

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: THE INFLUENCE PERCEPTIONS OF PARENT
RACIAL ATTITUDES AND INTERGROUP CONTACT
HAVE ON ADOLESCENT CROSS-RACE
RELATIONSHIPS

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Research on cross-race relationships has demonstrated that contact between races is an important contributing factor to reducing prejudice in both children and in adults; however, cross-race relationships are still rare and infrequent and have been shown to decrease with age. The purpose of this project was to focus on the impact parents have on their children's cross-race relationships. Adolescents' perceptions of parents' messages about these relationships were examined to investigate how this related to the extent of contact with peers from different ethnic backgrounds and the extent to which it impacted adolescents' subsequent evaluations of cross-race relationships.

Participants were 347 ninth- and twelfth-graders of mixed ethnicity and across gender. Three factors were proposed to influence their attitudes toward cross-race relationships: perception of intergroup contact, perception of parents' racial attitudes, and perception of parents' messages. The questionnaire consisted of four sections: (1)

Intergroup Contact Measure, (2) Cross-Race Friendship and Dating Experiences, (3) Parental Attitudes, and (4) Personal Attitudes and Autonomy. The Intergroup Contact section asked demographic questions regarding the racial make-up and chance at interaction with individuals from a different racial background. The second section, Social Experiences, asked questions regarding the participant's experience with cross-race friendships and romantic relationships. The third section, Parental Attitudes, assessed the participant's perception of his or her parents' attitudes toward cross-race relationships. The fourth section of the survey, Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes, asked participants their opinion on who should make rules for adolescents' dating and friendship choices.

Findings indicated that perceptions of intergroup contact had an effect on the formation and development of both cross-race friendships and dating relationships. Perceptions of parent racial attitudes had an effect on the actual experiences participants had within their cross-race relationships. In addition, the findings indicated that parents evaluated cross-race relationships differently and their messages played a key role in shaping the experiences of their children. These findings both contribute and expand on existing literature about adolescent social relationships and theories of prejudice and racial bias, providing further support to intergroup contact theory.

THE INFLUENCE OF PERCEPTIONS OF PARENT RACIAL ATTITUDE AND
INTERGROUP CONTACT ON ADOLESCENT CROSS-RACE RELATIONSHIPS

by

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
Chapter I: Theoretical Rationale	1
Racial Attitudes in Children	3
Racial Attitudes in Parents	4
Modern Racism	5
Intergroup Contact	6
Expectations	8
Summary of Goals	17
Chapter II: Background Literature	19
Introduction	19
Intergroup Contact and the Development of Attitudes	19
Intergroup Contact Theory	19
Intergroup Contact and Children's Racial Attitudes	23
Intergroup Processes and Relationships	26
Interracial Relationships	31
Friendship	31
Cross-Race Friendships	33
Dating	37
Cross-Race Dating	40
Marriage	43
Modern Racism	46
Dual Attitudes	47
Aversive Racists	48
Implicit Versus Explicit	49
Parenting and the Role of Authority	53
Parenting Style and Autonomy	54
Parenting and the Role of Conflict	55
Parenting and Racial Socialization	59
Parenting and Values	63
Conclusion	66
Overview of Present Study	67
Purpose and Design	67
Hypotheses	70
Chapter III: Methodology	76
Participants	76
Procedure	76
Measures	77
Intergroup Contact Measure	77
Social Experience.....	81
Parental Attitude	83

Evaluations of Personal and Parental Attitude	86
Design	90
Chapter IV: Results	91
Role of Diversity in Cross Race Relationships	93
Cross-Race Friendships	93
Influence on Attitudes Toward Cross-Race Relationships	94
Perception of Diversity and Attitudes Toward Cross-Race Relationships	95
Influences and Experiences	96
Influences on Friendship and Dating Choices	97
Perceptions of Opportunity and Experience	97
Perceptions of Contact and Experience	98
Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Experience	99
Perceptions of Experiences with Intimacy	100
Intergroup Contact and Perceptions of Experiences with Intimacy	101
Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Experiences with Intimacy	102
Perceptions of Parental Expression of Feelings	102
Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Expression of Feelings	103
Reactions to Parents' Negative Feelings	104
Intergroup Contact and Reactions to Parents' Negative Feelings	105
Expressions of Parent Racial Attitudes	107
Ratings of Attitudes and Feelings About Cross-Race Relationships	107
Perceptions of Expressions of Parent Racial Attitude	108
Means of Perceptions of Parental Expression: Direct or Indirect	109
Messages Associated with Direct and Indirect Expressions	109
Adolescents' Reactions to Direct and Indirect Expressions	111
Influence of Direct and Indirect Expressions	113
Influence and Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude	113
Decision-Making and Conflicts in Relationships	115
Decision-Making in Friendships and Dating	115
Age Effect of Rules	116
Conflicts and Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude	117
Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitudes and Comparisons of Relationships	118
Chapter V: Discussion	121
Intergroup Contact and the Development of Attitudes	122
Perceptions of Intergroup Contact and Its Influence on Intergroup Relationships	123
Perceptions of Intergroup Contact and the Role of Authority	124
Perception of Parents' Racial Attitudes and Intergroup Relationships	126
Cross-Race Friendships and Perceptions of Parents' Racial Attitudes	127
Cross-Race Dating and Perceptions of Parents' Racial Attitudes	128
Parents' Messages	130
Cross-Race Friendships Versus Cross-Race Dating	131

Indirect Versus Direct	132
The Role of Authority	137
Limitations	136
Conclusion	140
Tables and Figures	145
Appendices	175
Appendix A: Listing of Assessments, Part I, Section D.....	175
Appendix B: Listing of Assessments, Part II, Sections A and B	176
Appendix C: Listing of Assessments, Part III	177
Appendix D: List of Assessments, Part IV, Sections A and B	178
Appendix E: List of Assessments, Part IV, Section C	179
Appendix F: Coding Categories for Justifications in Social Experience	180
Appendix G: Coding Categories for Justifications in Parental Attitudes	182
Appendix H: Coding Categories for Justifications in Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes	185
Appendix I: Summary of Hypotheses	190
Appendix J: Parental Permission Form	193
Appendix K: Survey Form	194
References.....	210

List of Tables

Table 1: Means for Intergroup Contact and Self-Reported Cross-Race Friendships Across Contexts	145
Table 2: Means for Perception of Intergroup Contact and Attitudes About Cross-Race Relationships	148
Table 3: Means for Adolescent Perception of Strongest Source of Influence	151
Table 4: Means for Perception of Intergroup Contact and Evaluations of Friendship and Dating Experiences	152
Table 5: Means for Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Evaluations of Friendship and Dating Experiences	153
Table 6: Means for Refraining from Inviting Cross-Race Friends and Dates Home	156
Table 7: Means for Perceptions of Parents' Messages about Cross-Race Friendship and Dating	159
Table 8: Means for Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitudes and Perceptions of Parents' Messages about Cross-Race Friendship and Dating	162
Table 9: Means for Perceptions of Parents' Direct and Indirect Messages	167
Table 10: Means for Participants' Reasons Why Parents Can Express Messages by Type of Expression	168
Table 11: Means for Perceptions of Parents' Racial Attitudes and Influence of Messages	169
Table 12: Means for Participants' Decision Judgments by Type of Relationship	170
Table 13: Means for Participants' Reasons Why They or Their Parents Should Make Decisions in Adolescents' Relationships	173
Table 14: Means for Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitudes and Perceptions of Parents' Comparisons of Cross-Race Relationships	174

List of Figures

Figure 1: Cross-race friendships across contexts as a function of participants' perceptions of intergroup contact	146
Figure 2: Adolescents' personal attitudes toward cross-race relationships as a function of their perceived degree of intergroup contact	149
Figure 3: Evaluations of cross-race dating experiences as a function of perceptions of parent racial attitude.....	154
Figure 4: Reasons for Refraining from Inviting Cross-Race Friends and Dates Home	157
Figure 5: Perceptions of parents' messages regarding cross-race friendships and cross-race dating	160
Figure 6: Perception of parents' messages about cross-race dating as a function of adolescents' perception of parents' racial attitudes	163
Figure 7: Perceptions of parents' messages about cross-race friendship and cross-race dating as a function of negative perceptions of parents' racial attitudes	165
Figure 8: Participant response to whom should make decisions regarding adolescent friendship choice	171
Figure 9: Participant response to whom should make decisions regarding adolescent dating choice	171

CHAPTER I

Theoretical Rationale

Since the landmark case of *Brown vs. the Board of Education* in 1954 and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1964, schools and communities in the United States have become more diverse and more highly integrated. One positive outcome of this increased contact is the potential it creates for individuals of different races and ethnic backgrounds to form close relationships, such as friendships. Today, individuals of different races have the potential to grow up in the same neighborhoods, attend the same schools, and work side-by-side. Research has shown that when this occurs, children's development and learning is enhanced, they have higher educational and occupational aspirations, and they have more positive social interaction among members of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, simple exposure to desegregation as children causes people to live more integrated lives as adults (Schofield, 1995).

Friendships, especially among young children, would seem to create an excellent and supportive atmosphere in which children can create and be a part of a relationship unencumbered by prejudice and bias. Indeed, cross-race friendships have been found to be a significant predictor for reduction of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Schofield, 1995; Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2002; Slavin & Cooper, 1999). Having a friend of a different race helps children to understand that not all individuals of a group are the same and that individuals of different races may share similarities even though they differ with regards to their skin color. Because friendships entail an emotional bond, having a friend of a different race is also beneficial in that it raises a child's awareness of and sympathy

for the experiences associated with prejudice when instances of racial prejudice occur in a child's life. Yet, while contact has increased over the past few decades, cross-race relationships remain infrequent even in heterogeneous areas (Aboud, Mendelsohn, & Purdy, 2002; Graham & Cohen, 1997; Hartup, 1983; Howes & Wu, 1990; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a). Although cross-race and same-race friendships are rated to be similar in quality on a wide range of issues, including companionship and reliable alliance (Kerner & Aboud, 1998) and are a key to reducing prejudice, these forms of friendships appear to be rare and infrequent, steadily decreasing in number as children approach adolescence (Aboud, et al., 2002; Graham & Cohen, 1997; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987b). Therefore, contact, alone, does not appear to be enough to reduce prejudice and encourage cross-race relationships. Other factors are or are *not* at play.

The focus of the present study was on the impact parents' messages have on the decisions adolescents make in choosing to engage in close, cross-race friendships and romantic partnerships. The present study examined the relationship between adolescents' perceptions of parents' racial attitudes and their perceptions of intergroup contact on the development of adolescent attitudes toward close cross-race friendships and romantic partnerships. The goals of the study were four-fold. The first goal was to assess the participants' attitudes toward the role of authority in decisions they make regarding their personal relationships. The second goal was to assess participants' perceptions of their parents' racial attitudes. The third goal was to examine the role parents' messages play in the personal experiences participants have had with their parents in conflicts involving cross-race friendships and dating. And, finally, the fourth goal was to investigate the adolescents' perceptions of intergroup contact in their schools, communities, and

neighborhoods. Perceptions of intergroup contact, parents' attitudes, and personal experiences were examined within the context of participants' own opinions and feelings regarding cross-race relationships.

Racial Attitudes in Children

Research on prejudice in children shows that prejudice decreases with age (Aboud & Doyle, 1996). However, cross-race friendships have been shown to also decline over the elementary school years (Aboud, et al., 2002; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a; Shrum, Cheek, & Hunter, 1988). Kerner and Aboud (1998) investigated the extent to which the decline of cross-race friendships may be linked to different evaluations of friendship qualities between African-American and European-American children. The findings showed that children evaluated cross-race friendships equally in quality to their same-race friendships, valuing the same qualities in a friend, such as companionship, help, reliable alliance, positive global traits, and protection. Indeed, children with cross-race friends evaluated the quality of their friendships as highly as those with their same-race friends (Aboud et al., 2002). The only area where they differed was in the level of intimacy. Cross-race friendships were rated lower in intimacy than were same-race friendships (Aboud et al., 2002; DuBois & Hirsch, 1990). In other words, children are more comfortable revealing private matters with their same-race peers than with their cross-race peers. Furthermore, the decline in cross-race friendships also happens to come at a time when children are beginning adolescence and beginning to form more intimate relationships with friends and with the opposite sex. Cross-race friendships have yet to be examined from the perspective of adolescents. Looking at this issue from this stage of development could shed some light on the changing nature of cross-race friendships and

its subsequent decline in frequency. Thus, the first aim of the present study was to measure adolescents' feelings toward close interracial relationships and to ask what role they believed their parents should play in the choices they make regarding these relationships. In looking at close interracial relationships and experiences, the present study also set out to examine what factor age plays in cross-race relationships, whether or not it continues to decline through adolescence and if attitudes toward these relationships change over time. In addition, gender differences were examined in order to determine if cross-race relationships were evaluated differently and if personal experiences differed according to the gender of the participant.

Racial Attitudes in Parents

According to Allport's (1954) theory on prejudice, preadolescent prejudice is an imitation of parents' views. Children pick up on their parents' messages regarding race and use these views to organize and evaluate their own social worlds. However, support for this claim is mixed. Allport wrote his famous work on prejudice during the 1950's at the time of *Brown vs. the Board of Education* and at the very beginning of the Civil Rights Movement. Since that time, prejudice and racial attitudes, in general, have shifted and changed, becoming more complex in nature. Parents may not express overt racism to their children because they would not want to be perceived as being prejudiced or might not in fact see themselves as prejudiced. They may hold positive views about outgroups, but they prefer their own group over others in what has been labeled "ambivalent" racism (Katz & Hass, 1988; Devine, 1989). While parents might think they are unbiased and not sending negative messages about a racial or religious group to their children, they are in fact sending messages of preference for the group they identify with

over another group. Since very little is known about parents' attitudes regarding cross-race relationships, one way to find out is from the adolescent's viewpoint. Looking at this issue from their perspective, meaning what messages adolescents are using, circumvents the issue of social desirability since parents may not want to reveal their biases if asked directly. Thus, a second aim of this study was to examine the nature of parents' messages to their adolescent from the perspective of the adolescent. In examining this issue, the present study considered research on different forms of parenting and examined it in a new light.

Modern Racism

Since "modern" racism is subversive in nature and indirect in expression, it is possible that today's parents are also using this indirect approach to transmit their own feelings regarding cross-race relationships to their children. In their literature review on parental discipline methods, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) discuss the different outcomes of power assertive behavior in parents versus implicit and indirect statements. Indirect methods force the adolescent to reflect on what the parent has said, requiring him or her to do some further evaluation, ultimately leading to an internalization of the values that the adolescent believes he or she has thought out independently. On the other hand, threats to autonomy may promote active rejection of the parent's point of view and lead to a desire to behave counter to the values of the parent. Grusec and Goodnow's (1994) review is given within the context of "appropriate" behavior that parents are trying to teach their children. Parenting styles within the context of race and the development of attitudes in children have yet to be examined. The current study aimed to examine parental messages about race within the same context. For parents that use an indirect

approach, the question was how effective are indirect methods versus more assertive methods in the development of racial attitudes in their adolescents. The fourth aim, then, of this study was to evaluate the different means by which parents express their views and what effect this has on the development of attitudes in their adolescents. The question to be answered was whether the nature of the message would lead to similar attitudes in their teenagers, opposite attitudes in their teenagers, or simple compliance through force.

Intergroup Contact

Research regarding adult prejudice indicates that it is a function of the social environment in which adults live and interact with others as well as their own social opportunities for cross-race interactions. Recent research has shown that the United States has become increasingly re-segregated over the past decade, limiting parents and children's opportunities for cross-race interactions. Over the past ten years there has been a steady decrease in desegregated schools, and an increase in re-segregation (Frankenberg, Lee, & Orfield, 2003). Schools that were once completely desegregated in the cities and outlying communities are now increasingly being made up of minorities. European-Americans are moving further away from the cities, and we are now beginning to see the make-up of our schools and communities revert backwards to levels not seen in three decades (Frankenberg et al., 2003). In a report commissioned by the Harvard Civil Rights Project, Frankenberg et al. (2003) found that in the 2000-2001 school year, European-Americans were the most segregated group in the nation's public schools, and, on average, they attended schools where eighty percent of the student body is European-American. During the 1990s, the proportion of black students in majority white schools decreased by 13 percentage points, to a lower level than any year since 1968. Rather than

a nation gradually learning to live in harmony with one another, we are beginning to see a trend back toward the polarization of individuals who belong to racial groups not in the majority. Parents are making choices to move away from cities to suburbs in which their children attend less diverse schools. Therefore, not only do children not have the opportunity to be around a diverse group of people, to encounter them on an equal setting with similar goals, but they also do not have the opportunity to have these relationships sanctioned and condoned by those in authority.

