraid for my father, who is the eighth child, and they had two more young children. The other siblings at that time, they were older and they had already moved to St. Louis. And so um, he—my father's perspective, on Caucasians, is very much different from my perspective, growing up and coming here cause I was so outgoing. I could talk to anybody. I could befriend anybody but his views were very different. And he, one of the things he would always say, he'd say, " I don't want you going to school in the south cause I grew up in that area." He said, "I can remember seeing a thousand Colored people in a town full of White people but I never wanted my kids to experience what I went through living in the south. And I thought—and I said—and his perspective—he was very—you don't normally hear Black people talk about being prejudice but he was very prejudice and he was anti—at one time he was anti of bringing home anybody who was outside of being African American. So when you talk about your mom, I can honestly understand that. It was through experience that my father was biased or prejudice towards a certain group of people. And sometimes when that happens it's very hard for an individual to change up because of what they've encountered. And so that encounter is what's before them when they see a dark skinned person or when they see someone they say who has a very dark complexion. It often takes their mind back to "I can't trust you". And that same perspective that my dad had, in terms of Caucasians, even would come to St. Louis, and it was much different

in the north but that encounter, that lynching of my cousin would still—it's still in the forefront and he could not, he could not shake it. And so I've heard this more than once and I've been keeping—I've got a good friend that's done research from lynchings and interactions between Blacks and Whites. You know one of the things we're finding out is that um, some things are past down and some things are just from involvement. And so nature...some things were just put into us and then some things we encountered and we just point to our own perspectives or opinion about. And those things becomes boundaries or beliefs in which we live our lives and we govern our lives by. And so it becomes--and then what happens is, we identify what will be our social distance to some groups and then what it won't be." Something else I want to throw out because I think you guys are really, uh, really honed in on some of the things that I wanted you to talk about.

Question #8

Researcher: "If you could identify, if I would say ladies, would you identify a racist or a prejudice act—you said your mom was racist and prejudice but could you give me an example of what that would be? I'm going to start with you and then we can go this way."

Iranian Female from Denver: "I can't think of an act per say but just like what people have said."

Researcher: "Terminology."

Iranian Female from Denver: "Yeah, just like rationalizations that people make like going through it."

Researcher: "Okay."

White Female from St. Louis: "Um, I can kind of expand on that idea, my brother goes to SLU downtown and um he—actually, his car just got broken into and used some language slurs about African Americans and trying to rationalize the incident and trying to blame it on someone and um it was a very racist comment that disgusted me. And also right now it's kind of ironic I'm writing a civil rights movement paper, right now. So, I've been researching all sorts of horrifying acts of racism and um I could just go on and on about that."

Researcher: "It was the car that was being broken into and he said some slurs were made against African Americans?"

White Female from St. Louis: "Uh huh, yeah."

Researcher: "Okay. What about you?"

White Female from Iowa: "I can't really say that I have experienced anything first hand or witnessed anything first hand like acts of hatred...except my grandfather...at all...acting kindly towards anyone...at all. Um, outside of race my uncle was here last year and his wife is Catholic and my family is not Catholic and she—after he passed, she

wrote a letter saying that she is no longer welcomed in the family and just like horrible things like that—that's like—she's in the family and she has two little girls and like things like that that aren't racial but it's like...that he can't accept. But other than that I don't really have anything like...his comments and his acts are the only one that I can at all attest with or anything."

Researcher: "Okay. Okay. We're speaking of another point, religion. We haven't talked about that yet. You know now you tend to find individuals that are very um they're very free about expressing their religious views openly. And so and in class, that thing has been...in classes I've taught where that can become a huge discussion. I mean, it could—if you don't lay ground rules there are some things—I mean it could really, really get out of hand. Um, but you bring up something that I haven't thought of um, in terms of social distance and that's one of the questions that I've been researching on the survey that I've been doing is how would you see yourself as an individual feel about having a religious leader that has a different ethnicity and um, you know it's interesting. I've attended a church that um the pastor was Black but there were White members um there and things are different even if you've attended a White church and there are Black members and even different other ethnicities. Um sometimes things are even in terms of religious issues things does not seem the same. You start to see variations that when you talk about writing a letter that you are no longer part of the family. That thing has been a lot. We had that in our family where if you want to bring home a Caucasian you would be disowned. Now that is outright prejudice. Now my dad felt like that because of the situation he had. My mother grew up in St. Louis and she felt like this--that you know I'm not going to have a problem with it. If they make you happy, then I'm happy with it. So her view was very much different and she was okay with that. But my dad some of the experiences he had in Arkansas really convinced him to feel different to other ethnicities. Such as your—what you said about your mom. So I can honestly see...you know."

Question #9

Researcher: "Um, how do you guys feel about interracial relationships? What's your take on that?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Like it is really common. And the very thing that I heard always in my family at church, there is a married couple. They have to be at least seventy—in their late seventies. They are older. And it's this really huge tall sweet Black man and a cute little Caucasian lady. And like, they're just so cute. They always come to church together. They're married. And um, he's the only Black person I know that comes to my church. And um, like at first I was really, really like, " Oh wow, that's cool". And the older I get I appreciate them cause um, they still get kind of weird looks from like the older people in church. Like I have some

teenagers that think, "Oh that's cool." But like the older members of the church, like, they're still not comfortable with it, I think. Um, but I think it's really cool."

White Female from St. Louis: "I think it's cool too. I think it's awesome if people can let down their guards and like be open to different experiences and ethnicities and stuff and just like it's so so cliché to say but the American melting pot it just like really does need a good stew."

White Female from Iowa: "Yeah, I agree with them. I'm totally like open it. Like I don't even think it is like cool because I think that it shouldn't be an issue in anyway. You know. Like, in today's time it shouldn't be an issue it should be at all accepted..."

Researcher: "That's interesting. That is interesting. Does anyone else want to add something..."

Question #10

Researcher: "What do you all think—Um, when we talk about social distance—in terms of interracial relationships or in terms of agreeing to employment relationships, church relationships, what do you all think—how do you are social distance—how do we as individuals come to identify or define social distance in terms of individuals. What do you think is the underlying factor of that?"

White Female from Iowa: "I think it comes from, like um, history of the like...it started when a few people had ideas and it just like all come together and ideas but to say what incident—like people started feeling a certain way. Like the... started growing up was starting to see the hair on my wig and people started opening up a little bit..."

White Female from St. Louis: "I have to agree. I don't really know how more to expand off that. I don't know. (Speaking to the Researcher) Let me think on that one."

Researcher: "Okay, and what about you?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "I just think uh, that a lot of nature and a lot of nurture. Like both from your parents and like your experiences. And that's all."

Researcher: "Okay. Um, it's funny you say nature and nurture cause I was on the phone this morning with my advisor going, "Do you know how to ask this question...?" The original question I had. He was going, I don't think you can ask that question. I thought, "Okay."

Question #11

Researcher: "The question that I did have, and I thought this would be interesting to bring to the table would be, Ah, what are the reasons that you all believe why racism continues to exist in this

country? You know, why it still—my question to you is, do you still it exists and if so, why does it continue to?"

White Female from St. Louis: "I would say situational like experience you know like. Like today in my Psychology class, uh, we talked about—they did this experiment with like all these um people who had...diagnosable personalities and they were put in two different, very different scenarios. One had to, some of them had to live as police guards and some had to live as prisoners for like weeks—like a week. And they were all like very similar like in the beginning but by the end, um, they had changed and it just goes to show how much situational like experiences really can affect the personality."