The intergroup contact theory was first formulated by Gordon Allport in 1954. In it, he states that there are four primary conditions under which contact with individuals outside of one's own group can successfully reduce prejudice: (1) equal status among individuals; (2) common goals; (3) intergroup cooperation; and (4) support of authorities, law, or custom. Equal status refers to equal group status within the situation. Common goals refer to the notion that different groups need a common goal to achieve in order to reduce prejudice, such as found in interracial sports teams where the goal of winning serves to reduce racial prejudice within the group. Intergroup cooperation has to do with an emphasis on cooperation rather than competition. Finally, positive intergroup attitudes are enhanced when those in authority sanction intergroup contact and relationships (see Pettigrew, 1998, for a review and discussion of these conditions). Contact situations which involve all four of these conditions have been shown to reduce negative attitudes toward the outgroup across a variety of situations and groups of people (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Wagner, Hewstone, & Machleit, 1989). Thus, the fifth aim of this present study was to measure the extent of intergroup contact for each participant across a variety of contexts, such as school, outside of school, and in neighborhoods.

Of all of the conditions required for intergroup contact theory to work, the one condition studied the least is that of authority sanction. In most research on the topic, the sanction of authority is built into the study but never pulled apart to be examined on its own. In addition, authority is usually examined in the context of school settings where it is linked to teachers and coaches but never to parents. While school is the best setting to meet all of the conditions of intergroup contact, what happens when the child goes home to parents who do not sanction these relationships and who send opposite messages from that of cooperation and togetherness sanctioned by the school? How attitudes are shaped in children when they receive these mixed messages from two sources of authority has yet to be examined, especially when one specific authority is a parent. A final aim of the present study, then, was to examine the role of intergroup contact on adolescents' views of parental attitudes, providing a measure of both adolescents and parental views of cross-race interaction and experience with them. The aim of these measures were not only to solicit personal experience participants have with their parents and the issue of intergroup relationships but also how participants view and are affected by the authoritarian role and input their parents have on their intimate relationships.

Expectations

There were several expected outcomes for each section of the study. In the section on personal evaluations and autonomy, it was expected that adolescents would say that they, alone, should make the decisions regarding their choices in friends and romantic partners. As Smetana has shown in her work (Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smetana & Berent, 1993; Smetana, Braeges, & Yau, 1991), adolescents overwhelmingly believe that friendship and dating partners are within the domain of personal choice.

Adolescents were expected to also report that they would be more likely to consider their parents' opinion when faced with a choice involving marriage over dating and friendship choice. As demonstrated in pilot work, when adolescents were aware of their parents opposing cross-race romantic relationships, they overwhelmingly saw marriage as too serious a commitment to force over their family's objections. Dating can be done in secret but marriage affected the entire family and more consideration should be taken. Based on pilot work, many participants reported that marriage was different from casual dating and friendship when the issue involved race because many stated that they were concerned over conflicts that might hurt the family and the seriousness of bringing someone into the family permanently under these circumstances.

In the section examining personal experience, it was expected that parents would use conventional reasoning in conflicts with adolescents over friendship and dating choices. While parents allow more room for personal choice with age in the realm of friendship and dating choices for their adolescents (Smetana et al., 1994), research has not been conducted to examine the role that race plays in how parents shape their adolescents' choices regarding their personal relationships. In addition, in conflicts over friendship choice involving race, it was expected that adolescents would use personal choice more often and would agree less with parents. However, in conflicts over dating choice involving race, adolescents would use conventional reasoning and would agree with parents more often than indicated in previous studies showing adolescents using personal choice when race is not involved. Killen, Staniger, Price, Horn, & Sechrist (2004) have already shown that young adults use more conventions to justify their reasons for the acceptability of exclusion based on race in an intimate context. They still

use personal choice, as most adolescents did in the Smetana et al. (1991) study, but they qualified the personal choice with conventions.

It was also expected that age differences would be found in how adolescents reason about choices in friendship and dating partners. Younger adolescents were predicted to use personal choice more often over conflicts involving race. Older adolescents were predicted to use conventions more often. Smetana et al. (1994) found that with age adolescents use conventions more and personal choice less. It is the younger children who tend to use the personal domain more often in family conflicts. The question then was how this bears on complex decisions involving race. Furthermore, how does adolescents' acceptance of parental positions, whether it is positive or negative, influence their decision-making process and how does this change with time? While Killen et al. (2004) addressed this issue in a study involving exclusion by race across contexts, they did not look at age-related changes.

Gender differences were also explored in the following study. In general, gender differences found in children's dyadic relationships such as friendships have been found to be more exclusive and intimate for girls than for boys (Eder and Hallinan, 1978; Kraft and Vrae, 1975). Girls have smaller friendship networks, and their behaviors and attitudes are different among their friends in comparison to friendships among boys. Females are closer and more inclined to self-disclosure than males, emphasizing mutual closeness and reciprocity in their close friendships, while males express friendships in terms of their shared activities with their close friend (Smollar and Youniss, 1982). Inconsistencies have been found in various studies conducted on gender differences in cross-race friendships. Some studies have shown that girls more than boys favor the

intimacy of same-race mutual friendships, experiencing greater declines in cross-race friendships with age (Graham, Cohen, Zbikowski, & Secrist, 1998; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987b; Howes & Wu, 1990; Shrum et al., 1988; Singleton & Ahser, 1979). Research by Aboud et al. (2002) and DuBois and Hirsch (1990) have shown that cross-race friendships were similar to those made up of the same-race across all qualities of friendship with the exception of intimacy. If intimacy were more important to females than males, it would lead to the expectation that the quality of the cross-race relationships would differ according to the gender of the participant. Females would report less cross-race friendships and interest in cross-race dating because they placed more importance in intimacy. However, not all research has supported the claim of gender differences (Aboud et al., 2003 and Fishbein, 1996). Therefore, the issue of gender differences was explored in the current study in order to see if females do, indeed, report lower instances of cross-race relationships and if the relationships differ.

When examining the nature and effect of parental messages, it was expected that adolescents' perceptions of negative messages from parents regarding close interracial relationships would be subversive and implicit in nature. Current research has examined expressions of prejudice to find that it has been transformed into subtle and increasingly covert expressions (Devine, Plant, & Blair, 2001). Being an open racist is no longer acceptable. And, rather than openly express racist attitudes about Blacks or other minorities, the modern and symbolic racists are thought to cope with their ambivalence by rationalizing their negative feelings in terms of abstract political and social issues such as opposing an African-American running for political office (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The result for the adolescent is a mixed message that could possibly be difficult to

translate and utilize. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that parents who sent negative implicit messages to adolescents regarding interracial relationships would openly express negative feelings about other ethnic groups. Parents would not want to appear to be prejudiced, and therefore they would not openly dissuade children from having these relationships. However, they would discourage it through an indirect route by expressing negative views in a manner such as pointing out the negative items in the news or politically when the individuals are from a different ethnic background. For example, pilot data analyses revealed that many European-American parents criticized the dress and music their children were listening to and said they didn't want them to "act Black" but they never directly discouraged their children from being friends or dating someone who was Black.

It was also expected that adolescents whose parents send openly negative messages regarding interracial relationships will either not engage in interracial relationships or will continue seeing the person in secret. This was predicted for both majority and minority participants. In pilot research, most of the individuals whose parents outwardly opposed interracial dating relationships either continued seeing the person in secret or did not engage in them at all despite having no personal objections to cross-race dating. Race of the participant did not matter. Therefore, it was expected that, as opposed to those adolescents who are receiving implicit and/or mixed messages, these adolescents knew for certain how their parents felt regarding interracial relationships. Therefore, rather than face the penalty of punishment, they would either avoid engaging in these relationships or do so in secret. It was also possible, that they, too, would object to interracial relationships.

In addition, adolescents whose parents send negative messages indirectly and implicitly regarding interracial relationships were predicted to be more likely to share their parents' opinions than those whose parents sent positive messages or even openly negative messages. As mentioned earlier, Grusec et al. (1994) have shown that when parents use indirect methods to promote autonomy in their adolescents rather than directly telling children what to do, children are more likely to adopt their parents' values and do as their parents wish. The issue of how this applies to negative messages has not been explored. The question addressed in this study was whether or not negative messages are internalized for the child more when the message is transmitted implicitly rather than explicitly and whether or not this would lead to negative development.

There were several expected outcomes regarding the role of intergroup contact in the present study. As mentioned, participants' degree of intergroup contact was measured by their own reports of diversity found in their schools, outside of school, and their neighborhoods. It was proposed that perceptions of high intergroup contact would lead to positive attitudes and a greater number of close, interracial relationships. The theory behind intergroup contact has been supported in work done in desegregated schools (Astin, 1982; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; Schofield, 1995; Stephan & Stephan, 1984, 1996). The more balanced a classroom is with respect to the number of children from different groups, the more likely it is that cross-race friendships will form. In addition, the frequency of cross-race friendships is related to the number of potential cross-race friends (Clark & Ayers, 1992; Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a; Howes & Wu, 1990; Shrum et al., 1988). Furthermore, research has found that

having less contact with one's ingroup leads to less bias toward the outgroup (Mullen & Hu, 1989).

It was also expected that perceptions of positive racial attitudes in parents would not, by itself, be correlated to positive attitudes regarding interracial relationships. High intergroup contact would be a necessary addition. Aboud and Doyle (1996) proposed that racial attitudes and ingroup/outgroup category formation is part of a cognitive developmental process in which social agents, such as parents and peers, may identify the targets of prejudice, but the child's immature cognitive processes are responsible for translating social information into biased attitudes and behaviors (Katz, 1976; Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Doyle, 1996). In order to examine parental and peer influences on children's racial attitudes, Aboud and Doyle tested third graders in a predominantly White school and found that the children's racial attitudes were *not* strongly related to either their mothers' or their friends' attitudes. This finding understates the need to examine participants' attitudes and experiences both within the context of parents as well as intergroup contact. Looking at the issue separately would not give a full picture to the factors at play in shaping their attitudes.

It was also expected that perceptions of high intergroup contact and positive parental attitudes together would lead to the greatest number of close, interracial relationships when compared to students who believed they had high intergroup contact and negative parental attitudes or low intergroup contact and negative parental attitudes. In order for the intergroup contact theory to work, contact must be supported and sanctioned by those in authority. One of the most important and influential authority figures in an adolescent's life is the parent. Research has shown that when contact

situations entail the four conditions of equal status, common goals, cooperation, and sanction of authority, then reduced negative attitudes toward outgroups result along with a higher incidence of cross-race friendships (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Wagner et al., 1989). If high contact among a diverse group of adolescents is experienced either at school or in the neighborhood and is met with positive attitudes and messages expressed by the parents, then chances are that there will also be more positive attitudes toward and more personal experiences with interracial relationships.

And, finally, when each section was compared, it was expected that those participants who perceived themselves to be in a diverse school setting, live in a mixed-race neighborhood, and have positive parental attitudes at home would rate highly their comfort in working with people from different ethnic backgrounds, have many cross-race friendships, and have many friends from their neighborhoods or schools that date interracially. It was proposed that those individuals who described their backgrounds to be diverse and to have positive reinforcement at home would demonstrate in this section that their backgrounds in school and personal feelings and comfort levels regarding cross-race interactions and relationships were rated higher than other individuals with different backgrounds. In addition, those participants who have engaged in cross-race relationships would be more accepting of them than those who have not. Knox, Zusman, Buffington, & Hemphill (2000) found that personal experience does, indeed, play a role in shaping interracial attitudes among college students. They found that interracial relationships differ according to race. African-Americans were more likely to have been in and accept interracial relationships than European-Americans (83% vs. 43%). Half of their participants reported that they were open to an interracial romantic relationship, but

only 24.2% actually had dated someone of another race. In addition, Knox et al. (2000) found that 92% of those who had dated interracially would do so again, while only 32% who had never dated interracially would be open to it.

Summary of Goals

In sum, there were four goals in the present study. The first goal was to ask participants their own opinion regarding the role of parents in making rules regarding their friendships, dating partners, and marriage. This section was evaluated within the context of the other sections in order to determine whether or not there was a relationship between perceptions of parents' racial attitudes, personal experiences, and intergroup contact on the subsequent attitudes found in participants regarding their rights as individuals versus that of their parents and family.

The second goal of the present study was to survey participants about their own personal experiences with cross-race relationships and how this had affected their family. Participants were asked if these relationships had ever caused conflict in their households and how they responded to the conflict. It was important here to measure the relationship between perceptions of parents' attitudes and personal experience. In a pilot study using the survey instrument in this proposal, many of the participants stated that their parents had neutral racial attitudes and yet their parents outright objected to their having cross-race romantic relationships. In addition, this section compared friendships with romantic relationships in order to examine whether parents reacted differently when their children engaged in cross-race friendships versus dating. Again, in the pilot study examining this issue, many of the participants stated that dating was treated differently from cross-race friendships, and parents reacted to them more forcefully than they did friendships.

The third goal was to ask participants to measure the perceptions they had of their parents' racial attitudes and expression of attitudes. Participants were asked specific questions regarding what they believed to be their parents' attitudes as well as how these

attitudes have, if at all, changed over time. It was important to ask participants what their own perceptions were rather than ask the parents specifically. Participants were expected to make their decisions about cross-race relationships in reaction to how they perceived their parents' attitudes to be. While it was possible that their parents' actual attitudes were not as negative or as positive as portrayed by their child, the child was reacting to his or her perception of what his or her parents' attitudes were.

And, finally, the last goal of the present study was to examine perceptions of intergroup contact in order to ascertain the extent to which individuals come in contact with others of different races. Since high intergroup contact is indicative of positive attitudes, it was important to measure the amount of contact in order to fully evaluate subsequent attitudes in participants. The study examined perceptions of diversity experienced by the participants in their schools, outside of their schools, and in their neighborhoods in order to determine how their overall perception of intergroup contact impacted their cross-race relationship experiences. Participants were ninth and twelfth graders from different ethnic backgrounds, evenly divided by grade and gender.

CHAPTER II

Background Literature

In this chapter four areas of literature relevant to the design of this study will be analyzed. First, the findings on intergroup contact and social relationships will be examined. This section will provide background on intergroup contact and the role it plays in the development of prejudice and the development of attitudes in children. In the second section, research on close adolescent relationships, including interracial relationships, will be examined. The research is divided into five areas: 1) Friendship; 2) Cross-Race Friendship 3) Dating; 4) Cross-Race Dating and 5) Marriage. This section is designed to provide a background as to what type of research has been conducted on adolescent relationships, in general, and on interracial relationships, specifically, identifying where there is a need to expand on the existing literature currently available. The third section will examine current research on Modern Racism and describe the current theory of aversive and ambivalent racism. The fourth and final section will focus on parenting during adolescence, specifically literature on the role of autonomy, the nature of parent-adolescent conflict, and the nature of parental messages. Finally, an overview of the purpose and design of the present study will be described.

Intergroup Contact and the Development of Attitudes

Intergroup Contact Theory

Research in social psychology has provided a great deal of insight on intergroup relationships, stereotypes, prejudice, social identity, and ingroup/outgroup perceptions. This work has demonstrated that social beliefs, in the form of stereotypes, influence attitudes and intergroup relationships (Brewer, 2001; Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, &

Fuligni, 2001; Graham, & Cohen, 1997; Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind, & Rosselli, 1996; Macrae, Stangor & Hewstone, 1996; Ryan, Park, & Judd, 1996; Katz, 1982). In this research, stereotypes are defined as overgeneralizations about social groups that take the form of attributions about individuals and do not take into account individual variation within the group (see Mackie, et al., 1996). In turn, prejudice is defined as an unfair negative attitude toward a social group or a member of a group (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Therefore, while stereotypes can be either positive or negative, prejudice is the end result of negative overgeneralizations attributed to individuals or groups that leads to biased treatment and consideration of the individuals within that group.

While Gordon Allport (1954) detailed the Intergroup Contact Theory and made it famous in his work *The Nature of Prejudice*, it was actually first tested in three major studies that predate his work. The first such study was conducted by F. Tredwell Smith in 1943. In his study, he examined a program at Columbia University in which White college students had a series of positive social and intellectual contacts with Black leaders in Harlem over several weekends. The study was divided between those who engaged in interracial contact and those who did not. He found that those in the experimental group did demonstrate signs of improvement in their racial attitudes at the end of the program versus those in the control group. Likewise, both Singer (1948) and Stouffer (1949) used the natural laboratory of World War II and the forced integration of soldiers both Black and White. For the first time, White soldiers who had never shared living quarters with Black soldiers were forced to live and work together on a daily basis. They both found that those White soldiers who had integrated combat experiences had more positive racial attitudes than those who did not have this contact.

Allport (1954) did not believe that contact alone was enough to reduce prejudice. Contact could, indeed, improve racial attitudes, especially in those who had little to no contact previously. However, it could also backfire and worsen negative attitudes if the individuals were forced to integrate under negative conditions in which they were not working together toward a common goal. For example, forcing individuals to live together against both of their wishes could easily cause animosity and resentment which could then be directed toward an entire group of people. In addition, improved attitudes could also be directed only toward individuals who are “the exception” rather than improve attitudes overall toward an entire group of people. Therefore, Allport believed that there were several optimal conditions that must be met for contact to reduce prejudice: (1) equal status among individuals; (2) common goals; (3) intergroup cooperation; and (4) support of authorities, law, or custom. Equal status refers to equal group status within the situation. Common goals refer to the notion that different groups need a common goal to achieve in order to reduce prejudice, such as found in interracial sports teams in which the goal of winning serves to reduce racial prejudice within the group. Intergroup cooperation has to do with an emphasis on cooperation rather than competition. Finally, positive intergroup attitudes are enhanced when those in authority sanction intergroup contact and relationships (see Pettigrew, 1998, for a review and discussion of these conditions). Contact situations which entail these four conditions have been shown to reduce negative attitudes toward the outgroup across a variety of societies, situations, and groups (Caspi, 1984; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Wagner et al., 1989).

Indeed, Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif (1961) found in their famous Robbers Cave State Park experiment that mere intergroup contact was not sufficient to improve relations between the groups. Neutral contact did often exacerbate bias toward others. Only after the investigators altered the functional relations between the groups by introducing a series of superordinate goals, ones that could not be achieved without the full cooperation of both groups and which were successfully achieved, did the relations between the two groups become more harmonious.

Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami. (2003) propose that the positive effects of intergroup contact come about through four mediating mechanisms: 1) functional relations, 2) behavioral factors, 3) affective factors, and 4) cognitive factors. When groups are competitively interdependent, actions that produce positive outcomes to one group, in turn, produce negative outcomes for the other group. Thus, the function and purpose of one group is to frustrate the goals of the other group. The group works together as a unit for the sole purpose of thwarting the goals of their opposing group.

Just as members within a group serve a function to each other, situations which lead to positive outcomes and positive interactions can, in turn, facilitate the development of new norms of intergroup acceptance. This acceptance can then be generalized to new situations and to positive attitudes toward outgroups as a whole. New learning of individuals and positive experiences can correct previously held negative attitudes toward members of an outgroup. An individual then realizes that their own stereotypes are not correct and can apply this more positive view toward other members of the group.

Working together within a group of equals toward a common goal not only serves to lessen previously held stereotypes, but it can also “individualize” others that were

previously viewed only as part of a group. This individualization allows empathy to come into play since it allows for a person to come into close contact with what a person from an outgroup may feel. It can lead to people feeling more positive about others, but it can also influence people's motivations to behave in a more supportive way toward others, independent of how much they like them. When in close contact with someone, it becomes hard to express and maintain negative stereotypes and feelings about individuals from that group when you see for yourself how that person is affected.

And, finally, learning about others is a critical step in how intergroup contact improves relations between groups. First, with more information about others, people are more likely to see them in individuated and personalized ways. Second, greater knowledge of others may reduce uncertainty about how to interact with others, which can reduce the likelihood of avoidance of members of other groups and reduces discomfort and anxiety when these interactions occur. And, third, enhanced intercultural understanding, in terms of better historical background or increased cultural sensitivity, might reduce bias by increasing recognition of injustice.

Thus, in the present study, it was important to measure the amount of intergroup contact experienced in the daily lives of adolescents. Based on the research, high intergroup contact should lead to more positive attitudes even without the support of parents. Previous to the present study, attitudes in individuals who have high intergroup contact versus those who have low intergroup contact had yet to be compared and examined for adolescents.

Intergroup Contact and Children's Racial Attitudes

Friendships among children would seem to be an excellent conduit for achieving all of the conditions that make up intergroup contact theory. School settings and team sports ideally should offer an atmosphere that provides equality among the children, give them common goals such as winning a championship, allow for cooperation to attain the goals because the team must work together to win, and should be condoned by authorities (i.e., teachers and coaches). Such an atmosphere would place the focus on the goals of a team, for example, and the goals would override individual differences so that they are no longer consciously visible. Indeed, Brown (2003) investigated the effect of contact between Black and White high school teammates on the racial attitudes of White student athletes. Using the 1996 Social and Group Experiences survey (SAGE), the results indicated that there was a significant relationship between contact with Black teammates in high school and racial policy support and affect, depending on whether athletes were involved in a team sport such as football or an individualized sport such as swimming. White student athletes playing team sports who had higher percentages of Blacks as high school teammates expressed more policy support for and greater positive affect toward Blacks as a group than did their counterparts who played individual sports.

Cross-race friendships have been found to be a significant predictor for reduction of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Schofield, 1995; Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2002; Slavin & Cooper, 1999). Having a friend of a different race helps children to understand that not all individuals of a group are the same and that individuals of different races may share similarities even though they differ with regards to their skin color. Because friendships entail an emotional bond, having a friend of a different race is also beneficial in that it raises a child's awareness of and sympathy for the experiences

associated with prejudice when instances of racial prejudice occur in a child's life. Yet, while intergroup contact has increased over the past few decades, cross-race relationships remain infrequent even in heterogeneous areas (Aboud, Mendolsohn, & Purdy, 2002; Graham & Cohen, 1997; Hartup, 1983; Howes & Wu, 1990; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a). Many areas around the country are even seeing a decrease in heterogeneous schools over the past few years (Frankenberg et al., 2003), with schools increasingly becoming majority European-American or made up of mostly minorities. Although cross-race and same-race friendships are rated to be similar in quality on a wide range of issues, including companionship and reliable alliance (Kerner & Aboud, 1998) and are a key to reducing prejudice, these forms of friendships appear to be rare and infrequent (Aboud, et al., 2002; Graham & Cohen, 1997; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987b).

Dubois and Hirsch (1990) examined the role of contact outside of school between other-race school friends and to friendships with other-race peers who attended a different school. Their subjects were students in junior high school. They believed that they would find those students who reported having a close cross-race friend in school would report not seeing such a friend frequently outside of school. They also believed that those who lived in integrated neighborhoods would have higher levels of cross-race friendship activities in nonschool settings. Indeed, they found that the number of cross-race children living in a neighborhood and the number of school peers in their neighborhood friendship networks were related highly significantly to the number of cross-race friends they had in nonschool settings. Dubois and Hirsch speculate that exposure to other-race persons in the neighborhood might in some instances help to counter negative or stereotyped attitudes that can develop in integrated school settings

where academic factors sometimes make it difficult for blacks and whites to have positive contacts.

Because of the decline in cross-race friendships as children approach adolescence and the importance contact plays beyond the school setting in reducing negative attitudes, the present study examined closely personal attitudes regarding cross-race relationships within the context of intergroup contact both inside and outside of school. Research has already demonstrated that the amount of cross-race friends leads to more positive attitudes but it has also demonstrated a decline in cross-race friendships as children get older. This study went one step further by attempting to identify the factors contributing to this decline. It examined attitudes and experiences within the context of intergroup contact as well as focusing on specific conditions within the theory that may be causal links to the attitudes.

Intergroup Processes and Relationships

Allport (1954) proposed his own theory on the development of prejudice in children. According to Allport, preadolescent prejudice is simply an imitation of parents' views. Children pick up on their parents' messages regarding race and use these views to organize and evaluate their own social worlds. However, support for this claim is mixed. Allport wrote his famous work on prejudice during the 1950's at the time of Brown vs. the Board of Education and at the very beginning of the Civil Rights Movement. Since that time, prejudice and racial attitudes, in general, have shifted and changed, becoming more complex in nature. Parents may not express overt racism to their children because they would not want to be perceived as being prejudiced or might not in fact see themselves as prejudiced. They may hold positive views about outgroups, but they prefer

their own group over others in what has been labeled “ambivalent” racism (Katz & Hass, 1988; Devine, 1989). While parents might think they are unbiased and not sending negative messages about a racial or religious group to their children, they are in fact sending messages of preference for the group they identify with over another group.

Aboud and Doyle (1996) believe that children’s racial attitudes are not part of a learning process or something they have picked up from their parents. Instead, they believe that racial attitudes and ingroup/outgroup category formation is part of a cognitive developmental process in which social agents, such as parents and peers, may identify the targets of prejudice, but the child’s immature cognitive processes are responsible for translating social information into biased attitudes (Katz, 1976; Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Doyle, 1996). In order to examine parental and peer influences on children’s racial attitudes, Aboud and Doyle tested third graders in a predominantly White school and found that the children’s racial attitudes are not strongly related to either their mothers’ or their friends’ attitudes. In addition, the children incorrectly believed that they and their parents and friends held similar attitudes, influencing their judgments about others. Aboud and Doyle (1996) suggest that this bias might not actually be inaccurate. It could very well be that both friends and parents are masking their true attitudes or, as mentioned above, could be sending negative messages without even realizing it. They also suggest that children could misinterpret the racial comments they hear or even reinterpret them in light of their own attitudes because of their own cognitive limitations. The messages they do hear could be inconsistent or parents could share very little information about their racial views. Because of the lack of information, therefore, children may simply use their own attitudes as a standard for inferring others’.

Taking social desirability into consideration, it would be difficult to ascertain for certain the actual attitudes of many adults. Most adults would not want to appear prejudice or to have negative racial attitudes and could possibly be adept at masking their true feelings. Therefore, trusting the results of any study examining links between children's attitudes and their parents' would be difficult (Aboud and Doyle, 1996).

Indeed, Bigler, Brown, and Markell (2001) examined whether implicit links between social groups and attributes that convey status affect the formation of intergroup attitudes and behavior in children, especially when emphasized by those in authority. Using elementary-aged children, they randomly assigned the children to a novel social group, denoted by colored t-shirts. They used controls in the classrooms. Some classrooms used posters and pictures to show positive aspects of certain colored teams while others used no props and had teachers refer to the classroom as a single entity rather than by teams. Their findings showed that children's attitudes were affected by the presence of the implicit links between social groups and status-conveying attributes in some situations. Specifically, the high- versus low-status manipulation did affect children's intergroup attitudes when social groups were used in a functional manner by authority figures in the environment. However, they did not develop these attitudes when the teachers ignored the presence of these groups in the classroom. Bigler et al. (2001) believe that these results demonstrate that children will not necessarily form stereotypes for which there is some basis in the environment. Further, they argue that the functional use of a social group by adults leads children to develop hypotheses concerning the differences between social groups. When applied to parents as authority figures in children's lives, the same conclusion can be made. While Aboud and Doyle (1996) may

not be able to relate children's intergroup attitudes directly to their parents, they are not taking into account the subtle, indirect, and subversive messages parents may be sending to children, even simple messages such as evaluating one's ingroup more highly and positively than an outgroup. While they are not directly attributing negative traits to another group, they are helping their children begin the process of categorizing their social worlds into an "us" and "them" mentality.

Researchers examining ingroup and outgroup relationships have not only focused on bias and how biased attitudes form, they have also examined how these relationships affect the social worlds adolescents and young adults form and what characteristics their own ingroups will be composed of. Having outgroup friends is strongly associated with lower intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Using an experimental design, Wilder and Thompson (1980) found that intergroup bias decreased as both outgroup contact increased and ingroup contact decreased. In order to examine any link between ingroup and outgroup friendships on ethnic attitudes in college, Levin, van Laar, and Sidanius (2003) tested college students in a longitudinal design at the end of their first year of college to the end of college to see the effect early ethnic attitudes, college ingroup/outgroup friendships, and perceptions of the college climate had on the attitudes these students had at the end of college. Indeed, they found that students who exhibited more ingroup bias and had more anxiety interacting with people from different ethnic groups at the end of their first year of college had fewer outgroup friends and more ingroup friends during their second and third years of college. And, those with more ingroup friends also had more negative ethnic attitudes at the end of college. In contrast,

students who had more outgroup friends in college were more likely to have positive ethnic attitudes at the end of college.

Thus, in the present study, it was necessary to examine the impact authority, in this case parents, has on the subsequent attitudes of their adolescents. Little research has examined the impact “sanction of authority” has on the attitudes children hold toward outgroups. The little research that has been done has demonstrated that children are influenced by the implicit messages given to them by those in authority. Yet, no research has examined the role implicit messages play when expressed by parents regarding cross-race relationships and their children. The present study examined adolescents’ perceptions of parental implicit messages and its impact on their attitudes and choices regarding their intimate relationships in order to determine if they held influence over the decisions and attitudes adolescents make when choosing to engage in intimate relationships with someone of another race.

In summary, research on Intergroup Contact Theory has demonstrated that when the four optimal conditions (equal status, goal-oriented tasks, cooperation, and sanction of authority) are met, positive racial attitudes result. When cross-race friendships develop through contact, the result is seen in improved attitudes in children. However, research has also demonstrated that despite contact, cross-race friendships decline as children get older and approach adolescence. Furthermore, children are influenced by implicit messages sent to them by those in authority which could possibly override any effect intergroup contact has on the development of attitudes in children and adolescents. Thus, it was important in the present study to first examine the role of contact in order to demonstrate whether or not it influenced the attitudes and experiences of adolescents.

The second step was to focus on the decline in cross-race friendships in order to determine what factors within intergroup contact contributed to its decline throughout adolescence. And, most importantly, the role that sanction of authority has in the form of parental messages was important to understanding the influence it played in the experiences and attitudes adolescents have regarding cross-race relationships. The following section will examine current research on cross-race relationships.

Interracial Relationships

Friendship

Middle childhood and preadolescence mark a period of change in the social interactions children have with their peers (Rubin et al., 1998) and in the qualities they say are important elements to a friendship. More than thirty percent of children's time is spent with their peers, with larger sized groups of peers, less supervision than in early childhood, and changed settings and environments in which peers interact. By adolescence, children spend even more time with peers in less controlled settings, with less supervision, and interactions with the opposite sex, while only thirteen percent of their time is spent with their parents.

Even the qualitative descriptions of what makes a good friend changes as children get older. Bigelow (1977) proposed that children progress through three stages during middle childhood and preadolescence that demonstrate the changing qualities of friendships. The first stage is the *Reward-Cost Stage* (ages 7-8) in which children describe friends as individuals who are convenient and beneficial to them (live close by, go to school with them) or who have good toys. The second stage is called the *Normative Stage* (ages 10-11) in which children describe their friends as individuals who share their

values and whom they are loyal to. And, the third stage is called the *Empathetic Stage* (ages 11-13) in which children describe their friends as individuals they share interests with, are similar to, and divulge secrets to and confide in. Thus, in early childhood, friends cannot easily be separated from the activities they participate in together. Later, they can be separated from these activities and an appreciation for the individual develops, lending the friendship to a better chance at continuity over time. Selman (1980) believes that these stages develop through a growing ability children have for being able to take the perspective of others. They gain a growing appreciation of others' thoughts and acknowledge and accept the fact that they might be different from their friends.

Children's descriptions of friendships indicate that loyalty, self-disclosure, and trust increase as they get older, and it is more likely to be seen with girls than with boys (Berndt, 1986; Berndt & Perry, 1986; Buhrmester, 1996; Furman & Buhrmaster, 1985). Males are more likely than females to express their friendships in terms of shared activities, while females emphasize mutual closeness and reciprocity (Smollar & Youniss, 1982). The need for intimacy and intimate relationships with friends increase as children get older, with older children reporting more intimate knowledge of their friends. Adolescents begin to understand the need for a friend's independence and autonomy, granting them relationships outside of their personal dyadic one. This is seen as children get older in reports of declines in number of friends (Epstein, 1986), increases in same-sex friends, and friends either equaling or surpassing parents as the leading source of support and advice (Adler & Furman, 1988; Buhrmester, 1996; Furman & Buhrmester, 1985, 1992).

With adolescence, balanced relatedness in friendships increases with age, whereas control and conformity decline. Closeness is the most important feature of friendships for adolescents, both males and females, with males listing it as a feature only a little less often than females (Shulman, Laursen, Kalman, & Karpovsky, 1995). Females show a higher degree of tolerance for differing opinions, while males resort to control and conformity more often (Shulman et al., 1995). Yet, both name closeness as the most important feature in their relationships.

Thus, the reigning feature of adolescent friendship is its emphasis on intimacy (Buhrmester & Furman, 1986; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Adolescents emphasize mutual trust, loyalty, and exclusivity as central to their friendships, becoming more important with age (Shulman et al., 1995). Intimate self-disclosure becomes a highly salient feature of adolescent friendships (Parker & Gottman, 1989). As discussed below, this is a feature notably lacking in cross-race friendships.