Researcher: "What about you?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Um, I think...very sadly a lot and I think that most of those people are not comfortable. Like, maybe in their own skin, maybe their afraid of losing what they think that they hold dearly all with what distinguishes them is different. Um, because like the melting pot is great ...sometimes it tends to generalize and I don't think people can handle that—but um, they start to be more racist. Like even just between friends...they want to hang out with people of same race or ethnicity because they don't want to lose that."

Researcher: "And lose—just their...?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "They are very associated, like it is a part of their identification. Their culture and stuff...their people...it becomes so much a part of their identification, they're afraid to lose it so they're more racist."

Researcher: "So you're saying that it's more ethnicity...Their identity, their racial identity development would diminish in so many terms. I had not thought about that. Um, is it possible for people who had been racist, we talked about them, to change as they interact with other people? Do you think it's possible? Let's take your mom, for instance, my dad. Do you think it's possible that they could change from being racist to not being racist as they interact with other people? Because that's the whole—when you say diversity, some of the research say that you put people together and they start to understand why people respond to certain issues then they will develop a commonality, in so many regards, for each other and they will start to pull from being biased in one area to being biased. Do you believe that that's so?"

Iranian Female from Denver: "Yeah, like even my mom with regards to my brother went through a lot of trouble. And uh, there's a Caucasian dominating school that is really odd for my neighborhood. But um, ...explain what went on at that school it's really bad. And she didn't believe me because it is mostly Caucasian. She said, "Oh, they won't do that." And my brother he looked at me like...and I think that just because she experienced something different, it was with

that different ethnicity or race, like she was forced to kind of look back and see that—now she's not as racist, I think because of that experience. Like, I'm kind of freaked out when she met my roommate. Like I didn't tell her anything about her and when she walked in she was like, "Oh, Hi!" You know, she was really nice about it. I didn't think much about it. So I think it does change, like on your experience."

White Female from St. Louis: "I definitely agree. Um, another reference to my Psychology class, we learned that if you can learn tabaphobia, you can also unlearn it. So, I kind of feel the same way about, um, having prejudice towards people. You can learn to be prejudice and you can learn to be not prejudice. And another thing about, uh, the comment about that is uh, I don't know how reliable this is but this movie called, American History X. And um it follows this—this guy was a skinhead and he gets put in jail for killing someone. And he is placed in this job where he works with an African American and eventually they become the best of friends. The first couple of weeks he hated him then after a while they started, you know, to have like, conversation. And eventually they became like, best friends. So, I think experience is like, you know..."

White Female from Iowa: "I don't think that—like in my grandfather's case, I don't think that he is going to change because he is a grumpy old man he will not listen to what anyone says. And like, I don't know if it's from experiences or just the way it's set up that he believes what he believes and isn't open to anything else. But like, the younger you are... to it the more open-minded. Because like I'm in a...a Black American boy...and not everyone but there are people who are...because they didn't know and there are like racist people at my school. But then the fact that he went through... is hysterical, everyone loved it and that just like changed everyone's thoughts, you know. So I think if experience...and you're like so young...then it's very possible. But I think like the older you are the less chance like you are going to change because you think that it's been reinforced enough and that's the way it is."

Researcher: "That's interesting."

White Female from Iowa: "You can't teach an old dog new tricks."

Question #12

Researcher: "This is my last question. Have you all ever been, and you don't have to answer this, in an interracial relationship or would you consider it?"

White Female from Iowa: "I never had but...I don't know."

White Female from St. Louis: "I'm pretty much just looking for someone who will make me happy (laughing) whoever hopefully."

Iranian Female from Denver: "I've never been in an interracial relationship but I'd consider it. I value that."

Researcher: "Ladies, thank you. Thank you. You don't know how much of a help this has been just to be able to sit here and listen to your answers and I thank you for sharing."

Appendix 4-Focus Group Transcription #4

Focus Group #4 (3 Black Females and 1 Black Male)

Question #1

Researcher: "Alright you all like I said before. Thank you for gathering here today just for the focus group and to talk about some issues in terms of racism and social distance on this campus. The first question, I just basically want to throw out how would you define the term racism, and anyone can basically, your definition of that."

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "That's a heavy one."

Researcher: "So, I mean just feel free to be open."

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "To me it involves um, any kinds of discrimination or marginalization um, amongst disenfranchised groups that are afforded to other groups."

Researcher: "Okay, um could you give us an example?"

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "Like a disenfranchised group would be let's say African Americans other groups who are mainstream groups might be white students white groups. That's my stab at it."

Researcher: "Ok, alright!"

Black Female from Okalahoma City, Oklahoma: "I can't say this is discrimination, I thought of one class or person versus another."

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "I would think its any type of judging rather it be for bad or for good of somebody because of race."

Question 2

Researcher: "Okay let me throw this out here there are two terms you all brought up you brought up racisms and you also brought up discrimination. We should make a distinction between those two terms or do you think they are synonymous? Just like I said before you all can feel free to answer that on how you would define that basically."

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Anybody can start?"

Researcher: "Yeah anybody?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Well I'm kinda alert. I think that there is a distinction between discrimination and racism. You can discriminate against gender and income and racism just deals with ethnicity or nationality."

Researcher: "Ok, Ok!"

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "I agree with that but I would add one piece to the racism issue. I think racism has a lot to do with power or the lack there of. And I mean that I think we, I think human beings discriminate on a daily basis based on their upbringing or their likes or dislikes that sort of thing. For example something as simple as the choices that we make about where we, who we choose to hang out with. For example, that's based on our likes, dislikes, upbringing, experiences and that sort of thing. Can it be viewed as discriminatory in nature? It can be if you're looking at through those sets of lenses. But racism um for me it involves more of a power dynamic that a lot of folks don't like to talk about. Cause um at least in some of the discussions that I have with undergraduate students on the campus. A lot of 'em think that um, maybe by virtue of the fact that they might be on the campus, a lot of 'em think that um black people can't be racist because they haven't historically had access to power. So I think the power dynamic is a powerful factor in describing or defining racism."

Question 3

Researcher: "Okay anyone else want to add on to that? How would you um? My next question would be have you seen that power dynamic invoked on this campus from your own experience?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Well coming from my professional experience I think there is a combination of racism and sexism that is prevalent and I can only speak within my experience with Student Affairs. But it does fully operate to that degree that students within higher administration one person years ago to fight that."

Researcher: "Can you give me a specific example?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Um well you have when your interacting with maybe coworkers some it may just be a perception but some information not getting to a certain group or a different set of standards for a person of color versus a person who maybe Caucasian or who maybe specifically a white male."

Researcher: "Any body else want to add on to that?"

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "I haven't had any interaction except as a student and your talking about professional standards. Particularly are you talking about overt or blatant?"

Researcher: "Either one?"

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "I don't think I really felt like I've experienced it."

Researcher: "Okay, Okay."

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "I don't think I've experienced it personally but I think in terms of interaction with other younger students I think they probably perceived that they've experienced. For example I hear some students talking about their interaction with other students who might be from lets just say smaller rural community within the state of Missouri or outside the state of Missouri for that matter coming to this place we call the university and interacting on a daily basis and they be talking about some critical or highly charged issues in the class. I think some real issues tend to emerge. For example I had a conversation with a student last week, not last week the week before last about a student coming in the class with a confederate flag on a tee shirt and he talked about the historical importance or that, not importance significance of that and what that means toward the white student wearing the shirt versus the African American student who raised some concern or um I guess lack of a better term concern about what that tee shirt represent in a conversation that ensued as a result of that. So I think it can be covert in terms of classroom dynamic but it can be overt as well when we have those symbols of what racism might mean to certain population displayed and exhibited on a daily basis."