Cross-Race Friendships

One of the most important benefits to interracial relationships of any kind is the role contact with someone of a different race has on reducing prejudice. As described above, the intergroup contact hypothesis states that interracial contact will lower prejudice provided that certain conditions are present: (1) equal status among individuals; (2) the relationship is non-competitive; (3) the relationship is approved by relevant authorities; and (4) the relationship is sustained on a one-to-one level rather than it be brief and transient in duration (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Wood and Sonleitner, 1996). The easiest way to achieve all of the conditions above is through childhood contact in school and friendships. In order to study whether childhood friendships, indeed, played a

role in reducing prejudice in individuals as adults, Wood and Sonleitner (1996) examined current adult attitudes with intergroup contact they had as children. They found that aside from family income, past contact exerted the strongest influence on maintaining stereotypes as adults. They found a strong, causal association between stereotypes applied to a group and the levels of prejudice aimed at that group. Wood and Sonleitner (1996) suggest that it is then childhood contact during the formative years which has the greatest impact on prejudice levels above and beyond contact at any other age.

While interracial friendships are an important way to reduce prejudice in individuals, these friendships do not appear to be as common as same-race friendships, nor do they contain all of the same characteristics as found in same-race friendships. Not only are interracial friendships fewer in number than same-race friendships among school children, but their duration and quality may also be lower, which implies that race remains a factor in the selection of friends (Aboud, Mendelson, and Purdy, 2003; Graham & Cohen, 1997; Hallinan and Teixeira, 1987a). Aboud et al., (2003) examined the quality of interracial friendships in elementary school children and found that the children had more same- than cross-race companions. In addition, the older children, more so than the younger, had more same-race than cross-race mutual friends. Aboud et al. (2003) tracked the fifth graders over the school year and found at the end of the year that there was less stability in the cross-race friendships than the same-race friendships. In measures of important qualities in a friendship, interracial friendships were rated similarly in every category as the same-race friendships with the exception of intimacy. This difference in intimacy between the same- and cross-race friends revealed that same-race friends were considered easier to talk to about private things, such as problems and

secrets. Aboud et al. suggest that this very quality could have a great deal to do with the decline of cross-race friendships in the older children. Since intimacy and the need to talk to another about secrets becomes more and more important to children as they approach adolescence (Rubin et al., 1998; Shulman et al., 1995; Phinney, 1990; Buhrmester & Furman, 1986; Youniss & Smollar, 1985), it stands to reason that if same-race friends are thought to fulfill intimacy and identity needs better than cross-race friends, the number of cross-race friendships will decline as children age.

Much of the research on interracial friendships has looked at the issue from the vantage point of young children. Little work has examined interracial friendships during adolescence. It would be interesting to know specifically what elements lead to this decline when, on the one hand, prejudice supposedly declines with age (Aboud & Purdy, 1996) and on the other hand interracial friendships decline in number with age (Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a). One exception to this is a study conducted by Smith and Schneider (2000) in which they chose to examine the inter-ethnic friendships of young adolescents (12-14 years) in Canada. They found that students were not concerned with the ethnicity of others when making their choice of friends; however, they did tend to be more ethnically exclusive with their best friend. Their work also showed that there is a definite trend for greater ethnic exclusivity with age. Similar to Aboud et al.'s (2003) work on younger elementary age children, as adolescents got older, they chose more and more friends from their own ethnic group rather than from outside their group. Similarly, in a study on race and sex as factors in children's sociometric ratings of friendship choices, Graham and Cohen (1997) found that children were more likely to say that same-race peers were more acceptable than cross-race peers as friends. A greater bias toward same-

race peers increased with age, demonstrating that race had a greater impact on children's friendship choices as they got older.

According to Aboud and Mendelson (1996), adolescents are initially attracted to and choose their friends based on their perceived similarity. As discussed above, age, sex, ethnicity, mutual liking, and activity preferences tend to be the most salient characteristics when choosing a friend. Not only do adolescents choose friends similar to themselves, but early adolescence, in particular, is also the age when conformity to peers peaks. Therefore, they not only choose others similar to themselves, but they also reinforce their own preferences by choosing conformity over autonomy and an independent self. Since authoritative parenting style (Steinberg and Darling, 1994) has been linked to greater autonomy in children and less influence by "problem" friends, Ritchey and Fishbein (2001) examined whether this same style of parenting could also impact the influence peers may play in the development of prejudice and stereotyping in adolescents. In general, they found that students were relatively low in prejudice to begin with. Furthermore, prejudice and stereotyping similarity was not a consideration in either friendship choice or maintenance, therefore, implying that the prejudices and stereotypes of adolescents are not influenced by their friends. Ritchey and Fishbein did find that there were lower levels of prejudice and stereotyping for those students with authoritative parents, in the opposite direction to those children with authoritarian parents, leading the researchers to suggest the possibility that an authoritative parent leads children to be more concerned for the welfare and well-being of others and therefore little influenced by the negative attitudes held by their peers.

Thus, the present study sought to examine the personal experiences students had with cross-race friendships. Adolescence is a time when intimacy becomes increasingly important to friendships, especially close friendships. Yet, as important as intimacy is to adolescent friendships, it is the one feature missing from cross-race friendships. Because cross-race friendships lead to lower prejudiced levels as adults, it was important to study the reasons behind its decline as children age. Cross-race relationships are complex in nature, taking on more societal baggage than common friendships. It was important to examine these relationships through a multi-dimensional perspective rather than focus on singular conditions which could contribute to their decline.

Dating

Although adolescent romantic relationships are typically short in duration, they are also characterized as very intimate and intense (Taradash, Connolly, Pepler, Craig, & Costa, 2001; Feiring, 1996). Over the course of the adolescent years, closeness in adolescent relationships shifts from the parent-child relationship to friendships to romantic relationships (Laursen & Bukowski, 1997). Some time during the middle adolescent years, the romantic relationship becomes the closest one in an adolescent's life, but it is not until late adolescence that romantic relationships surpass friendships and parent relationships in affection, intimacy, companionship, and support (Adams, Laursen, & Wilder, 2001). And, regardless of age, adolescents view the influence of romantic relationships as greater than that of friendships and equal to that of parent-child relationships.

As discussed above, closeness and intimacy become more important to the qualitative features of friendships as children get older. The same is seen in adolescent

romantic relationships. Adams et al. (2001) examined adolescent romantic relationships to determine whether patterns of closeness in these relationships vary with age. They defined closeness in terms of interdependence, which is the degree to which participants in a relationship are interconnected. In close relationships, participants engage in frequent social interaction, share a variety of activities together, and shape one another's thoughts and behaviors through exchanges that are maintained over time (Adams et al., 2001). From the outset, they found that adolescents regarded romantic relationships as one of their most significant and influential relationships, one based on sharing power. They also found that older adolescents reported more interdependence, daily social interaction, activity diversity, and reciprocity in their romantic relationships than younger adolescents. In addition, with increasing autonomy, adolescents expand interconnections in romantic relationships such that they eventually become equal to their perceived importance.

As adolescents spend increasingly more time with peers, it stands to reason that peers could play a role in influencing romantic relationships among adolescents. Furman and Wehner (1994) believe that the characteristics of adolescent romantic relationships are influenced initially by relationships with friends and parents. Over time and with experience, past romantic relationships become more salient areas of influence. Connolly, Furman, and Konarski (2000) examined the role of peer networks in the quality of adolescents' romantic relationships. They found that the structural characteristics of adolescents' peer groups influenced the initiation of romantic relationships, and the qualitative features of friendships influenced the quality of romantic relationships. For example, adolescents tend to date and develop romantic

relationships with other-sex peers from their peer network. The size of the peer network also predicted the chances of involvement in a romantic relationship in the 11th grade. Connolly et al. (2000) found that perceptions of support and negative interactions with *friends*, rather than peers, were associated with similar characteristics in romantic relationships, demonstrating that the quality of friendship can predict the quality of the romantic relationship. It should be noted, however, that while peer structures supported the emergence of romantic relationships, they did not predict the quality of the relationship. They simply served as a context that influences both the timing and the emergence of romantic relationships. Thus, romantic experiences and outcomes are predicated on one's friendships, earlier romantic relationships, and parental relationships.

As discussed above, peers and friends, in particular, have an influence on adolescents' romantic relationships. However, parents still remain an important source of information about dating and romance in the life of the adolescent. Wood, Senn, Desmarais, Park, and Vergerg (2002) examined the sources of early and middle adolescents' knowledge about dating and the influence these sources of information have had on them. They found that friends do, indeed, provide adolescents with more information and had the most influence on dating than do their parents or the media, possibly due to feeling more comfortable in asking friends about dating matters rather than their parents. However, adolescents also noted that adults are more accurate in the information they provide and can be trusted more than friends or the media. Females, in particular, get more information from many sources and are influenced in their dating choices more by their parents than males were. With age, adolescents turn to their friends more and more for information about personal relationships.

Cross-Race Dating

Little research has been conducted on who interracially dates. The bulk of the research on interracial relationships has focused on married couples. And, as Yancey (1998) points out in his examination of individuals who have interracially dated, it is a mistake to assume that the same individuals who marry are those who also interracially date. There are more individuals who are likely to interdate than to intermarry (Fujino, 1997) perhaps because dating is a less serious relationship than marriage, and as Harris and Kalbfleisch (2000) suggest, because of the informal nature of American dating, there is more widespread acceptance of dating interracially than marrying interracially. The results of Yancey's research (1998) found that European-Americans were significantly less likely to have interracially dated than any other racial group. African-Americans were just as likely to have dated members of other races, yet they were less likely than all other minority groups to marry someone outside of their race. Integrated school settings predicted the possibility of individuals dating interracially more than any other setting, apparently offering individuals the opportunity to interracially date in ways that were not present in integrated residential or religious environments. Males who attended interracial schools were significantly more likely to interracially date than all of the other groups examined, while women were significantly less likely to have interracially dated.

Not only has little research been conducted on those who date interracially, but little research has also been conducted on relationship processes among these couples (Gaines, Granrose, Rios, Garcia, Youn, Farris & Bledsoe, 1999). Do basic processes involved in maintaining these relationships differ somehow from couples who date within their same race? Gaines et al. (1999) focused their research on patterns of attachment in

individuals who date interracially and how they cope with dilemmas that are uncommon to those in same-race relationships. Given the fact that there is still persistent opposition of parents to their children who wish to date or marry across racial lines (Mills, Daly, Longmore, & Kilbride, 1995), Gaines et al. (1999) set out to examine the manner in which attachment style is reflected in individual differences in response to accommodative dilemmas since frequently these couples cannot depend upon parental support as a buffer against attacks from strangers. They found that among these couples the number of securely attached individuals was significantly greater than the number of insecurely attached individuals.

Murstein, Merighi, and Malloy (2001) examined the role of physical attractiveness and exchange theory in interracial dating. Exchange theory was first introduced by Merton (1941) and states that in a given society endogamy is the tendency to marry within a particular group or class. When an exception occurs and an individual marries outside of his or her class, the lower class person must give something extra to the relationship to compensate for the higher status of the upper class person. An example for an interracial couple would be a lower class European-American woman who marries an upper class African-American man. The woman is marrying outside of her group and to an individual that society would suggest is beneath her because of his skin color. In order to compensate for his being lower on that level, she makes up for it by choosing someone who is better than her on the economic level. Exchange theory has many items that can be “traded up”. Murstein et al. (2001) chose to focus on physical attractiveness, hypothesizing that the African-American partner would be physically more attractive than the European-American partner due to the fact that European-

Americans might require that African-Americans be more attractive than they are as a means of compensating for African-Americans' lesser-valued skin color. Their results only partially supported this theory. African-American men were found to be significantly more attractive than their European-American female partners, but the African-American women were not significantly more attractive than their male companions. The authors do point out that the use of skin color as an exchange variable depends on individuals within these relationships valuing skin color. To the extent that racial prejudice weakens or disappears, the relevance of skin color for exchange weakens or disappears (Murstein et al., 2001).

As discussed above, one of the most important elements to reducing prejudice is intergroup contact, most especially intergroup contact through friendships. Yet, as children age, the number of interracial friendships decline. As these friendships decline, so does the chance that couples will date someone from a different race. While interracial marriages have increased exponentially over the past three decades, attitudes toward interracial dating and, most especially marriage, remain negative. In a survey of 142 undergraduates on family acceptance involving interracial friendships and romantic relationships, overall, perceptions of family acceptance of these relationships were negative (Mills et al., 1994). Despite more talked-about openness regarding acceptance of others dating and marrying interracially, study after study has found that there are still a good many people who oppose these unions. If this is the case, it is important that we examine what sort of messages these individuals are sending to their children and how these children are interpreting and using these messages.

Prejudice attitudes toward interracial unions still abound, and therefore it is obvious that some sort of message is filtering through to children as they begin to meet potential dating partners. The present study is a departure from most research on cross-race dating. Instead of evaluating the individuals involved in these relationships, trying to uncover why they engage in these relationships and what are the characteristics of their personalities, the proposed study seeks to address the impact negativity plays in the development of attitudes that either support or do not support these relationships. The important issue with interracial romantic relationships is not identifying the types of people who would be attracted to someone of the opposite race. Instead, the importance lies in the circumstances surrounding the development of attitudes individuals have toward these relationships, whether or not they have or ever will engage in one. Therefore, the present study asked for personal experiences within the context of the feedback they received about these relationships from their parents. They were asked how these messages influenced their decisions. In addition, they were asked to evaluate the differences between friendship, dating, and marriage with a person of another race in order to examine how their personal experiences and feedback from parents had influenced their views of these relationships and their willingness to engage in them should the opportunity arise.

Marriage

The work that has been done on interracial relationships has given us very little information about the basic qualities of the relationships and the individuals within them. There seemed to be an assumption up until recently that individuals in interracial relationships, especially marriage, are low in self-esteem. They do not have strong self-

identities or attachment to their families and enter into these relationships only if their partner enables them to “step up” in their social and economic status. Only recently have researchers begun to address these issues, to counter them, and to look at interracial relationships in a more positive light.

Killian (2001) interviewed interracial couples about their experiences of falling in love, feedback from their families and friends, and what sort of reactions they get from the public. Like most couples, these interracial couples reported a gradual process of meeting a person, dating, “falling in love,” and eventually coming to a point in time where they wanted to share the rest of their lives with this person. The data did not support theories that attribute pathological motivations to entering into an interracial union. Indeed, couples made references to common themes of love, companionship, and compatibility, just like any other positive romantic relationship. Killian (2001) also found that family members and close friends reinforced established social norms of staying within their own race and discouraged partners from marrying interracially. When faced with a lack of acceptance from their family and/or friends, some couples made the choice of having civil services without inviting family members and limiting subsequent contact with them in order to protect their well-being as a newly forming couple and family.

After interviewing the couples, Killian (2001) found that there were two things that many of them had in common which could perhaps contribute to their decision to go against the social norms they have witnessed in society at large. The first is that many of these couples grew up seeing others cross the bounds of race and enter into interracial unions. And, secondly, this phenomenon was not viewed as problematic by themselves,

their family, and/or their friends. Thus, the observation and encouragement of interracial marriages within one's social network, Killian proposes, may serve to create a legitimate alternative to the dominant discourse of marrying within one's own race that is prevalent in the United States as a whole even up to the present time.

The present study does not focus on interracial marriages simply because the primary concern is with the development of attitudes in adolescents. Because of their age, marriage is most likely an irrelevant topic in their daily lives. However, marriage is discussed in terms of how adolescents evaluate it over friendship and dating. Since marriage has been shown in research and in pilot work with the present study to illicit the strongest objections among family members, it is important to learn from adolescents how their personal experiences and messages from their parents impact their feelings toward interracial marriages. Because dating can lead to marriage, it is possible that many individuals may seek to avoid dating interracially due to the more serious nature of the relationship. Therefore, the present study asked participants directly if and why marriage to a person of another race was less acceptable than friendship or dating in order to determine if parents played a role in their decision-making and if it affected their decision to date interracially.

In summary, past research has chosen to focus on cross-race friendships in terms of individual factors that play a role in the choices children and adolescents make regarding these relationships. Factors such as differences in quality, conformity, and parenting style have been examined as separate factors but never together in relation to one another. The present study examined friendship with this multi-faceted framework in mind. In addition, the present study examined dating interracially in order to add to past

research which has only focused on the characteristics of the individuals who choose to date interracially. Past research has neglected the importance of attitude development toward these relationships. It is important to focus not on who engages in them but what circumstances in a person's life either led him or her to be open or against dating interracially. And, finally, how individuals evaluate and compare the different types of relationships (friendship, dating, and marriage) had previously never been examined. As found in pilot work using the present study, cross-race friendships, dating, and marriage are all evaluated differently. Having cross-race friends does not necessarily lead to a person choosing to date or marry a person of another race. Furthermore, no attention has yet been given to how parents react differently to these relationships. The present study examined differences in attitudes toward these relationships, both from parents and adolescents, in order to first see if there was indeed a difference in evaluation and secondly to see if perception of parental attitudes toward these relationships had an impact on the subsequent actions and attitudes of adolescents.