Question 4

Researcher: "Let me throw out an example here and this example um I had a student when I worked for an agency here in town. Um I worked as a social worker for one of the agencies here and I use to supervise undergraduate that were coming there to the agency to do their internship. And this is really and I share this story quite a bit in focus groups cause this is how really how this is the fuel behind this dissertation study. Um the student had an African American female friend, they were over here in Ellis Library this has just been a couple years ago and the young lady proceeded to go up to the counter and present her id and check out a laptop. Cause we know that as long as you have your id you can checkout a laptop in Ellis and go anywhere in the library. Well she went up to the representative and she said you know I'd like to checkout a laptop. Well the representative told her well you know we don't have anymore. She thought it was kinda odd because she had just saw a white male walk up and present his id and get a laptop and be able to take it any where in the library. So she proceeded to tell the young lady at that time that I was supervising who was a Caucasian female, why don't you take your id up there cause she won't give me one. So she walked up there and presented her id and sure enough she came back with a laptop. Well at that time when she comes back to the counter the black girl walks back up and said I thought you didn't have one. And I bring that story up to say would you identify that as discrimination or racism or could it been another factor. How would you assess that?"

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: "Maybe taking things out of context of the situation. At first glance you would say that was racism that's why she did it. But did a computer just come back; you don't know all the factors. But of course from a black perspective you would think you know its racism. I mean you hope it wasn't but in that instance it really seems to be that what the case was."

Researcher: "Anybody else?"

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "For me I think it depends on the lenses that your looking through. Um specifically. Because you know how many times we see those stories on NBC where, Dateline NBC or something like that where you see those experiments they have an African American person with the same type of credentials as a white person goes into a job interview and their video tapping it and one person gets it and the other one doesn't. Or um a person goes into a store one person is followed and another is not. We see example after example of that occurring. Is it racism? For a certain population I think they would view that as racism, for others is it discrimination. Is it discriminatory yes? Is it discrimination who knows? I think it depends on the individual perspective. From my perspective I think its both, really all three prejudicial, discriminatory and racism all wrapped into one. Um but again I think it depends on the context of the specific situation. But it can be all of those wrapped in one, from my perspective; it doesn't have to be segmented out. It could be a combination of all them."

Researcher: "Anybody else want to add to that?"

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: "Let's just say you know I don't know if you could avoid the stereotype and it being a stereotypical response. I don't know anything about the young lady herself or the lady at the checkout or if they had been into it prior to you know her checking out the laptop with this woman before. I don't know but just this being at first glance it may seem to me racist or that she may fit some stereotype that she had on her mind about a certain race of people..."

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "She could look at maybe someone if she was a professional dressed person versus someone who may have the blue weave. So not necessary racism but lets just say discriminatory or prejudice"

Question 5

Researcher: "This is another issue I think is pertinent to bring this to the table. When you all were growing up if you could share a little bit about your experiences with other ethnicities in terms of high school in terms of in your neighborhood. I guess what I'm after is what were some of your experiences with other ethnicities? If you could tell me a little bit about where you grow up and how um

your interactions was with people that were different from yourself in terms of ethnicity?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Well I grew up as a very young child in a very intercultural, multicultural environment middleclass, all black neighborhood, and then uh we lived in Europe which was very diverse then back to a predominantly black and then we moved to a predominantly white area kinda mixture of all people."

Question 6

Researcher: "And now, I'm just going to throw these in as it comes up, your level of social distance. Were you uh, ..did you walk to school with people of different ethnicities. Did you live next door, were there close interactions, can you tell me a little bit about that?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Well, for elementary, living on a military base, its all different types when your next door neighbor maybe German or maybe French or Ethiopia or African American or Caucasian American and very diverse within and the interactions were fine for me. I had friends that were Korean. My best friend was Korean. To interact with someone who wasn't black wasn't a problem. Actually when I moved back to the all black neighborhood, it became a transition to get back to your blackness and you know with language and vernacular and all of that. Some of that had to change. I think going to a white area more so, the social distance increased coming from a black area, not necessarily because they were white, but because it was a completely different environment."

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "First growing up in junior high and high school especially it was very diverse as well because our town was a very military town."

Question 7

Researcher: "Where are you from?"

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "Junction City, Kansas, they (Referring to the people in the military) shared our city basically, they shared our district. We went to high school together. We had separate junior highs, but we did a lot of things together so um...so it was very diverse in terms of African American and Caucasian American...and I think that we were almost oblivious to it because I remember when I played basketball, my situation was very unique um given where we were at and when I played basketball, we played some smaller towns and it never dawned on me, we talked about this on the bus afterwards, we laughed about it. But, we went to this tournament, and this was somewhere in southwest Kansas and we ran in, the opening school, yelled, "SOUL TRAIN!" That's what they called us, The soul train school, and we were like why are they calling us, and we never realized, our whole team was black, It never dawned us, we had one little white girl and she kind (played)

between JV and Varsity. But it never dawned on us that we were all African American because of the environment that we were in the high school and you know...as for as the interaction we never had any type of race wars or anything that you hear some high schools having particularly in urban (areas), I don't really think it was a big issue."

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: "Well I'm from Monroe City, Missouri. I was the only uh black female from first grade through a senior in high school. This one other little girl she flunked first grade. Yea sorry, she's behind. There were two other African Americans boys in my class, but I think the difference between myself and the experiences they had was that academically we weren't at the same level...I was more outgoing and I think actually ahead of most Caucasians in my class on that level. I think for me growing up, now that I look back and think about it, I was always the one doing more the talking, or the one getting in trouble, or whatever, for me I thought it was because I talk too much or whatever, now looking back at it, I think it was racism. You know, because I think of what other students before me or you know the students after me, cousins of mine that went there and the problems that they had, I just thought well maybe I do talk too much, but you listen to the things that did happen and I do think now that it was racist. You know and then my mom and my dad would talk about the teachers and the same teachers taught there forever or whatever and they would talk about how racist and prejudice these people were. And, I'm like oh no, not Ms. so-in-so or whatever, so you know I thought um that it was me or whatever, but now looking back, I think it was because I was the only black person, I was competing against Caucasian students to be at the top of the class or whatever and I don't think they wanted to happen. And also another factor I think ,the town was very segregated. There's three areas where blacks live. There's either black or white, there's no other, we did have an Asian person to come or sometimes there will be a Hispanic individual or whatever, it didn't last long. They weren't accepted..., sometimes they wouldn't even last the whole school year and they would be gone. I mean you hear stories or whatever, but now looking back as an adult, the individuals in the town did not make it a place where they want to live. Either your black or white, the blacks stayed on seventh street area, the whites were in the rural area or wherever they wanted to outside of that, but then something else I was thinking, as people were going around, I think too the other problem is that my family was only one that had two parents."

Researcher: "Wow!"