As noted above, peers play an important role in influencing friendships and romantic relationships, especially as levels of intimacy increase with age. However, the present study was designed only to assess the impact perception of parental attitudes has on interracial relationships rather than the impact of peers. Parents as well as peers have been found to influence friendships and romantic relationships. Future studies will be needed to assess the impact of peers on adolescent cross-race relationships. The next section will review current theories and research on adult prejudice and how it is communicated.

Modern Racism

Prejudice is commonly defined as an unfair negative attitude toward a social group or a member of a group, while stereotypes are overgeneralizations about a group or its members that are factually incorrect and inflexible. Stereotypes are a set of beliefs that can accompany the negative feelings associated with prejudice (Dovidio, 1999). As discussed above, it was formerly believed that prejudice was acquired through socialization and supported by beliefs, attitudes, and values of friends and peer groups. Current thinking takes the viewpoint that prejudice may be rooted in individual processes (cognitive and motivational biases) or intergroup processes such as those associated with the categorization of people into ingroups and outgroups.

Dual Attitudes

One new approach to the examination of racial attitudes is to refrain from looking at it as being positive *or* negative, but instead to understand it in terms of its complexity. In other words, people's evaluative reactions toward an attitude can be both positive *and* negative. Ambivalence Theory proposes that an individual can hold both sympathy for a group as well as dislike, which in turn can create psychological conflict, tension, and ultimately behavioral intensification (Katz, Wakenhut, & Hass, 1986; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001). Wilson, Lindsey, and Schooler (2000) have proposed an alternate theory in which individuals have "dual attitudes" in which they hold different evaluations of the same object, one of which is implicit and habitual while the other is an explicit and unequivocal attitude. Wilson et al. (2000) believe that these attitudes arise developmentally. With experience or socialization, people change their attitudes. Yet, the original attitude is not replaced; it is stored in memory and becomes implicit, whereas

the newer attitude is conscious and explicit. In general, explicit attitudes can change and evolve relatively easily, while implicit attitudes are more difficult to alter.

Aversive Racism

Dovidio (1999) labels the modern racist as an “aversive racist”. An aversive racist consciously endorses egalitarian values and will not discriminate directly and openly in ways that can be attributed to racism. However, because of negative feelings, they will discriminate, especially when they can justify their behavior on the basis of some factor other than race. In today’s society, where there are laws against discrimination and neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces are integrated, people are more conscious of what things may be inappropriate to say or how certain behaviors are unacceptable. Political correctness has made it improper to say or do things that may label an individual as racist. However, Dovidio (1999) does not believe this has transformed individuals into non-prejudiced people. While it may have improved attitudes as a whole, racism still exists but under a different light. Indeed, studies have shown that positive attitudes toward Blacks did increase with changes in norms during the 1960’s and 1970’s. Yet, behavior was still negative and discriminatory. The attitudes changed but actions and/or behavior did not (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986). Wilson et al.’s (2000) theory of dual attitudes would propose that people may initially acquire negative attitudes toward groups through socialization, and, as is the case with those growing up during segregation, societal norms made such attitudes acceptable. Later, when norms changed or the person is exposed to new normative laws that dictate that people should *not* have these negative feelings toward these groups, people adopt explicit unbiased or positive attitudes. Nevertheless, negative implicit attitudes remain.

The present study focused on implicit attitudes regarding cross-race relationships. Based upon pilot work using the present survey, many of the participants who stated that their parents were opposed to them dating interracially rated their parents' racial attitudes as neutral. It is possible that many of these parents do not outwardly express negative racial messages; however, they are sending some sort of message that would indicate to their adolescents that they would not approve of them dating interracially. The present study examined this issue closely in order to determine what these messages were and how they were being conveyed to adolescents.

Implicit Versus Explicit

Fazio, Williams, and Sanbonmatsu (1990) found that there is a greater correspondence between implicit and explicit attitudes for issues that are not socially sensitive, such as snakes and dentists, than for issues that are socially sensitive or are inconsistent with historical norms or traditional socialization, such as pornography and blacks. Wilson et al. (2000) propose that explicit attitudes shape deliberative, well-considered responses in which the costs and benefits of various courses of action are weighed. Implicit attitudes influence uncontrollable responses or responses that people do not view as an expression of their attitude and therefore do not attempt to control.

Fazio proposes a MODE model (Fazio, 1990) which refers to motivation and opportunity as determinants of the processing mode by which behavioral decisions are made. The MODE model suggests that behavioral decisions may involve conscious deliberation or occur as spontaneous, unconscious reactions to an attitude object or issue. When people have the opportunity and motivation to assess the consequences of their actions, explicit attitudes primarily influence responses as people have time to reflect

upon their conscious attitudes that are relevant to the decision. When the opportunity is not permitted or the motivation is absent, implicit attitudes are more influential. Thus the relative impact of implicit and explicit attitudes is a function of the context in which the object appears, the motivation and opportunity to engage in deliberative processes, and the nature of the behavioral response.

The traditional view of a person who is prejudice is considered to be an individual who is direct and openly negative toward particular groups of individuals. The contemporary racial attitudes of European-Americans are hypothesized to be more complex, reflecting both negative and positive reactions (Dovidio et al. 2001). According to the aversive racism perspective (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Dovidio et al., 2001), many people who consciously, explicitly, and sincerely support egalitarian principles and believe themselves to be nonprejudiced also develop, through normal cognitive, motivational, and sociocultural processes, unconscious negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks and other historically disadvantaged groups. Through social categorization, the need for group status, and social learning processes, aversive racists are consciously egalitarian but unconsciously negative in their attitudes. Their attitudes are expressed in indirect, almost subconscious ways that do not threaten the nonprejudiced image that they have of themselves. Often times, their inappropriate behavior is not obvious or it can be justified on the basis of some factor other than race. For example, a direct negative attitude, that would be seen as overtly prejudice by today's standards, would be an individual who supported segregation of schools on the basis of race. An indirect and implicit negative attitude would be an individual who is opposed to busing or preferential treatment. They can disguise or even be unaware of their negative

attitudes by blaming their opposition on reverse discrimination or proposing that we should all have equal opportunity rather than “hand-outs”. Implicit attitudes can influence not only “uncontrollable” behaviors but also responses that people do not see as expressions of their attitudes and thus do not attempt to control (Fazio, 1990; Dovidio et al., 2001).

Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard (1997) believe that racial attitudes may be examined at three different levels. First, there may be public attitudes. Individuals may publicly express socially desirable attitudes even though they are aware that they privately hold other, more negative attitudes. Second, there may be personal, conscious aspects of racial attitudes. These are influenced by individual’s private standards and ideals (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). And, third, there may be unconscious feelings and beliefs, which are implicit in nature. According to Dovidio et al. (1997), the implicit attitudes will best predict spontaneous behaviors, personal attitudes will best predict private but controlled responses, and public aspects of attitudes will best predict behavior in situations in which social desirability factors are salient.

These levels are supported with research that has demonstrated the predictive validity of implicit, response latency measures of racial attitudes. Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams (1995) showed that direct ratings concerning the legitimacy of the Rodney King verdict and the wrongfulness of the anger of the Black community were correlated mainly with self-reported prejudice; these responses did not correlate with the implicit measure. However, the implicit measure correlated more highly with the relative responsibility ascribed to Blacks and Whites for the tension and violence that ensued

after the verdict as well as perceptions of participant-friendliness by a Black interviewer. These more subtle measures are indicative of indirect demonstrations of racial bias.

Using a similar approach under different circumstances, Dovidio et al. (1997) also measured racial attitudes and decisions with a deliberative task involving judgments of guilt or innocence of Black male defendants and a spontaneous task using word-completion after being primed with Black and White faces. They found that the ratings of the guilt of a Black defendant were correlated most strongly with both the Old-Fashioned and Modern racism scales. Ratings of guilt were not predicted by the implicit measure. In contrast, bias in the word-completion task was significantly predicted by implicit attitudes but not by self-report measures of prejudice. Thus, the more spontaneous task tapped into the implicit attitudes held by the individuals participating in the study while the more overt and deliberative task which allowed time to consider the responses did not.

In summary, the theory behind aversive racism states that individuals see themselves as non-prejudiced and completely egalitarian. Yet, their biases come through in the form of implicit negative attitudes toward social issues concerning minorities. Due to the age of political correctness and a world in which there are legal ramifications for discriminating against others, individuals portray a public self in which they are open-minded. Yet, they also have a personal side which they keep to themselves or within their homes. And, finally, they have an unconscious side which, unknowingly to them, expresses implicit messages of prejudice toward others. Research has supported the theories behind modern racism by showing that implicit attitudes surface when a spontaneous response is required with little time to consider how best to respond. While

research has identified in studies with adults that there are, indeed, implicit and explicit expressions of prejudice, the impact these different responses will have on the development of attitudes in adolescents has yet to be examined. Research is needed to demonstrate how these expressions are transmitted within households to children and adolescents who are in the process of developing their own thoughts and opinions toward others who are different from themselves. The present study examined these different manners of expression in order to understand how adolescents made sense of indirect statements regarding cross-race relationships. It should be noted that exactly because aversive racists believe they are non-prejudiced, the present study did not measure parental attitudes with self-report measures. If an aversive racist thinks he or she is not prejudice, then, when given time to respond and consider answers, he or she will report non-prejudice responses. Adolescents are in the homes. They hear what their parents say when not in public. While many parents might not believe they are expressing bias, they may be doing so indirectly, and their children are more than likely picking up these messages and using them to create and organize their own attitudes. The present study investigated this further in order to find if this idea can be supported. The final section of the literature review will focus on parents and its changing role in adolescence.

Parenting and the Role of Authority

Parenting during adolescence marks the beginning of a significant period of transition in both a child's and his or her parents' lives. The child, who was once dependent on his or her parents, begins searching for identity and independence, experimenting with autonomy, and forming close-knit groups of friends (for reviews, see Smetana & Turiel, 2003; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 1998). Personal space and choice

begin to take shape, change, and come in conflict with family dynamics previously unquestioned in childhood. The change not only affects the adolescent, but it also has an effect on his or her parents and the relationship they have with their adolescent. Parents find they must adapt their own parenting styles to suit the changing maturity of their teen. Parents must struggle along a fine line of helping the adolescent learn to be independent while also steering him or her along the “right” path.

Parenting Style and Autonomy

Adolescence is a period for both parents and their children where parenting styles are modified to suit the various changes being experienced by their adolescent. Early adolescence is a period of multiple physical, social, and cognitive changes as well as ever-increasing levels of autonomy. Adolescents become more susceptible to the negative influences of peers and tend to show an increase in some externalizing behaviors, such as smoking and shoplifting. For the first time, many also experience internalizing problems such as depression (Galambos & Ehrenberg, 1997). During adolescence, parents may be prompted to treat their children in a more adult-like manner by granting them more autonomy (Eccles, Buchanan, Flanagan, Fuligni, Midgley, & Yee, 1991; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991). Indeed, much of what changes in adolescence between the parent and child is in the realm of autonomy. Baumrind (1991) noted that during adolescence parents tend to show greater responsiveness and independence-granting in order to facilitate competence in their children following puberty. This independence-granting is done through granting varying degrees of autonomy across adolescence, preparing the child for a life that is less dependent on the parent.

Parents must go through their own learning-process in order to facilitate appropriate levels of autonomy in their children. While easing up on some of their control, they must also remain supportive during this challenging transition (Galambos & Ehrenberg, 1997). One way parents can encourage independence in a supportive context is by allowing adolescents to have input when decision-making opportunities arise in day-to-day family life. Allowing their input for consideration has been found to provide a match with their adolescents' rising needs for independence while at the same time providing the supportive frame they need from which to grow (Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Flanagan, & Maciver, 1993). It also demonstrates to their parents that their points of view are important (Brody, Moore, & Glei, 1994).

Thus, the present study gave particular attention to the role of autonomy in the decisions adolescents make regarding cross-race relationships. As adolescents get older, research has shown that parents grant them more and more independence to make decisions on their own, even with regard to their personal relationships. Whether or not this trend is upheld when the issue involves race had previously not been examined.

Parenting and the Role of Conflict

Conflict is often seen from a popular and theoretical perspective as being a rite of passage through the adolescent years (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998). Conflict is considered to be a hallmark of the adolescent years, rising throughout adolescence and peaking until children move away from home, even though research has not provided much evidence of change in conflict as a function of age or pubertal maturation (Collins & Laursen, 1992; Laursen & Collins, 1994). Laursen et al. (1998) examined the rate of conflict and change in affect over time and found that conflict is greater in early

adolescence than in middle adolescence and greater in middle adolescence than in later adolescence, indicating a moderate decline in the rate of parent-child conflict across adolescence. This decline in the rate of conflict parallels the decline in the rate of interaction with parents, suggesting the possibility that parents and children disagree less simply because they spend less time together (Laursen et al., 1998). Even though the rate of conflict declines across adolescence, affect actually increases from early to middle adolescence. This negative affect changes little in late adolescence. Increases in affective intensity also coincide with increases in autonomy that occurs as adolescents spend more time alone and with peers (Larson & Richards, 1994).

As adolescents seek to establish their independence and parents struggle between granting autonomy and maintaining a sense of control in their household, conflicts are likely to erupt. Indeed, research has indicated that the transition to adolescence from childhood is marked by minor but persistent conflicts with parents regarding everyday family issues such as schoolwork, chores, and personal hygiene (Montemayor, 1982; Smetana, 1989; Steinberg & Hill, 1978). Rather than examine *what* typical conflicts consisted of, in her research on parent-adolescent conflict, Smetana (1989) examined *how* adolescents and their parents differed in their reasoning regarding issues that frequently are sources of conflict. She found that conflicts typically occurred over parental expectations rather than explicit rules. Younger adolescents tended to have more conflicts with their parents over rule-governed issues when compared to all other families. While children and parents generally agreed in their perceptions of the issues causing conflict, Smetana found that they reason differently regarding the meaning of the conflicts. Parents typically used conventional reasoning and also considered the moral

and prudential aspects of regulating their child's behavior when discussing conflicts. Children, on the other hand, believed all conflicts except those over interpersonal relationships to be areas within the realm of personal choice. Smetana suggests that the everyday issues that cause conflicts in households with adolescents may provide a context for arguments over the extent of adolescents' developing autonomy. Indeed, by claiming personal jurisdiction in conflicts over issues that parents consider to be conventional and subject to their authority, adolescents are actively changing the boundaries of parental authority and increasing their own autonomy (Smetana, 1988, 1995).

Smetana et al. (1991) examined adolescent and parent reasoning further by looking at how conflicts are discussed and explained by observing actual family discourse. As in the above Smetana study (1989), when asked in interviews about their reasoning regarding conflicts, parents tended to reason using conventions while adolescents tended to use the personal domain. However, observations of the interactions showed that parents provided less conventional justifications in the actual discussions with their adolescents than they did in the interviews, perhaps because they assume their perspective is understood and is taken for granted by their child. Interestingly, Smetana et al. (1991) found that while adolescents used personal jurisdiction to explain their perspective in interviews about conflicts, they switched to using prudential or pragmatic reasoning to justify conflicts when face-to-face with their parents. Thus, the results of this study showed that both adolescents and their parents give different meanings to issues of family conflict. In addition, their different interpretations of the conflicts are articulated and modified in actual family discourse in order to suit the situation. It is

possible that conflicts serve the purpose of allowing adolescents to experiment asserting their point of view and adapting it to the person they are in contention with. Indeed, Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Conner . (1994) reported that high levels of conflict and of disparity in moral development between parents and their children were actually predictive of greater developmental gains for their children but only in households that also had high levels of supportive interactions. In the absence of support, conflict predicted the lowest gains in moral development. Thus, another benefit to conflicts could be the practice it gives adolescents and their parents in granting and receiving autonomy, while at the same time teaching adolescents how to express themselves constructively in their quest to become independent selves.

In a 1995 study, Smetana examined the link between conflicts and parenting style, finding that parents' judgments of the legitimacy of parental authority differed as a function of parenting style. Permissive parents had broader boundaries of adolescents' personal jurisdiction and ignored convention when issues overlapped convention and the personal domain, seeing these situations to be more often an issue of personal choice than other parents did. Authoritarian parents did not differentiate between moral and conventional issues and treated both as obligatory and subject to parental authority. Authoritative parents, on the other hand, viewed moral events to be more obligatory than conventional rules. Authoritative parents did grant adolescents autonomy over a limited range of personal issues but did not grant them autonomy over multifaceted, friendship, and prudential issues. Instead, they chose to focus on the conventional, prudential, and psychological components of these issues. Smetana (1995) also found that differences among parenting styles increase with the age of the adolescent and as the demands for

maturity increase. Authoritarian parents did believe their older children were still obligated to follow parental authority over multifaceted issues, more so than authoritative parents. However, there was little difference in style for the younger children.