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: "Now that I think about it, Yeah, none of my cousins, some of the other kids in the neighborhood, , none of them had a dad, none of them had a dad, going up and down the block or whatever even older people who had been there or whatever, older adults or whatever, none of them had a father in the home. I think that's another issue to my parents put a big focus on, academics. My siblings, I not as good as they are, but

excelled in sports, excelled in academics, I think that's why we were more accepted, but my cousins, they had horrible academic experiences and that's why the majority of them still live in Monroe City, today! They didn't want to get out, because they had such a hard time in school. They had a difficult time in the environment that they were in. But to me, I think the household and upbringing I had...they were like don't get out of focus, you do what you need to do to get out of here and that's what we did so. I wouldn't wish it on my kids or on anybody else, I would never go back. I'm serious, It's still bad today, I know like when I go back or whatever it's just because trying to help one person out or whatever...still some of the things I go back and do, my cousins won't do. They just have a hard time looking at it and dealing with it or whatever. I think the mentality that people have and the way that they were raised. Some of the Caucasians, some of their kids when they get out of Monroe City and come to Columbia and move to St. Louis, they see that there is life outside of Monroe and sheltered mentalities and the way their thoughts and views were of other ethnic groups, it's because of the way they were brought up. You know, it's what you see on TV or whatever, it's a learned behavior."

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "Well I was reared in Las Vegas. In inner-city Las Vegas. It's almost like a tale of two cities, but I was bused to a school outside my neighborhood. Nine, eleven or Twelve years old...In Las Vegas, in the Cross County Public schools, they have uh six grade centers. All the six grade centers are in the black neighborhood. So I was uh, It's a tale of two cities, my neighborhood where I was raised, all black, even when I go back now as a forty year something old, it's Hispanic now. But' it's all black, and then I go to a school that was predominantly white, but extremely diverse. It was predominantly white, but every other ethnicity that was there was (represented), probably twenty-three different languages spoken at our school. So, it was really diverse, um, but my neighborhood was all black that I grew up in. I am still reminded to this day, some of the kids I went to elementary school with, some of them I ended up going all the way to (Grade 12) some of them, I even went to college with. But the experience was pretty unique, you know I was a decent student, an athlete as well, I played a variety of different sports and what not! And um, I tell everybody this, the thing that really separated me from a lot of students was my ability to participate in music. Cause you know everybody played sports right, especially being a black man, everybody played sports, but very few really who also had musical talents and musical abilities never would participate in band and stuff like that and so I was one of only handful that played multiple instruments and that sort of thing. So, I think that was my saving grace in terms of being able to distinguish myself from a lot of my peers. My music background, I was actually able to go to college on a four year music scholarship, so that was kind of my situation. But, um , but very diverse, I interacted a lot with African Americans during the day and outside of school, a lot of my outside classroom time, I won't say I learned Spanish, but I tinkled with Spanish in school and that sort of thing. It was pretty diverse."

Question 8

Researcher: "Would you all say that in terms of a class dynamic in your neighborhood, would you say it was more um, heterogeneous or homogeneous. Was it all one type of classes or was it diverse classes? Because you talked about how the people in your neighborhood (referring to black female from Monroe City), you were the only family that had two parents? So that gives me some indication of a class issue in that neighborhood, how would you all describe that (posing the question to the entire group)?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "In my neighborhood, from middle school to high school, it was a predominantly white area, upper middle class, most people, college educated, um two parent home and few blacks there as well. The area where we moved from the all black neighborhood, it was pretty much the same, two parent home...the majority of the people there were home owners. I guess it wasn't economically a big move or shift."

Researcher: "What was the name of the neighborhood you moved from and then if you could tell us the neighborhood you moved to?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Ok, I moved from Musgrave to Edmond."

Researcher: "In Oklahoma , Oklahoma City."

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Yes I moved from Edmond in Okalahoma City, not a big difference, Oklahoma City has a lot of what you all would call suburbs...Edmond tries to be it's own little town."

Researcher: "What about you (referring to female from Junction City, Kansas), Would you say it was middle or upper class, How would you describe that?"

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "It was probably upper middle class."

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: (From Monroe City) "I'd say um, my family was middle class, however the surrounding families were lower. I think also too, I guess I never really thought about it, but my parents were the only ones with a college education. The only place for African Americans to work in the town, most of them worked in the factory, my dad was an engineer at the factory whereas everybody else's parents worked out in the factory and my mom worked at the other factory in town, but she was a computer operator whereas my cousin's parents worked out in the factory and ran the machines...and my siblings, we were the only ones with a college education. Sad to say, but half of my cousins who did go to college were females came back because they ended up pregnant. Not one of my cousins who are from Monroe graduated from college. But, I think

it's because, they don't have the family support either, but, so I'd say lower."

Researcher: "Ok!"

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "I grew up in the projects of Las Vegas. Uh, growing up in the projects, my mom got remarried and we moved from the projects when I was in seventh grade. So, I think it started a lower class, but (referring to new area he moved to) was probably was lower middle class..my step dad drove a brand new Cadillac every year. It was good, we would take trips every year and go down south. But yeah, circumstances changed after she got remarried."

Question 9

Researcher: "It is interesting to hear, because you all are a diverse group in terms of how you grew up and your interaction with different ethnicities, I think my next question would be, you coming to this university, I guess you all would be staff and administrators, but um how would you, I'm going to interject this, from a professional perspective what are some of your perceptions, we could say social distance or racism in terms of your own job position. I've taken it a different route."

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "I think that in general that staff they try to reach out to all students. It may just be kinda personality differences than racism."

Researcher: "Be a little bit more specific."

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "My advisor: She is more introverted and I am more extroverted. So the interaction from my perception seems more dry. But I don't perceive that as okay, this is racism, I jus think that's personality."

Researcher: (Said name of the other female for her to give her response)

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "I think that's very important too. How you perceive the situation, um you know if your on guard like that just anything could be racist in your mind or it could not be. I think a lot of our upbringing has to do with our perception on things and how we perceive it. I agree (with other female) particularly in my job with dealing with underrepresented students, you know its to my ability to be able to relate to a lot my students on that level as well. I'm isolated from...the program kinda isolates me from a lot of everything else. I am pretty much in my own little world"

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: "I think with the office I work in, I think that it's more, when I listened to or see the interaction that staff have with students of different ethnic backgrounds, I think that it would do the office good to have some

type of diversity training and I think that you look at the backgrounds and the economic status within the office. A lot of people within the office come from lower or middleclass backgrounds. I think that maybe the towns their from and the stereotypes and perceptions that they have back home, they bring those to work and unfortunately when their dealing with students, their not as sensitive or aware of some of the things their saying or interactions that their having. I mean that's just my perception being the only African American in the office within that, not within the whole office, but within that unit I guess. I think it's an issue, but, I'm not the one to bring about that change."

Researcher (said the name of the male, so he could state his response)

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "This is a heavy question for me, cause I work with students on a daily basis in my work with minority students. And I think um one of the things that I noticed immediately in trying to look at my upbringing and my situation with a lot of the students. I assumed that a lot of the students would be like first generation, low-income students and I soon discovered that most of them weren't. And so that was unique to me cause my All of my college experience both attending and working in a higher education environment have been that most students of color were first generation college students. So that was unique to me coming here. I say all that to say, I think that has kinda jaded my perspective in such a way, going back to your notion of social distance, um, I can't operate on those pre-assumed kinda assumptions that all students of color that might be from St. Louis are going to have this similar type of experience when you know I find it very interesting that most students from the St. Louis area segment themselves, Well I from East County, I from West County, I from this county, so there's no one unique African American experience here. You got some students from the suburbs and they may be from a totally white high school, but their black or vice versa or they might be an African American and come from an all black high school. You can never really tell, some of them might be inner-city, some from the suburbs, so you can't really call it and say it's one experience for students of color. Those were more so learning experiences for me. Those are very dissimilar to my situation. But I think that point I'm trying to make is which is similar to (said the name of the female who a comment before him) with respect to social distance, I think one of the critical things that is necessary on a predominantly white campus like this institution is the mentoring the piece. I think if your trying to work especially in a graduate or capacity or in undergraduate capacity or if your trying to learn how to navigate this system. You need folk that have at least some understanding of your background, history and experience to help you shepherd that process and if you don't, it makes it a little more difficulty, a few more extra hurdles you have to jump and navigate through in order to successfully come out the other end especially for black males. I look at data every single day about the plight of African American males on a campus like Mizou. We graduate, I'm not even comparing to white students, I'm

just talking about our African American sisters, they graduate, well most of us graduate, most of them graduate in a six year time frame, probably 20 percent males graduate in a six year time frame on campus, that's a problem, that's a problem. From a personal professionally charged with some responsibility in fixing that uh, you know my thing is, you know how do we draw attention to that data so that we can impact some changes, create some programs, some tension, some uh initiative, something, some incentive fixing that particular problem. My true question to whoever that is? Does it matter, Does it really matter?"

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: "But I think the problem too is that with the black males on the campus, the majority of black males are student athletes and you know a lot of them come to the campus with the perception that I going to the NBA, I going to the NFL or whatever and don't apply themselves. And I know when I was in college, the majority of African American males who I knew, none of them graduated, I can tell you that. None of them, they had tutors, none of them went to class, they had all these different initiatives and things available to them and didn't utilize them because they thought I going to do this and I going to do that and I don't need an education, you know I think that's the problem. And I think the one's that weren't athletes, they were trying to partake of everything Columbia has to offer, campus parties and worried about joining fraternities and thing like that and never applied themselves until it came time or when grades were getting ready to come out or been here six years and trying to graduate and is like forget it! But I mean I think is part on the institution, but part on the individual themselves. But like (said the name of the male) said, I think mentoring would probably help because they do need some kind of guidance, because they do come in and don't leave...But I think who are focused were the majority of African Americans that I did see when I came in like '91 or whatever, you know, like after the first semester or whatever, a lot of people didn't come back, some academics, or cause they just didn't like Columbia or couldn't adapt to the environment or whatever, but by the time sophomores and juniors, you didn't even see half the people you started with, by then everybody left, trying to figure out the system and how to graduate or whatever, but I think that it's on the part of the individual also and their mentality, I mean you know what Columbia is not St. Louis or not Kansas City or whatever. So they have to know that going into it, but I think that it's up for debate, but that it is also a problem."

Black Female from Junction City, Kansas: "I think the biggest gap in ...the biggest thing that puts that distance in there is information. Our students don't have information, and that's what sets them so far behind from everybody else. I don't think it's just a race issue, a lot of times it doesn't manifest itself to be a lot of ethnic kids, but when you look at data, where are most ethnic students from? In the rural economics or they come from homes that don't have bachelors degrees or advanced degrees, so when you look at it in that perspective, then I think that information is the key to a lot of things. If you don't know how to navigate a system,

your not going to navigate it well. Everything has to be trial and error and I see that a lot from my students particularly because they do come from backgrounds that don't have the home support...to be able to say, this is what you need to do and this is how to do it or go to see this person, maybe I can't tell you, but I need to let you know that you need to go and meet with you advisor. You know I have students that haven't met with their advisor since the first semester of their freshmen year. Their seniors, they don't know what their credits are evaluated as. They don't have a lot of times information that's necessary to push themselves through like it needs to be. Because you know it is a system, it is a system, it is a game that you have to play and they have to be successful at it and as you get to graduate school, it becomes even more complicated and complex, but the students don't know all that and that results in failure. I think that's the biggest gap between the social norms and the students that were talking about..I think most of it has to do with socio-economic status as well."

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "You know I think about some of the expectations and knowledge and what (referring to the female that just spoke) you said and knowledge about college. A lot of them (referring to students) watch TV and that's where they get notions of what college is going to be like. You hear your other friends have gone through what the social things in college, more so than about academically, You know when I talk to my advisor I did this research, we talked about what we pledged, who we kicked it with. So, I think that kind of hurts students in regards to when they are seeking information, they can tell you about the social things that going on, but a lot of the academics and it is when your not talking to the advisors and on the reverse, advisors ignoring students and so it's kind of a disconnect on both sides."

Question 10

Researcher: "There's something I want to interject in here as well. It was interesting when this came out in the second focus group I had done, this is a class issue as well, but it pertains to what you all had been discussing the last three or four minutes. Um, I had a Caucasian female that was participating in the focus group and she was from Minnesota and other guy that was in the focus group, he was from Blue Springs, outside Kansas City and the other young lady was from a suburb in Illinois, they were all homogeneous in terms of class. They were all middle class kids, well the black guy was black and Hispanic, but this is what came out this focus group, they stated that they felt comfortable associating with the opposite ethnicity as long as they were in the same class, but they did not feel comfortable associating with people from "lower class" or "the ghetto" and one of the females made a comment about how she perceived some of the black women that were in her First Year Experience Course as being "ghetto". I want to throw this term out here because I want to see how you all, what are some of your thought about that. The is another route on the question. Do you believe that some administrators or let' say faculty or staff that have knowledge of the student's class information outside of it

being middle or upper, if they have that perception as that kid being "ghetto" or from "ghetto" that they take a certain interaction towards them covertly?"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "Well I think that's more so, not that I know from the document, but how you present yourself. Kids from some ...or adults from the suburbs wants be thugs or present that image, I'm a rowdy person or a rebel and so their treated that way and then later when their talking about their experiences your like your appearance and the way you act is contradicting your background and I think some of that may more so show up and that's kind a going back to the library you know, it maybe how that young lady looked, not necessarily because she's black but her attitude and she presented herself and can change their attitudes and the way they treat you."

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: (Referring to the female that just spoke) "It shouldn't be any reason why someone should say in class your ghetto, if your participating in class or answering questions, why would they have a reason to perceive you as ghetto?"

Researcher: "That's her perception though!"

Black Female from Monroe City, Missouri: "It is a perception, as far as the way that individual is acting to be called ghetto But I think that is too peer pressure and you know that individual or that girl in the class or whatever who is being perceived as "ghetto" Because I have noticed sometimes the people in my class would act out or didn't want to be perceived too white if you knew something or if you were smart or you know, I don't know, I guess it's not taken the full advantage of academic experience worried more about (referred to what the other female stated earlier) the social aspect of it or how their being perceived by other African American students or whatever. To me, I don't see a reason why they would be perceived as ghetto"

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "The other thing is vernacular. That is probably more of a giveaway than appearance. As soon as a person opens their mouth, you do all these things to start ridging. She or he must be from this, they had this type of experience and we put them in a box and we label them as whatever. I can look rowdy or look like I'm threatening in my appearance, but if I'm articulate, then everybody's like oh, and then that does change the interaction between maybe that staff member or that faculty member with the student so some of them social distance can be decreased. But it is the vernacular and the oratory skills that a person has as well."