Thus, the present study examined conflict within the context of cross-race relationships. Previous to the present study, the issue of how parents and adolescents reason with one another and how meaningful the role of the personal self is for adolescents when faced with decisions regarding cross-race relationships had not been examined.

Parenting and Racial Socialization

While both European-American and African-American parents probably see one of their most important roles to be helping prepare and equip their children to face greater society and to know and to provide them with the competence to face that world, according to Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen (1990), who have examined the sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by African-American parents, African-American parents must also take on the added responsibility of preparing their children for the possibility of facing racial bigotry and prejudice in their daily lives. Thornton et al. (1990) found that for the majority of African-American parents, race was a primary element of their child socialization practices. The extent of racial socialization practices varied by a complex network of different sociodemographic factors. Older African-American parents were more likely than younger parents to view information regarding racial identity as a necessary element of the socialization process. Parents who never married were less likely to socialize their children. Those parents who lived in the Northeast saw racial socialization as more important than those living in the

South. Those who lived in mixed-ethnicity neighborhoods saw a greater importance in racially socializing their children; and, those parents who lived in mostly European-American neighborhoods believed it was more important to racially socialize their children than if they lived in predominantly African-American neighborhoods.

Recently, Smetana has turned her attention from parent-adolescent conflict in typical European-American families to conflict within typical middle-class African-American families (Smetana, 2000; Smetana and Gaines, 1999). Guided by differences noted in social psychology between European-American families and African-American families, such as the importance placed on harmony within African-American families, a strong hierarchical structure, and the value placed on obedience and respect toward elders (Garcia Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995), Smetana set out to examine the possibility that conflict may be more subdued in African-American families (Smetana and Gaines, 1999).

The results showed that, similar to European-American adolescents, African-American adolescents had conflicts with their parents over the everyday details of family life. Furthermore, the affective intensity of these conflicts increased between pre- and early adolescence. Reports of conflict intensity and frequency did vary according to family income. Increases were found with age in conflict frequency and mother-rated conflict intensity for upper-income families. Smetana and Gaines suggest that this may reflect upper middle-class parents' greater tolerance for adolescent initiative and identity exploration. They further suggest that this indicates a greater reason to study African American families for their variability rather than treating them as a homogenous group. Greater psychological control was found to predict both a greater number of issues

discussed and a greater intensity of conflicts, indicating that as African-American adolescents separate from their parents and become more involved with peers, parents may exert greater control, through means such as monitoring, in order to ensure their safety.

Like other samples previously examined (Laursen & Collins, 1994; Smetana, 1989; Yau & Smetana, 1996), conflicts were usually about choice of activities, doing the chores, the adolescents' room, interpersonal relations, and homework and academic achievement. The difference in the conflicts between the samples had more to do with the parental reasoning. African-American parents saw doing chores as establishing a sense of responsibility in the child and respect for his or her parents. Like European-American adolescents, the African-American adolescents saw their room as part of their personal domain. Their parents, on the other hand, had a more restrictive view of parental authority that did not include the room to be part of the adolescent's personal domain. Parents justified conflicts mostly as social conventions, focusing on the need for social coordination in sharing household labor. Upper-income mothers used responsibility as their reasoning more than middle-income mothers. They also appealed more to cultural customs and traditions than did middle-income mothers, possibly due to the fact that upper-income parents tended to live in more mixed-ethnicity neighborhoods. Upper-income mothers' made more conscious attempts to transmit African-American cultural values to their children.

Like European-American adolescents, African-American adolescents reasoned using the personal domain most often. Most conflicts were resolved by conceding to parents' wishes, however, this declined with age. As socioeconomic status and parental

education rose, middle-class African American families increasingly sought mutual solutions to solve problems. However, upper-income parents reported using more punishment, especially with early adolescent males, many indicating their concerns about their sons' welfare and the risks they faced as a result of racism. Thus, many similarities can be found between the types of conflicts and frequency of conflicts between European-American and African-American adolescents. However, the expression and resolution of these conflicts appear to be influenced by the cultural context of middle-class African-American families.

In a follow-up study, Smetana (2000) went beyond how African-American adolescents reason in conflicts and examined their judgments of legitimate parental authority and rating of family rules and decision making. She found that middle-class African-American families' beliefs about parental authority and family rules varied by generation and the domain of the acts, changed with age, and varied by family income.

Parents and their children agreed that parents should have authority over moral and prudential issues as well as conventional or societal standards. However, issues concerning the personal domain such as hairstyle and dress, were considered to be mostly personal choice by the adolescent and part of parental authority by mothers. It should be noted that in comparison to previous European-American samples (Smetana & Asquith, 1994), African-American adolescents drew more restrictive lines around what they saw to be within the realm of personal choice and appear to have a more limited conception of their own personal domain. Nevertheless, the results demonstrated that African-American parents draw restrictive boundaries around their children's personal jurisdiction, leading to significant disagreements between parents and their adolescents

over where the parents' authority lies. Yet, their stronger restrictiveness in comparison to the European-American sample could also be due to their attempt to provide an adaptive strategy for their children in order to protect them from harm (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990).

Other differences between this sample and previous European-American samples (Smetana & Asquith, 1994) showed African-American parents belief that their children had more of an obligation to comply with all types of parental rules than has been supported by European-American families. Ratings of decision-making were reported to be less restrictive with age by adolescents but not by their parents. In addition, these ratings were found to differ by domain, demonstrating that parenting practices and styles depend on the type of act rather than one particular style of parenting for all situations, a finding that is similar to that found in other samples.

Thus, research on racial socialization among African-American families demonstrated that there is little difference between what African-American parents and their adolescents have conflicts about in comparison to their European-American counterparts. Differences had more to do with differences in SES and family income than according to ethnicity. African-Americans did appear to be more restrictive, especially upper-income families. Furthermore, higher-income African-American parents, especially, reasoned using conventions more so than European-American parents and middle-income African-American parents, having a higher expectation of compliance to authority. However, the adolescents themselves do not appear to view their personal relationships any differently than European-American adolescents

Parenting and Values

Grusec and Goodnow (1994) have closely examined the role of internalization of values and the impact of parental discipline methods. They define internalization as the taking over of values and attitudes of society as one's own so that socially acceptable behavior is motivated by intrinsic or internal factors rather than the threat of external consequences. Internalization is both the child's *perception* of the parent's position and the child's acceptance or rejection of the perceived viewpoint of the parent.

In examining the literature on different parental discipline methods, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) found that the most successful parents were those who used reasoning or induction, often in combination with power assertion. In particular, they used other-oriented induction, which is reasoning that focuses children's attention on the effects of their misbehavior on others, thereby sensitizing them to events beyond the personal consequences of their actions. Parents who tend to be harshly and randomly power assertive were less likely to be successful than those who placed substantial emphasis on induction or reasoning, presumably in an attempt to be responsive to and understanding of their child's point of view.

In examination of these parenting strategies on the actual internalization of values, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) point out that power assertion provides a model of aggression that leads to antisocial or immoral conduct. In addition, it keeps the source of a moral message salient to the child and hence makes it less likely to be accepted as the child's own. And, finally, power assertion discourages the child's reflection on moral issues, whereas extensive explanations and opportunities for dialogue help the child's elaboration of schemas for differentiating the psychological experience of others.

Threats to autonomy may promote active rejection of a parent's point of view and a desire to behave counter to the values of the parent. Threats to security, however, may foster greater degrees of compliance, at least in the parent's presence. If the threats to security are strong enough to reduce the salience of parental pressure, it might even be that some forms of power assertion could contribute to greater internalization of parental values than others. With increasing maturity, children view increasing numbers of events as inappropriate domains for parental direction. As they grow in autonomy, discipline of all kinds become less acceptable in some, but not all, domains of behavior.

The work of Grusec and Goodnow is of interest to the proposed study because of its link between parenting styles and the acceptability by children of their parents' values. As discussed above, aversive racists use implicit means to communicate bias to others. While Grusec and Goodnow's work focuses on the means by which parents can teach their children values, it can also be applied to the present study and how parents can teach their children poor values. If it is true that threats to autonomy promote rejection of the parent's values, then a parent who uses indirect means to convey their disapproval of cross-race relationships would be more successful of having their child adopt their point of view than a parent who openly expresses racist views and opposition to cross-race relationships.

In summary, research has shown that parents grant more autonomy as children get older. And, with age, the amount of conflicts decreases. Therefore, as children gain autonomy and independence, reasons for conflicts decrease in number. Research has also shown that a possible reason for conflicts is in the fact that parents and children often take different points of view over issues children and adolescents generally see as being a

matter of personal choice. Thus, parents and children reason differently to one another, with parents using conventional, moral, and prudential means of argument and children using personal choice most often. African-American families appear to be more restrictive in their use of authority and have higher expectations of compliance from their adolescents. However, similar to European-American families, the rate of conflict subsides with age, and parents and adolescents reason to each other using conventions versus personal domain over the same issues as their European-American counterparts. How this applies to issues involving race had not been examined previously. At the outset of the study, it was not known what line of reasoning parents would use, whether or not it was even an issue of conflict within many households, and how adolescents would reason regarding their own cross-race relationships. They might have viewed it as an issue that was a personal choice just like any other personal relationship they may have had, or they could have viewed it as a moral or conventional issue. Previous to the present study, conflicts within the context of race had yet to be examined. In addition to examining conflicts, the present study also focused on how adolescents perceive their parents to transmit their messages and how this impacted the decisions and reactions of adolescents. Grusec and Goodnow reviewed literature on how parents can most successfully instill their positive values in their children. Yet, how parents can instill and have their children internalize *negative* values had not previously been examined. Would indirect means work just as well? The present study examined this issue.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter provides a foundation for the present study. Past research on cross-race friendships suggests that there are differences between same-

race and cross-race friendships in the quality of these friendships and that they are impacted by parenting styles. The research reviewed in the literature also suggests that when cross-race friendships develop through intergroup contact, the result is seen in improved attitudes in children. One factor found to contribute to the success of intergroup contact is the sanction of authority and the messages those in authority communicate to children, both implicitly and explicitly. In addition, research on aversive racism has demonstrated that adults express both implicit and explicit expressions of prejudice. Moreover, parents who use indirect means of communication have been shown to have more success in transmitting their values to their children. With all of these things in mind, the present study examined the role of parents and the impact their messages played in the development of attitudes their adolescents have toward cross-race relationships. The next section will present an overview and hypotheses for the present study.

Overview of the Present Study

Purpose and Design

The purpose of this project was to examine the factors that play a role in how adolescents form and make decisions regarding close personal relationships with individuals of a different race or ethnicity. Four factors were proposed to impact children's cross-race relationships: (1) perceptions of intergroup contact; (2) perceptions of parents' racial attitudes; (3) perceptions of parents' messages; and, (4) personal experiences with cross-race relationships.

In the present study, ninth and twelfth grade students attending mixed-ethnicity schools where sixty percent or less of the student body was made up of European-

Americans were given a questionnaire to be completed in class. Students were asked several questions about their background, school and neighborhood environment, personal experience in close relationships with individuals of a different race, perception of parental attitudes about race and interracial relationships, and their personal opinion regarding their individual rights and autonomy.

Research on cross-race relationships has demonstrated that contact between races, especially in the form of friendship, are important contributing factors to reducing prejudice in both children and in adults. However, cross-race friendships are still rare and infrequent and have been shown to decrease with age. Cross-race romantic relationships are even more uncommon. The proposed study examined closely the relation of contact and the role of authority in adolescent decision-making regarding cross-race relationships. Even when contact is high within schools and neighborhoods, the messages those in authority, such as parents, send either condoning or discouraging cross-race relationships could influence how adolescents evaluate forming and maintaining those relationships.

The questionnaire consisted of four sections: (1) Intergroup Contact Measure, (2) Cross-Race Friendship and Dating Experiences, (3) Parental Attitudes, and (4) Personal Attitudes and Autonomy. The Intergroup Contact section asked demographic questions regarding the racial make-up and chance at interaction with individuals from a racial background that is different from the participant's. It also assessed the perception students have toward being discriminated against due to their race or ethnicity. Students were asked about their perception of the racial diversity of their school, outside of school, and their neighborhood. They were also asked the extent to which their school

environment was conducive to supporting and encouraging cross-race relationships. These questions were selected and adapted from the Harvard Civil Rights Project Diversity Assessment Questionnaire.

The second section, Social Experiences, asked questions regarding the participant's experience with cross-race friendships and romantic relationships. Participants were first asked if the opportunity existed for them to become friends or to date people from a different race. And, if so, they were asked how their parents, if at all, communicated their feelings regarding these relationships. Participants were not only asked *if* parents communicated messages, but they were also asked what these messages were, how they were communicated, how they typically responded to their parents' messages, and if the type of messages had changed as the participant has gotten older.

The third section, Parental Attitudes, assessed the participant's perception of his or her parents' attitudes toward cross-race relationships. The section asked students general questions about their parents' attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups without specifying the type of relationship. The section was designed to assess the perception the participant had of his or her parents' attitudes before moving in to assess whether or not there were differences in attitude depending on the type of relationship.

The fourth and final section of the survey, Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes, asked participants their opinion on who should make the rules on dating and friendship choices of adolescents. Many adolescents view friendship and dating as an issue of personal choice with little parental involvement. This section was designed to assess each participant's general opinion regarding parental authority in these matters. Participants were asked whether it was okay or not okay for parents to make rules

regarding their choices. They were also asked to explain why they believed these rules were okay or not okay for parents to make. Participants were also asked general questions about the role of authority in the personal relationship choices children make, how the role of authority has changed with age, and how it varies from relationship to relationship. In addition, participants were asked what their personal attitudes were toward cross-race friendships, dating, and marriage.

Hypotheses

There were several hypotheses for this study (for a complete list of hypotheses, see Appendix I). These hypotheses fell under four categories: 1) hypotheses concerning the perceived nature of parental messages; 2) hypotheses concerning social expectations regarding interracial relationships; 3) hypotheses regarding how adolescents evaluate parental messages and make decisions regarding their own autonomy and personal lives; and 4) hypotheses about intergroup contact and perception of parental attitudes. Hypotheses concerning age-related and gender differences as well as the interrelatedness of these four categories were also evaluated within each of these sections.

Nature of Parental Messages. Current research has examined expressions of prejudice to find that it has been transformed into subtle and increasingly covert expressions (Devine et al., 2001). Rather than openly express racist attitudes, “modern” or “symbolic” racists rationalize their negative feelings in terms of abstract political and social issues (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). It was predicted, then, that those participants who said their parents made racist comments would also say that these comments were implicit and subversive rather than openly negative. In turn, it was predicted that this mixed message would result in mixed responses. As seen in a pilot study using the

present measure, some participants ranked their parents' attitudes as neutral but go on to say in their personal experience that their parents have made comments about a Black friend's clothes or music and even made racist jokes. As a result, it was hypothesized that these adolescents whose parents sent negative messages indirectly regarding interracial relationships would be more likely to adopt their opinions than those whose parents send positive messages or even openly negative ones. In support of this hypothesis, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) have shown that when parents use indirect methods rather than tell their children what to do, children were more likely to adopt their values. It was predicted then, that this same principle would apply when the message received was an indirect, negative one. On the other hand, adolescents whose parents sent openly negative messages regarding interracial relationships would choose not to engage in them due to the threat of consequences, would continue seeing the person in secret, or would disobey their parents.

Social Experiences. As demonstrated in Smetana's work on family conflict during adolescence (Smetana et al, 1991), parents use conventions (social expectations, rules, concern with what others think) most often in conflicts with their adolescents. It was hypothesized, then, that they would argue similarly when the conflict concerned interracial relationships. Adolescents tend to appeal to personal choice most often in family conflicts. Therefore, it was expected that arguments regarding their cross-race friendship choices would appeal to their personal autonomy more often and would agree less with their parents. On the other hand, in conflicts over dating interracially, it was hypothesized that adolescents would use conventional reasoning and would agree with parents more often than has been indicated in previous studies. Already, Killen et al.

(2003) have shown that young adults use more conventions to justify their reasons for the acceptability of exclusion based on race in an intimate context. While they do still use personal choice, as did most adolescents in the Smetana et al. (1991) study, they qualified it with conventions.

Age was predicted to be a factor in how adolescents reasoned about their choices in friendship and dating partners. Smetana et al. (1994) found that with age, adolescents use conventions more and personal choice less. Younger children use the personal domain most often in family conflicts. Therefore, it was hypothesized that younger participants would use personal choice more often in conflicts over race. Older participants would use conventions more often. While Killen et al. (2003) addressed this issue in the study mentioned above, they did not examine age-related changes.