Researcher: (Motioning for the male to give his response)

Black Male from Las Vegas, Nevada: "I think it's three things, it's vernacular, it's dress or appearance and it's what you do, your actions. I'll give this example of how I was operating on some prejudice information based on those three things. I had a student

on first guess is what you articulated as "ghetto". He's got the sports wear on the hat, the St. Louis, He's from St. Louis, the timberlands, the baggy jeans, the big bubble coat and he's dressed like that every single day, every single day. He's got the silver chains. When I first met this guy as a freshman, he came into my office; we had a conversation, had a long conversation And, I looked at him and said, let me see where this cat's from? And he debunked every prejudice notion in my brain. I was like this kid is from this background; he speaks like this and that means he's from this socioeconomic group. False, every last one of them. This kid was from a middleclass, although he talks like he's not. He is interested in some intellectual activities and topics that folk from inner city St. Louis typically don't get down with. He was talking about Religious Studies; he's almost fluent in Japanese now. But he impressed me. I was like dude, I like you, your just blowing all my notions what it means to be from St. Louis is all about it. We have developed a relationship over the years and he's getting ready to graduate. He's got like a 3.9 GPA and I'm trying to convince him to go to Grad School, but his folks had never gone to grad school, never gone to college, but he's still middleclass, he doesn't talk, dress, act like he's from middleclass, but he is and the kid is destined for greatness. I think so, just on the ball, sharp guy, but you wouldn't know it just by looking at him."

Black Female from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: "You know I give to my nephews the example in talking about their appearance...As I 've grown older, I become more conservative and I was just teasing them, If your taking your money to the bank, what you want to give your money to someone in a suit or someone with a platinum grill, and their like, oh no, I'm not giving my money to the guy in the grill, and I'm like well why not, his teeth are probably more than the check you trying to cash, but it shows how powerful your appearance can impact the decisions that are made about you by others."

Researcher: "Any last comments, any last words, well thank you all very much!"

Appendix 5-University of Missouri –Columbia
Number of Students enrolled for the First Time (1997-2006)
Note: All tables in Appendix 5 were retrieved from the Office of Institutional Research’s website at
<http://ir.missouri.edu/> (Copyright, 2005, Curators of the University of Missouri-Columbia)

Table E3-E. Degree Seeking First-Time College Enrollment by Gender and Ethnicity, Fall Semesters

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
FEMALE										
American Indian / Alaskan Native	8	5	10	16	14	16	13	17	9	9
Asian/ Pacific Islander	48	48	43	72	58	75	70	66	68	74
Black, Non-Hispanic	183	182	170	151	132	176	177	171	203	223
Hispanic	30	21	30	32	31	33	32	44	49	58
White, Non-Hispanic	1,618	1,793	1,842	1,919	1,899	1,959	2,110	2,084	2,125	2,121
Non-Resident International	11	14	10	17	18	6	12	15	18	15
Unknown/ Not Reported	52	43	57	58	50	44	52	61	63	85
Total	1,950	2,106	2,162	2,265	2,202	2,309	2,466	2,458	2,535	2,585
MALE										
American Indian / Alaskan Native	5	11	11	6	4	11	10	12	11	11
Asian/ Pacific Islander	52	39	34	55	56	52	51	55	54	65
Black, Non-Hispanic	101	96	80	78	95	114	114	128	125	132
Hispanic	27	23	22	31	21	37	44	34	47	46
White, Non-Hispanic	1,354	1,483	1,544	1,713	1,711	1,844	1,879	1,898	1,861	1,866
Non-Resident International	10	19	31	17	30	19	21	13	18	28
Unknown/ Not Reported	47	64	48	61	51	53	84	70	67	105
Total	1,596	1,735	1,770	1,961	1,968	2,130	2,203	2,210	2,183	2,253
ALL FIRST-TIME COLLEGE DEGREE SEEKING STUDENTS										
American Indian / Alaskan Native	13	16	21	22	18	27	23	29	20	20
Asian/ Pacific Islander	100	87	77	127	114	127	121	121	122	139
Black, Non-Hispanic	284	278	250	229	227	290	291	299	328	355
Hispanic	57	44	52	63	52	70	76	78	96	104
White, Non-Hispanic	2,972	3,276	3,386	3,632	3,610	3,803	3,989	3,982	3,986	3,987
Non-Resident International	21	33	41	34	48	25	33	28	36	43
Unknown/ Not Reported	99	107	105	119	101	97	136	131	130	190
Total	3,546	3,841	3,932	4,226	4,170	4,439	4,669	4,668	4,718	4,838

**Appendix 5-University of Missouri –Columbia
Number of Bachelor Degrees awarded by Ethnicity
1997-2006**

University of Missouri-Columbia

Table D3-A. Degrees Awarded by Ethnicity, Academic Years

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
BACHELORS										
AMERICAN INDIAN/ ALASKAN NATIVE	8	13	17	20	16	23	11	24	30	27
BLACK, NON-HISPANIC	90	110	192	188	221	213	185	213	167	234
HISPANIC	48	34	45	39	60	63	51	52	66	66
Percent Underrepresented Minority	4.6%	4.6%	6.9%	6.4%	8.0%	8.0%	6.4%	7.1%	6.2%	7.3%
ASIAN/ PACIFIC ISLANDER	87	79	105	108	84	117	78	106	117	128
Percent Minority	7.3%	7.0%	9.8%	9.2%	10.3%	11.1%	8.4%	9.7%	8.9%	10.2%
WHITE, NON-HISPANIC	2,713	2,914	3,109	3,250	3,143	3,196	3,303	3,474	3,643	3,791
NON-RESIDENT INTERNATIONAL	135	147	118	116	67	46	49	50	74	71
UNKNOWN/ NOT REPORTED	96	94	84	119	125	103	171	167	162	144
TOTAL	3,177	3,391	3,670	3,840	3,716	3,761	3,848	4,086	4,259	4,461

**Appendix 5-University of Missouri –Columbia
Number of American Indian/Alaska Native Faculty
1996-2005**

	American Indian/Alaska Native									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
All Ranks										
Tenured	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1
On Tenure-Track	2	2	2	2						
Non-Regular					1					
Total	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Professor										
Tenured										
On Tenure-Track										
Non-Regular										
Total										
Associate Professor										
Tenured	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1
On Tenure-Track										
Non-Regular										
Total	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1
Assistant Professor										
Tenured										
On Tenure-Track	2	2	2	2						
Non-Regular					1					
Total	2	2	2	2	1					

**Appendix 5-University of Missouri –Columbia
Number of Hispanic Faculty
1996-2005**

	Hispanic									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
All Ranks										
Tenured	12	14	16	17	17	18	16	15	14	13
On Tenure-Track	7	8	5	7	6	6	6	7	9	11
Non-Regular	4	5	9	11	9	7	7	6	11	15
Total	23	27	30	35	32	31	29	28	34	39
Professor										
Tenured	4	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	4	4
On Tenure-Track										
Non-Regular				1	1					
Total	4	5	5	6	6	6	5	5	4	4
Associate Professor										
Tenured	8	8	10	12	12	12	11	10	10	9
On Tenure-Track	1	1								
Non-Regular		1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3
Total	9	10	11	13	14	14	13	12	13	12
Assistant Professor										
Tenured		1	1							
On Tenure-Track	6	7	5	7	6	6	6	7	9	11
Non-Regular	4	4	8	9	6	5	5	4	8	12
Total	10	12	14	16	12	11	11	11	17	23