Gender was predicted to be a factor in responses regarding personal experiences with cross-race friendships and romantic relationships. Because females have been shown to place more importance on intimacy in their relationships, it was predicted that females would be more likely to say they would not engage in cross-race relationships, even given the opportunity. As Aboud et al. (1996) have shown, lower levels of intimacy have been found in cross-race friendships, especially as children age. With this lower level of intimacy, females, more than males, were predicted to have less cross-race friends and to be more likely to say they would not date interracially.

Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes. As Smetana (1991) has shown, adolescents overwhelmingly believe that friendship and dating partners are matters of personal choice in which they, alone, should make any decision regarding them. Therefore, it was hypothesized that participants would state that the adolescent should

make the decisions regarding friendship and dating choice rather than the parent. Based upon pilot work, it was also predicted that with age participants would increasingly say parents have the right to set rules which should be followed regarding friendships and dating. It was predicted that many of these participants would mention the issue of jurisprudence and the experience of parents as reasons that gave them a right to make rules.

In pilot work using the present measure, many participants reported that marriage was different from casual dating and friendship when the issue involved race. These participants stated that they believed marriage with someone of a different race had the potential to cause a conflict that could permanently hurt the family and was too serious and permanent an issue to risk bringing an individual into it under such stressful circumstances. Therefore, it was hypothesized that adolescents would report that they would be more likely to consider their parents' opinion when faced with a choice involving marriage over dating and friendship choice. With age, this was predicted to become more of an issue as older adolescents have more opportunity to have established serious romantic relationships of their own and thus could judge the situation with experience.

Intergroup Contact Measure and Parental Attitudes. Based on previous research which supports intergroup contact theory in school settings (Astin, 1982; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; Schofield, 1995; Stephan & Stephan, 1984, 1996), it was hypothesized that participants who measured highly on the Intergroup Contact Measure would also display positive attitudes toward other races and would have a greater number of close, interracial relationships. As found in the research, the frequency of cross-race friendships

is related to the number of potential cross-race friends (Clark & Ayers, 1992; Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Howes & Wu, 1990; Shrum et al., 1988).

Therefore, it was also predicted that participants who perceived their high school to be diverse would have higher contact and thus more positive attitudes than those who believe their school is not diverse. Neighborhoods and outside school settings were also examined and compared with school settings in order to determine which setting predicts more positive attitudes toward other races and have the greatest number of close, interracial relationships. It was expected that since school settings were more likely to meet all four optimal conditions, then those students who perceive their school to be diverse would demonstrate the largest number of close, cross-race relationships.

Research has also shown that when intergroup contact situations entail equal status, common goals, cooperation, and the sanction of authority, then reduced negative attitudes toward outgroups results along with a higher incidence of interracial friendships (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Wagner, et al, 1989). It is important to note that the present study did not examine all conditions of intergroup contact theory. Instead, it examined one particular condition, sanction of authority, in order to examine the degree of impact it played on the success of contact. And, therefore, it was predicted that participants who perceived themselves to be high on intergroup contact *and* ranked their perception of their parents' attitudes to be positive toward interracial relationships would have the greatest number of close, interracial friends and dating partners. Consequently, those students who perceived their parents to have positive attitudes but did not have high intergroup contact potential would not display as positive an attitude and would have a fewer number of close interracial relationships.

It was hypothesized that those participants who perceived themselves to attend a diverse school, lived in a mixed-race neighborhood, *and* had positive parental attitudes at home would rate highly their comfort in working with people from different ethnic backgrounds, have many cross-race friendships, and have many friends from their neighborhoods or schools that date interracially. In essence, these participants would demonstrate through their attitudes and personal experiences the full potential and ramifications of intergroup contact. In addition, those participants who had engaged in interracial relationships would be more accepting of them than those who had not. Research has demonstrated that personal experience does play a role in shaping interracial attitudes, at least among college students (Knox et al., 2000). Knox et al. (2000) found that the majority of those who had dated interracially would do so again, while only a small percentage in comparison who had never dated interracially were open to the idea of it.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Participants

Participants were 193 ninth and 154 twelfth graders ($N = 347$), mixed-ethnicity, attending high schools in the Mid-Atlantic region. Participants were evenly divided by gender and ethnicity. The sample consisted of 101 male ninth-graders, 92 female ninth-graders, 67 male twelfth-graders, and 87 female twelfth-graders. The ethnic background of participants consisted of 100 African-Americans, 146 European-Americans, and 101 Others. The breakdown of participants by ethnicity was as follows: African Americans, 29%; European-Americans, 42%; Asian-American, 7%; Hispanic-Latino, 6%; Biracial/Mixed, 10%; and, Other, 6%.

Three schools were sampled from a mixed-ethnicity school district in the state of Maryland. Schools were chosen if school records reported the student population was equal to or under 60% European American. Based on school district records, the student population of School 1 was 65% European American, School 2 was 30% European-American, and School 3 was 12% European American. Populations at two schools were of middle-class socio-economic standing, and School 3 was of low- to middle-class socio-economic standing, according to school records as well as census information about the towns (United States Census Bureau, 2000). Family income was not examined as a possible contributing factor to differences in responses and therefore individual SES for participants was not assessed. All students receiving parental consent were surveyed (for parental consent form, see Appendix J).

Procedure

Participants completed the questionnaire in their classrooms at school under the supervision of a trained female researcher and a classroom teacher. Participants were told that there were no right or wrong answers and that all responses were anonymous and confidential. In addition, students were told that their participation was completely voluntary and that they could choose to stop at any time. The questionnaire took approximately twenty minutes to complete.

Measures

The questionnaire consisted of four sections (for the complete survey, see Appendix K). All questionnaire sections followed the same order: Intergroup Contact Measure (*Background*), Cross-Race Friendship and Dating Experiences (*Social Experiences*), Parental Attitudes (*Parental Attitudes*), and Personal Attitudes and Autonomy (*Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes*).

Intergroup Contact Measure. Sections of the Intergroup Contact Measure were adapted for the use of this dissertation project from established instruments. Section A was adapted from the Adolescent Discrimination Index developed by Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton (2000). Sections B and C was adapted from the Harvard Civil Rights Project Diversity Assessment Questionnaire (Orfield and Kurlaender, 2000). Section D was adapted from the Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton instrument (Fisher et al., 2000). Section E was adapted from Martyn Barratt's Social Identity Measure. The Intergroup Contact Measure was divided into five sections: (1) Demographics; (2) Personal Victimization; (3) Race-Based Victimization; (4) Diversity Assessment Questionnaire; and, (5) Group Discrimination Measure. Section A asked for the participant's demographic background. The participant was asked for his or her date of birth, country of origin, language spoken

at home, and race/ethnicity. Sections B and C asked the participant how he or she has been treated by different people in order to measure his or her perception of discrimination. Section D measured the potential for intergroup contact across different settings such as school, neighborhood, and community. And, finally, Section E asked the participant in general how different groups of people have been treated based upon their group membership (For a list of assessments by section for the Intergroup Contact Measure, see Appendix A). Participants' social identity, ethnic identity, cross-race friendships, and judgments about exclusion were measured. For a closer look at the Intergroup Contact Measure, see Appendix K, Part I (*Background*).

Dependent Measures and Coding Categories for the Intergroup Contact

Measure. There were eight questions for *Personal Victimization*, Section B. Participants were asked how often they have had negative experiences across the following contexts: school office, a grade, entry into a club, outside or inside school activities, been picked on, harassed by a clerk, harassed by the police, and felt threatened. Participants were asked to rate how often they have experienced discrimination in general using a five-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Always). Likewise, there were eight questions for *Race-Based Victimization* in Section C. Again, participants were asked the same question across the same contexts except in this section the question asked "How often have you experienced the following ... because of your race or ethnicity?" The same five-point scale was used as in Section B.

In Section D, *Diversity Assessment Questionnaire*, twelve questions were asked (for a complete list of assessments, see Table 1). Participants answered questions regarding their potential for contact and personal experience with intergroup contact

across various settings: school, neighborhood, and outside of school. Q1, *School Environment*, asked participants about diversity in their schools using a four-point scale (1 = None or a few, 4 = Most). Participants were asked, “How many students in your school are from racial or ethnic groups different from your own?” Q2, *Class Discussion*, asked how often racial issues were discussed in the classroom using a four-point scale (1 = At least 3 times a month, 4 = Never). Participants were asked, “During classroom discussions how often were racial issues discussed and explored?” Q3, *Impact*, asked participants the extent that these discussions have changed their views. Participants were asked, “To what extent do you believe that these discussions have changed your understanding of different points of view?” In Q4, sanction of authority in the form of teachers was examined in the *Encouragement* assessment. Participants were asked “How often do your teachers encourage you to work with students of other racial/ethnic backgrounds?” and were rated on a five-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Always). Q5, *Comfort*, measured the comfort level participants had working with other students who were a different race/ethnicity from themselves using a four-point scale (1 = Very Comfortable, 4 = Very Uncomfortable). The amount of time that participants worked with students from a different race/ethnicity was then measured in Q6, the *Frequency* assessment. Participants were asked, “How often do you work on school projects and/or study with students from a different racial or ethnic group?” using a five-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Always). Q7, *School Friends*, measured the amount of cross-race/ethnic friends participants had from their school using a four-point scale (1 = None, 4 = Many). Participants were asked “At school how many friends do you have who are from a different racial or ethnic group than you?”

Q8 measured the environment outside of school. The assessment, *Outside School Friends*, measured the amount of cross-race/ethnic friends participants had outside of school using a four-point scale (1 = None, 4 = Many). Participants were asked “Outside of school how many friends do you have who are from a different racial or ethnic group than you?”

The final set of questions measured the neighborhood environment in which the participant lived. Q9, *Neighborhood Environment*, measured the diversity of the participant’s neighborhood using a four-point scale (1 = Nearly everyone is your racial/ethnic group, 4 = Most of the people are from racial/ethnic groups different from you). Q10, *Neighborhood Friends*, measured the amount of cross-race/ethnic friends the participant had in his or her neighborhood using a four-point scale (1 = None, 4 = Many). Participants were asked “How many of your friends from your neighborhood are from a different racial/ethnic group than you?” Q11, *School Dating*, measured the amount of friends from school who dated someone from a different racial/ethnic group using a four-point scale (1 = None, 4 = Many). Participants were asked “How many people your age from your school date someone from a different racial/ethnic group?” Q12, *Neighborhood Dating*, measured the amount of friends from the participant’s neighborhood who dated someone from a different racial/ethnic group using a four-point scale (1 = None, 4 = Many). Participants were asked “How many people your age from your neighborhood date someone from a different racial/ethnic group?”

Four questions were asked in Section E, *Group Discrimination Measure*, assessing participants’ perception of discrimination toward groups of people using a five-point scale (1 = Never, 5 = Always). The group categories they were asked to rate were

minorities, whites, females, and males. Participants were asked “How often are people in general treated differently because of X?”

Social Experience. Part II of the survey instrument (see Appendix K, *Social Experiences* on the survey form) asked participants about their personal experiences in making choices about any cross-race relationships they may have had as well as any personal experiences they may have had with their parents regarding these relationships. Two different sections assessed social experience, *Friendship* and *Dating*.

Friendship. In Section A, participants were asked about their experiences with friends who were a different race from themselves. Participants were asked questions about their friendship potential, parental messages, nature of their parents’ communication, their reactions, and any changes they have noticed in their parents’ messages or attitudes as they have gotten older.

Dating. In Section B, participants were asked about their experiences with dating others who were a different race from themselves. Participants were asked the same questions as in the *Friendship* condition, only the questions pertained to dating experiences rather than friendship.

Dependent Measures and Coding Categories for Social Experience. Twelve questions were asked in the *Friendship* section of *Social Experiences* and thirteen questions were asked in the *Dating* section (See Appendix B for a complete list of assessments in *Social Experiences*). The same dependent measures and coding categories were used for Sections A and B, *Friendship* and *Dating*.

Q1, *Influence Ranking*, measured the importance participants placed on certain groups and the amount of influence they played in the decisions they made about who

they were friends with or dated. The categories listed were society, peers, religion, parents, and other. Participants were asked to rank these categories in order of influence (1 = most important, 5 = least important). Q2, *Potential*, measured the potential participants had to be friends or if they had ever dated someone from a different racial background (1 = Yes, 2 = No). Q2a, *Potential Justification*, asked participants for friendship why it was not easy to make cross-race friends. Responses were coded as: 1 = Different Interests, 2 = Race, 3 = Too Few, 4 = Segregate themselves, and 5 = No Response. For friendship, Q3, *Experience*, measured whether or not the participant had cross-race friends (1 = Yes, 2 = No). If the participant responded “no” the follow-up assessment in Q4, *Experience Justification*, asked the participant why he or she had no cross-race friends. Responses were coded as: 1 = Different Interests, 2 = Race, 3 = Too Few, 4 = Segregate themselves, and 5 = No Response. Q3 for dating, *Opportunity*, asked participants if they had the opportunity would they ever date someone of a different race (1 = Yes, 2 = No). If they responded no, the follow-up assessment in Q4, *Opportunity Justification*, asked participants why they would never date someone from a different race, given the opportunity. Responses were coded as: 1 = Different Interests, 2 = Race, 3 = Too Few, 4 = Not comfortable, and 5 = No Response. Q5, *Intimacy*, measured the level of intimacy the participant felt about his or her cross-race friends or dates by asking the participant whether or not he or she had brought this person home (1 = Yes, 2 = No). If the participant answered no, the follow-up assessment in Q6 *Intimacy Justification*, asked participants the reason behind not bringing the person home. Responses were coded in the following five categories: 1= Parents, 2= Too few, Had None, 3 = Not Close

Enough, 4 = Not allowed to have anyone over, and 5 = No Response / Not Applicable / Just Because.

For dating, participants were asked whether parents had ever reacted negatively because a person the participant was interested in was a different race (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment asked what kind of things parents have done to show their negative feelings. Responses were coded as: 1 = Supportive/Positive, 2 = Wrongness, Concerns with society, 3 = Safety/Jurisprudence, 4 = Limit type of relationship, 5 = Betrayal to race; Limit to within race, 6 = Negative racial statements, and 7 = No response. For both friendship and dating, Q7, *Message*, asked participants whether or not their parents had ever reacted negatively because a friend or date was a different race (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q8 *Nature of Message*, measured the method of communication from parents (1 = Directly, 2 = Indirectly, 3 = Both). Q9, *Expression of Message*, asked participants what their parents have said or done to indicate their feelings toward their choices in friends or dating partners. Responses were coded according to whether the expressions were positive, negative, or neutral (1 = Supportive/Positive, 2 = Wrongness, Concerns with society, 3 = Safety/Jurisprudence, 4 = Limit type of relationship, 5 = Betrayal to race; Limit to within race, 6 = Negative racial statements, and 7 = No response). In Q10, *Reaction*, participants were asked how they typically responded to their parents' negative messages (1 = Ignore, 2 = Comply, 3 = Talk, 4 = Subversion). And, in Q11, *Change*, participants were asked how their parents' opinions regarding their friendship and dating choices have changed over time. Responses were coded according to the following categories: 1 = No change, 2 = Express less, 3 = More negative, 4 = Express more, and 5 = More positive.

Parental Attitudes. Part III of the survey instrument, *Parental Attitudes*, measured adolescent perceptions of their parents' attitudes toward others who are a different race as well as their parents' attitudes regarding cross-race relationships (see Appendix K, *Parental Attitudes*, on the survey form). Participants were asked to judge their parents' racial attitudes and to relate how this impacts their decisions regarding cross-race relationships. They were also asked to relate specific messages they have heard from their parents and how these statements have influenced them. And, finally, participants were asked how their parents' views have changed as they have gotten older and the acceptability of parents expressing their views.

Dependent Measures and Coding Categories for Parental Attitudes. There were thirteen assessments in Part III of the survey (for a complete list of assessments in *Parental Attitudes*, see Appendix C). Q1, *Attitude Rating*, measured adolescents' perceptions of their parents' overall racial attitudes. Participants were asked "In general, how would you rate your parents' racial attitudes?" using a seven-point scale (1 = Very good, 7 = Very bad). In Q2, *Attitude Expression*, participants were then asked to justify their rating based on things their parents have done or said to give them this impression. Participants were asked "What have they said or indicated in their behavior to make you think that?" Responses were coded as the following: 1 = Negative Statements, 2 = Positive/Supportive Statements, 3 = Negative Demeanor, 4 = Positive Demeanor, and 5 = Neutral, Nothing.

Q3, *Friendship Attitude Rating*, measured the perception participants have about their parents' attitudes toward cross-race friendships. Using a seven-point scale, participants were asked "In general, what do you believe are your parents' feelings

regarding cross-race friendships?” (1 = Very good, 7 = Very bad). Similarly, in Q4 *Dating Attitude Rating*, participants were asked “In general, what do you believe are your parents’ feelings regarding cross-race dating?” (1 = Very good, 7 = Very bad).