**Appendix 5-University of Missouri –Columbia
Number of Asian/Pacific Islander Faculty
1996-2005**

	Asian/Pacific Islander									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
All Ranks										
Tenured	60	68	73	76	73	71	73	73	81	85
On Tenure-Track	38	33	32	40	43	51	50	54	56	69
Non-Regular	25	30	33	44	43	43	43	44	56	69
Total	123	131	138	160	159	165	166	171	193	223
Professor										
Tenured	36	37	38	38	34	31	34	39	45	49
On Tenure-Track					1	1				1
Non-Regular	1			3	3	4	2	1	2	1
Total	37	37	38	41	38	36	36	40	47	51
Associate Professor										
Tenured	23	30	34	38	38	39	38	34	36	36
On Tenure-Track		2	5	6	4	5	2	5	6	6
Non-Regular	5	7	7	5	4	3	5	6	7	11
Total	28	39	46	49	46	47	45	45	49	53
Assistant Professor										
Tenured	1	1	1		1	1	1			
On Tenure-Track	38	31	27	34	38	45	48	49	50	62
Non-Regular	19	23	26	36	36	36	36	37	47	57
Total	58	55	54	70	75	82	85	86	97	119

**Appendix 5-University of Missouri –Columbia
Number of Black Faculty
1996-2005**

	Black									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
All Ranks										
Tenured	22	25	28	27	26	28	27	27	28	29
On Tenure-Track	18	14	12	8	9	11	10	10	9	8
Non-Regular	6	8	8	11	6	6	5	9	9	9
Total	46	47	48	46	41	45	42	46	46	46
Professor										
Tenured	4	4	5	7	7	8	9	13	12	11
On Tenure-Track										
Non-Regular				1						
Total	4	4	5	8	7	8	9	13	12	11
Associate Professor										
Tenured	16	19	21	20	19	20	18	14	16	18
On Tenure-Track	2	2	1							
Non-Regular	1							3	2	2
Total	19	21	22	20	19	20	18	17	18	20
Assistant Professor										
Tenured	2	2	2							
On Tenure-Track	16	12	11	8	9	11	10	10	9	8
Non-Regular	5	8	8	10	6	6	5	6	7	7
Total	23	22	21	18	15	17	15	16	16	15

**Appendix 5-University of Missouri –Columbia
Number of White Faculty
1996-2005**

	White									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
All Ranks										
Tenured	799	809	800	797	716	713	716	673	679	693
On Tenure-Track	232	228	218	220	240	284	279	261	268	296
Non-Regular	256	283	297	313	310	328	352	365	395	409
Total	1,287	1,320	1,315	1,330	1,266	1,325	1,347	1,299	1,342	1,398
Professor										
Tenured	453	454	443	441	377	389	391	360	379	404
On Tenure-Track						1	1	1	1	
Non-Regular	15	17	21	19	14	23	24	26	21	22
Total	468	471	464	460	391	413	416	387	401	426
Associate Professor										
Tenured	328	340	341	343	328	315	314	307	296	285
On Tenure-Track	19	16	19	13	15	22	32	33	34	38
Non-Regular	51	50	48	54	54	68	77	81	99	104
Total	398	406	408	410	397	405	423	421	429	427
Assistant Professor										
Tenured	18	15	16	13	11	9	11	6	4	4
On Tenure-Track	213	212	199	207	225	261	246	227	233	258
Non-Regular	190	216	228	240	242	237	251	258	275	283
Total	421	443	443	460	478	507	508	491	512	545

Appendix 6--Bogardus Scale of Social Distance

Gender _____ Major _____ Ethnicity _____ Year in School _____

Place write the name of the area you are from on one of the following lines below:

I am from a rural area _____ I am from an urban area _____

Please list friend's estimated household income level: under \$5000 _____ \$5,000-9,999 _____ \$10,000 to \$14,999 _____
 \$15,000 to \$24,999 _____ \$25,000 to \$34,999 _____ \$35,000 to \$49,999 _____
 \$50,000 to \$74,999 _____ \$75,000 to \$99,999 _____ \$100,000 and over _____

1. Remember to provide your first feeling reactions in every scenario.
2. Give your reactions to each nationality as a group. If you have had pleasant or unpleasant experiences with a certain members of the group, please do not provide your reactions to the groups based solely on your personal experiences with these specific members, but provide your reactions based on the overall view you have of the entire group as a whole.
3. Put one of the following numbers in as many of the boxes as your feelings apply to. **1=Approve, 2=Disapprove, 3=No Objection**

How would your close friend feel about having members of the following groups:

	Native American/ Indian	Hispanic American/ Latino	African American/Black	Asian American/ Korean	Caucasian American/White	Biracial American(of a black& White ethnic background)
As one of your in laws						
As your partner or spouse						
As your co-worker						
As your next door neighbor						
As one of your close friends						
As a person who attends your religious organization						
As a member on your favorite professional sports team						
As your employment supervisor						
As your roommate						
As one of your classmates						
As your classroom instructor						
As your religious leader						

*The information in this scale is derived from the Social Distance Scale used in Eduardo Bonvilla-Silva's book, "Racism without Racists: Color Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States. And also from the website: <http://garnet.acns.fsu.edu/~jreynold/bogardus.pdf>. by John R. Reynolds at Florida State University.

Bibliography

- Adams, D. F. & Sanders, B. (2003). *Alienable rights*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Ballenger, T. (11, March, 2005). Minority groups reflect on-campus diversity problems at U. Missouri. *The Maneater*.
- Bell, Derrick. (July 13, 2007). Desegregation's demise. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.
- Blackmore, S. (1998). Imitation and definition of a meme. (Retrieved on July 21, 2007 at (http://cfpm.org/jom-emit/1998/vol2/Blackmore_s.html)).
- Blaine, E. B. (2000). *The psychology of diversity*. California: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Bobo, D.L. (2001). Racial attitudes and relations at the close of the twentieth century. *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences*, (1) <http://www.nap.edu/catalog/9599.html>.
- Bogardus, S. E. (1925). Measuring social distance. *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9, 299-308.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2003). *Racism without racists: color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the united states*. Rowman & Littlefield: Maryland.
- Boyer, P. G. (2005). College Student Persistence of First-Time Freshmen at a Midwestern University: A *Longitudinal Study Research for Educational Reform*, 10(1). 16-27.
- Crutchfield-Cook, D. (1996). *Shadow across the columns: the bittersweet legacy of African Americans at the university of Missouri*. Dissertation.
- Cruz-Janen, I, M. (1999). You are not enough: the faceless

- lives of biethnic and biracial Americans. A challenge for truly inclusive multicultural education. *Multicultural Perspectives*. 1(4),3-8.
- Davis, M., Bowie, Y., Greenberg, K., Pollio, H., Thomas, S. P. & Thompson, C. L. (2004). A fly in the buttermilk: descriptions of university life by successful Black undergraduate students at a predominantly White southeastern university. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 75(4), 420-445.
- Denzin, K, N. & Keller, M, C. (1981). Review: frame analysis reconsidered. *Contemporary Sociology*. 10(1): 52-60.
- Denzin, K, N. (2001). Symbolic interactionism, postructuralism, and the racial subject. *Symbolic Interaction*. 24(2): 243-249.
- Diamond, B, J. (2006). Still separate and unequal: Examining race, opportunity, and school achievement in integrated suburbs. *Journal of Negro Education*. 75(3): 495-505.
- Dierenfield, J, D. (2004). *The civil rights movement*. England, Pearson Longman.
- Dovidio, F, D. & Gaertner, L, S. (2005). Understanding and addressing contemporary racism: From aversive racism to the common ingroup identity model. *Journal of Social Issues*: 61(3).615-639.
- Eimers, T, M. & Pike, R, G. (1997). Minority and non-minority adjustment to college: Similarities and differences? *Research in Higher Education*. 38(1), 77-97.
- Fergus, M. (17, May, 2005). Marberry, Gregory tackle diversity at U. Missouri. *The Maneater*.
- Gantz, J. (2004). Fifty years after Brown: tarnished gold, broken promises. *The History Teacher*, 38(1), 66-113.
- Graf, T. (8 October 1993). Water under the bridge. *The Maneater*.

- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis*. Harper and Row: New York.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. The Overlook Press: New York.
- Greene, J, L., Kremer, R, G. & Holland, F, A. (1980). *Missouri's black heritage*. Forum Press: Canada.
- Hacker, A. (2000). *Two nations: Black, & White, separate, hostile, unequal*: Chicago. Simon & Schuster.
- Hatch, R, L. & Mommseen, K. (June 1984). The widening racial gap in american higher education. *Journal of Black Studies*. 14(4). 457-476.
- Hollander, A, J. & Howard, A, J. (2000). Social Psychological theories on social inequalities. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(4). P. 338-351.
- Hraba, J., Radloff, T. & Gray-Ray, P. (199) A comparison of Black and White social distance. *Journal of Social Psychology*. 139 (4), 536-539.
- Humphries, F. (Winter 1994-1995). A short history of Blacks in higher education. *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*. 6: 57.
- Johnson, K, M. & Marini, M, M. (1998). Bridging the racial divide in the united states: the effect of gender. *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 61(3), 247-258.
- Karen, D. (February, 1991). The politics of class, race and gender: Access to higher education in the United States. 99(2). *American Journal of Education*.
- Krueger, R, A. (2002). *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- King, D, R. & Wheelock. (March 2007). Group threat and

- social control: race, perceptions of minorities and the desire to punish. *Social Forces*. 85(3): 1255-1280.
- Langhout, D, R., Rosselli, F., & Feinstein, Jonathan. (Winter 2007) *Assessing classicism in academic settings*. 30 (2). 145-184.
- Leppel, K. (2001). The impact of major on college persistence among freshmen. *Higher Education*. 41. p. 327-342.
- Levin, J. & Rabrevonic, G. (2004). *Why we hate*. New York: Prometheus Books.
- Macionis, J, J. (2001). *Sociology*. New Jersey: Apprentice Hall.
- McClelland, E, K. & Auster, J. C. (1990). Public platitudes and hidden tensions: racial climates at predominantly White liberal arts colleges. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 61(6), 607-642.
- Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. (2007). [Retrieved on October 5, 2007 at <http://mw1.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/perceiving>].
- Montagliani, A. & Giacalone, A, R. (1998). Impression management and cross cultural adaptation. *The Journal of Social Psychology*. 138(5):598-608.
- Moore, M, R. (2002). *The quality and quantity of contact*. Maryland: University Press of American.
- Moorer, T. (November 23, 2005). Racial attitudes revealed. *The New York Amsterdam News*: 33-34.
- MU Black Alumni Association. (1994). *The African American Experience at UMC*. Walsworth Publishing Company: Missouri.
- MU campus climate study executive summary. phase i-v. [Retrieved at <http://diversity.missouri.edu/campus-climate/ccs-executive-summary.pdf> on October 10, 2007].

- MU campus climate Study for underrepresented groups. Phase v. mu stakeholders, focus groups and interviews. [Retrieved at <http://diversity.missouri.edu/campus-climate/mccs-3.pdf> on October 10, 2007].
- Nora, A. & Cabrera, F, A. (Mar.-Apr.,1996). The role of perceptions of prejudice and discrimination on the adjustment of minority students to college. *Journal of Higher Education*. 67(2):119-148.
- Odell, P., Korgen, K. & Wang, G. (2005). Cross-racial friendships and social distance between racial groups on a college campus. *Innovative Higher Education*, 29(4), 291-305.
- Perna, W, L. (2003). The private benefits of higher education: an examination of the earnings premium. *Research in Higher Education*. 44(4): 451-472.
- Personal Interview. (May 21, 2007). Dr. Julius Thompson.
- Personal Interview. (June 5, 2007). UMC Faculty Member.
- Peterson-Lewis, S. & Bratton, M, B. (2004). Perceptions of "acting Black" among African American teens: implications of racial dramaturgy for academic and social achievement. *The Urban Review*. 36(2): 81-100.
- Pinkney, A. (1993). *Black Americans*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Pottebaum, J. (26, July 2000). U. Missouri departments make diversity a top priority. *The Maneater*.
- Protestors did right thing. (17, March, 2004). *The Maneater*.
- Radloff, T. D. & Evans, N. J. (2003). The social construction of prejudice among Black and White college students. *NASPA Journal*, 40(2), 1-16.
- Reid, D, L. & Radhakrishnan, P. (2003). Race matters. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*. 9(3): 263-275.

- Review Team Report. (21, April, 2004). On the status of diversity programs on the campus of University of Missouri-Columbia.
- Reyes, J. (2007). Developing an infrastructure for cultural competence. Power-point Presentation.
- Smith, S, S. & Moore, R, M. (2000). Intra-racial diversity and relations among African Americans: Black students at a predominantly White university. *American Journal of Sociology*. 106(1): 1-39.
- Stolte, F, J. & Fender, S. (2007). Framing social values: an experimental study of culture and cognition. *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 70(1): 59-69.
- Stone, C, J. (2006). *Slavery, southern culture, and education in little Dixie, Missouri, 1820-1860*. Routledge: New York.
- Sullivan, M, J., Esmail, M., A., & Soh, S, R. (2002). Interaction Patterns between Black and White college students: for better or worse?. *Quality and Quantity of Contact*. Maryland: University Press of America.
- The Benefits of Higher Education. (Retrieved on June 30, 2007 at www.collegeboard.com/trends).
- Thompson, E, C. & Fretz, R, B. (Jul-Aug., 1991). Predicting the adjustment of Black students at predominantly White institutions. *Journal of Higher Education*. 62(4): 437-450.
- University of Missouri Archives. (23 December 1982). Oldham bypassed: white male M.U. curators accused of racism. *The St. Louis American*.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census, (1995). Black enrollment.
- Vega, A. (2006). "Americanizing?" attitudes and perceptions of U.S. Latinos. *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*. 18: 1074-1917.

- Waigandt, A. (2003). *An introduction to research & statistics*. Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Wallace, A, R. & Wolf, A. (1999). *Contemporary sociological theory*. Prentice Hall: New Jersey.
- Watson, L, W., Terrell, M, C., Wright, D, J. (2002). *How minority students experience college: Implications for planning and policy*. Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing.
- Weems, E, R. (2003). The incorporation of black faculty at predominantly white institutions: a historical and contemporary perspective. *Journal of Black Studies*. 34(1): 101-111.
- Wheatley, M. (1999). *Leadership and the new science: discovering order in a chaotic world*. San Francisco, California: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- Yount, L. (3, May 2002). Anniversary spurs reflection on race relations history at U. Missouri. *The Maneater*.

VITA

Nadie DuBose was born on March 24, 1976 to Barbara Hurd and Jerry DuBose in St. Louis, Missouri. She was educated in the Normandy School District and graduated with her high school diploma in June of 1994. Following graduation, Nadie pursued a bachelor's degree in Human Development and Family Studies at the University of Missouri-Columbia. She graduated in 1999 with her Bachelor of Science degree and later pursued a Master's degree in Social Work. She graduated with her MSW degree in 2002. After working for a few years in the field of Social Work, she discovered that she wanted to work with students and decided to pursue a doctorate in Rural Sociology beginning in 2004. Nadie has received both her Masters and Doctorate degrees from the University of Missouri-Columbia. She is presently employed with the Missouri Department of Health and Senior Services as a Project Specialist for the Office of Minority Health.