Q5, *Direct Expression Judgment*, asked participants whether or not their parents have ever directly said or done anything regarding cross-race relationships. Participants were asked “Have your parents ever said or done anything *directly* to you regarding cross-race relationships?” (1 = Yes, 2 = No). For those who responded “yes”, the next assessment in Q6 *Direct Expression*, measured the type of direct statements expressed by parents. Participants were asked “If yes, what have they said?” Responses were coded according to the types of statements or reasons: 1 = Limit type of relationship, 2 = Negative Jokes, Comments, 3 = Forbidden, 4 = Wrongness, concern with society, 5 = Social Consequences, 6 = Betrayal to race, limit to own race, 7 = Positive, Supportive, and 8 = Nothing / No response. Q7, *Indirect Expression Judgment*, asked participants whether or not their parents had ever indirectly said or done anything regarding cross-race relationships. Participants were asked “Have your parents ever said or done anything *indirectly* to you regarding cross-race relationships?” (1 = Yes, 2 = No). For those who responded “yes”, the next assessment in Q8 *Indirect Expression*, measured the type of indirect statements expressed by parents. Participants were asked “If yes, what have they said?” Responses were coded according to the types of statements or reasons: 1 = Limit type of relationship, 2 = Negative Jokes, Comments, 3 = Forbidden, 4 = Wrongness, concern with society, 5 = Social Consequences, 6 = Betrayal to race, limit to own race, 7 = Positive, Supportive, and 8 = Nothing / No response. Q9, *Influence*, measured how parents’ expressions have influenced decisions participants have made

regarding cross-race relationships. Participants were asked “How have their messages influenced decisions you have made regarding cross-race relationships, if at all?”

Responses were coded as the following: 1 = Personal Choice, 2 = Subversion, 3 = Obey, 4 = Agree, 5 = No influence, 6 = Positive influence, and 7 = No response. Changes in expressions were measured in Q10, *Age*. Participants were asked “Do you feel your parents expressed their views on race more as you have gotten older?” (1 = Yes, 2 = No).

Q11, *Dating Importance*, measured the role parents played in whom the participant dates. Participants were asked “Overall, how important is your dating and choice of partners to your parents?” (1 = Very important, 5 = Not at all). Q12, *Expression Judgment*, measured the acceptability participants felt toward their parents expressing their personal views regarding race. Participants were asked “Do you believe it is alright or not alright for your parents to express their views regarding their beliefs about race?” (1 = Yes, 2 = No). And, finally, Q13, *Expression Justification*, measured the reasons for the answer they gave in the *Expression Judgment* assessment. Participants were asked “Why?” and responses were coded as the following: 1 = Personal choice, 2 = Parental care, 3 = Parental right, 4 = Parental opinion, 5 = Agree with opinion, 6 = Family, 7 = Moral, and 8 = No response.

Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes. Part IV of the survey instrument measured participants’ opinions regarding their rights to make decisions in their personal relationships (see Appendix K, *Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes*, on the survey form). Part IV was divided into three sections: Friendship, Dating, and Comparisons. Sections A and B (*Friendship* and *Dating*) asked participants about their rights versus their parents’ rights to make rules regarding their friendship and dating

choices. They were also asked about personal experiences they may have had in which they had the opportunity to date someone against their parents' wishes. In Section C, *Comparisons*, participants were asked to compare and evaluate the different relationships of friendship, dating, and marriage in order to ascertain whether or not participants differentiated the role their parents played in the choices they make regarding these relationships.

Dependent Measures and Coding Categories for Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes. Twelve assessments were asked for both Sections A and B (*Friendship and Dating*). The only difference between the two sections is the context in which the questions were asked. Five additional assessments were asked in Section B, *Dating* (For a complete list of assessments in Sections A and B of Part IV, see Appendix D).

Q1, *Rule Judgment*, measured the acceptability of parents to set rules about whom their adolescent is friends with or dates (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q2, *Rule Justification*, asked participants "Why?" Q3, *Rule Obligation Judgment*, measured how participants viewed their parents' obligation to set rules. Participants were asked "Do parents have an obligation to make a rule regarding X for their teenager?" (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q4 *Rule Obligation Justification*, asked participants their reasons behind their responses. Q5, *Rule Adherence*, measured whether or not participants felt the need to obey rules set by their parents regarding their friendship and dating choices. Participants were asked "Do teenagers have an obligation to follow the rule?" (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q6 *Rule Adherence Justification*, asked participants why they stated yes or no in answer to whether or not

they should obey rules. All responses to justifications were coded as: 1 = Safety, jurisprudence, 2 = Maturity, 3 = Parental Experience, 4 = Authority, 5 = Parental Guidance, 6 = Personal Choice, 7 = Consequences, 8 = Moral, and 9 = No response.

Q7, *Rule Change*, measured whether or not participants feel that the obligation to follow a rule changes with age. Participants were asked “Does this change with age?” (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q8 *Rule Change Justification*, asked participants the reason why they gave the previous answer (1 = Safety, jurisprudence, 2 = Maturity, 3 = Parental Experience, 4 = Authority, 5 = Parental Guidance, 6 = Personal Choice, 7 = Consequences, 8 = Moral, and 9 = No response).

Q9, *Conflict*, asked participants whether or not they have ever argued with their parents about their friendship or dating choices (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q10, *Conflict Topic*, asked participants what the argument was about. Responses were coded as the following: 1 = Race, 2 = Age, 3 = Bad Influence, 4 = Personal Choice, 5 = General Negative Feelings, 6 = No response.

In Q11, *Decision Judgment*, participants were asked who should make decisions regarding adolescents’ friendship and dating choices (1 = Parents, 2 = Adolescent, 3 = Both). The follow-up assessment in Q12, *Decision Justification*, asked participants the reason why they gave that answer. Responses were coded as the following: 1 = Safety, jurisprudence, 2 = Maturity, 3 = Parental Experience, 4 = Authority, 5 = Parental Guidance, 6 = Personal Choice, 7 = Consequences, 8 = Mutual decision, and 9 = No response.

The *Dating* section added four extra questions that were not asked in the *Friendship* section. These questions related to the perception the participant had of his or

her parents' approval regarding cross-race dating and the subsequent actions taken by the participant. Q13, *Dating Approval*, asked participants "If you had an opportunity to date someone of a different racial background than your own, would your parents...?" (1 = Approve, 2 = Disapprove, 3 = No Opinion). Q14, *Resistance*, measured participants' resistance to parental approval. Participants were asked "Would you continue to see the person even if your parents disapproved?" (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q15, *Resistance Justification*, asked participants "Why?" Responses were coded according to the following categories: 1 = Personal Choice, 2 = Moral, 3 = Conventional, 4 = Authority, Punishment, 5 = No response. Q16, *Resistance Change*, asked participants whether or not their answer to *Resistance* has changed as they have gotten older (1 = Yes, 2 = No).

In Section C, *Comparisons*, there were eight dependent measures that were in place to evaluate the role parents played in the different intimate relationships of friendship, dating, and marriage (for a complete list of assessments for Section C in Part IV, see Appendix E). Q1, *Friendship Comparison*, measured whether or not parents evaluated cross-race friendships differently from cross-race romantic relationships. Participants were asked "Do your parents' views regarding the racial background of an individual differ when it comes to dating versus friendship?" (1 = Yes, 2 = No). The follow-up assessment in Q2, *Friendship Comparison Justification*, asked participants "Why?" Q3, *Marriage Comparison*, measured whether or not parents viewed marriage differently from dating when race was involved. Participants were asked "Do your parents' views regarding the racial background of an individual differ when it comes to marriage versus dating?" (1 = Yes, 2 = No). Q4, *Marriage Comparison Justification*,

asked participants “Why?” Responses for both justifications were coded as the following: 1 = Social Consequences, 2 = Personal Choice, 3 = Moral, 4 = Seriousness of Relationship, 5 = No response. Q5 and Q6, *Relationship Adherence*, asked participants how likely they were to listen to their parents depending on the relationship being compared: dating versus friendship and marriage versus dating (1 = More likely, 2 = Less likely, and 3 = No difference). Q7 and Q8, *Relationship Adherence Justification*, asked the participant for the reasons behind their responses (1 = Social Consequences, 2 = Personal Choice, 3 = Moral, 4 = Seriousness of Relationship, 5 = No response).

Design

A within-subjects design was used. Gender (Male and Female), grade (9th and 12th graders), ethnicity (African-American, European-American, and Other), perceptions of intergroup contact (high and low), and perceptions of parents’ racial attitudes (positive, neutral, and negative) were between-subjects variables. Participants responded to all stimulus items. The same section order described was followed by all participants.

Chapter IV

Results

Hypotheses were tested by conducting repeated measures ANOVAs and MANOVAs. A recent review of existing published studies revealed that ANOVA models, instead of log-linear analytic procedures, are appropriate for this type of data due to the within-subjects (repeated measures) design (see Wainryb, Shaw, Laupa, & Smith, 2001). All follow-up tests to examine interaction effects were t-tests. Dichotomous responses were coded 1 or 2.

Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether ethnicity, gender, grade, perceptions of intergroup contact, and perceptions of parent attitude had an impact on adolescents' judgments or justifications. A series of ANOVA univariates was conducted on adolescents' judgments for each of the four sections of the questionnaire. Ethnicity, gender, grade, contact, and perception of parent attitude were all used as fixed variables to analyze each question in the survey. These analyses revealed significant group differences for certain questions.

Ethnicity

The breakdown of participants by ethnicity was as follows: African Americans, 29%; European-Americans, 42%; Asian-American, 7%; Hispanic-Latino, 6%; Biracial/Mixed, 10%; and, Other, 6%. Due to a low frequency of significant findings for the six individual ethnicities in preliminary analyses as well as a low percentage of participation from all ethnicities with the exception of African-American and European-American, ethnicities were collapsed into three categories. European-American ($n = 146$) and African-American ($n = 100$) remained. Asian-American, Hispanic-Latino, Biracial-

Mixed, and Other were collapsed into a third category called “Other” ($n = 101$), for a total of $N = 347$. All subsequent analyses for judgments and justifications were conducted using the new categories for ethnicity.

Gender and Grade

Preliminary analyses revealed several significant findings for both gender and grade. Therefore, these categories remained for all subsequent analyses for judgments and justifications.

Intergroup Contact

This study was designed to examine the relationship between adolescents’ perceptions of their experiences with intergroup contact and how they believe their parents have influenced their decisions regarding cross-race relationships. Using the Diversity Assessment Questionnaire (DAQ), Crystal, Killen, & Ruck (2005) developed an intergroup contact scale consisting of items that reflected adolescents’ perceptions of their intergroup contact in their school and neighborhood. This scale was utilized in the present study to measure the relationships between perception of intergroup contact and adolescents’ judgments and justifications about cross-race relationships.

To create a measure of intergroup contact, a principal axis factor analysis with a varimax rotation (Kaiser normalization) was performed on seven questions selected from the DAQ (Orfield and Kurlander, 2000). These seven factors were: 1) number of cross-race friends in school, 2) number of cross-race friends outside of school, 3) number of cross-race friends in neighborhood, 4) number of school friends who date interracially, 5) number of friends from neighborhood who date interracially, 6) level of diversity in school, and 7) level of diversity in neighborhood. The scree plot indicated that a two-

factor solution would best fit the data. Extracting two factors from the data resulted in the first factor having six variables with loadings above .30. The second factor did not show significance and was eliminated from the analyses. The six variables from the first factor were then combined into an Intergroup Contact scale, which had a Cronbach's alpha of .75, and thus these six factors were used to create an independent variable for intergroup contact in the present study. The intergroup contact variable was then collapsed into two categories, Low Contact ($n = 189$) and High Contact ($n = 158$).

Parent Attitudes

Preliminary analyses for the effect of parent racial attitudes on participant responses indicated significant findings for attitude rating. For the purpose of analyses, parent attitude was collapsed from seven categories into three categories: Negative, Neutral, and Positive.

Role of Diversity in Cross-Race Relationships

Cross-Race Friendships

Results examining the role of intergroup contact and perception of parent racial attitudes indicated that intergroup contact and *not* parent attitudes had an influence on the number of cross-race friends reported by participants in *Intergroup Contact, Part I*, of the questionnaire. It was hypothesized that participant perception of intergroup contact would have an effect on the number of cross-race friends they reported. A 3 (context: school, outside of school, neighborhood) X 2 (contact: low or high) MANOVA with repeated measures on number of cross-race friends in school, outside of school, and in neighborhoods was conducted. A main effect was found for context of friendship, $F(2, 346) = 105.06, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .24$. Participants reported more cross-race friends at school

($M = 3.41$) than in their neighborhoods ($M = 2.64$), $p < .001$. A significant difference was not found for number of cross-race friends outside of school. An interaction was also found for contact, $F(2, 346) = 14.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Participants with high contact were more likely to report having cross-race friends in school ($M = 3.80$), outside of school ($M = 3.60$), and in their neighborhoods ($M = 3.33$) than those with low contact for school ($M = 3.09$), outside of school ($M = 2.62$), and in their neighborhoods ($M = 2.06$), $ps < .001$, supporting the hypothesis that perception of intergroup contact would have an effect on number of cross-race friends across contexts. And, further, because participants reported more cross-race friends in school than in any other context, the results demonstrated that the school environment yielded a better chance of having cross-race friends (see Table 1 and Figure 1).

Follow-up paired samples t-tests examined perceived diversity of school and neighborhoods with reports of cross-race friendships. Significance was found for diversity of school and number of cross-race friends in school, $p < .001$. The more diversity reported by the participant resulted in more cross-race friendships in school. Likewise, significance was found for diversity of neighborhood and number of cross-race friends in neighborhood, $p = .017$, indicating that the more participants perceived their neighborhoods to be diverse, the more cross-race friends they reported.

Influence on Attitudes Toward Cross-Race Relationships

It was expected that perception of intergroup contact *and* perception of parents' racial attitudes would have an influence on attitudes toward cross-race relationships and number of cross-race friends, as reported in the Intergroup Contact measure. To test this expectation, a 3 (parent attitude: positive, neutral, and negative) X 2 (contact: low and

high) MANOVA was conducted on participants' attitudes with repeated measures on Personal Attitude (level of comfort in working with those from a different race, number of cross-race friends across contexts, number of friends in school and outside of school who date interracially, dating interracially despite parents' wishes, and reasons for defying parents). An interaction was found for contact, $F(4, 343) = 22.88, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$, but not for parent attitudes or for contact and parent attitudes together, thus partially supporting the hypothesis. Perception of intergroup contact but *not* perception of parent racial attitude had an effect on number of cross-race friends and dating partners as well as general attitudes toward interracial relationships.

Follow-up independent samples t-tests indicated that participants with high contact were significantly more likely to be comfortable working with others of a different race ($M_s = 1.31, 1.72$, for high and low contact, respectively), report more cross-race friends at school ($M_s = 3.79, 3.08$), report more cross-race friends outside of school ($M_s = 3.60, 2.62$), report more cross-race friends in their neighborhoods ($M_s = 3.32, 2.06$), report more school friends who dated interracially ($M_s = 3.22, 2.34$), and report more neighborhood friends who dated interracially ($M_s = 2.97, 1.73$), $p_s < .01$ (see Table 2 and Figure 2). No effect was found for cross-race dating against parents' wishes and the reasons for defying parents.

Perception of Diversity and Attitudes Toward Cross-Race Relationships

It was also predicted that adolescents' perception of diversity in schools and neighborhoods and the perception of parents' racial attitudes would have an effect on feelings toward intergroup relationships (personal attitudes: working with people from different backgrounds, having many cross-race friends, and having many friends from

school and neighborhoods who dated interracially). A 4 (school environment: none, few, half, most) X 3 (parent attitude: positive, neutral, and negative) X 4 (neighborhood environment: all, most, equal, few) MANOVA was conducted with repeated measures on personal attitudes. A main effect was found for personal attitudes, $F(5, 342) = 39.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. The only significant interaction found was for neighborhood, $F(15, 332) = 14.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Therefore, the hypothesis stating that all three factors would have an effect on participants' personal attitudes was partially supported.

In sum, results found for *Role of Diversity in Cross-Race Relationships* demonstrated that perception of intergroup contact, by itself, was more influential than in combination with perception of parent racial attitude on cross-race relationships. High contact, especially in the school environment, led to the greater likelihood that participants would report more cross-race friends across contexts, would have greater comfort in working with others of a different race, and would have more friends who dated interracially. Parent racial attitude had no effect on the frequency of cross-race relationships reported. Diversity of schools and neighborhoods also had an effect on the number of cross-race friends reported and levels of comfort in working with others of a different race. The more diverse the environment, the greater the number of cross-race relationships reported. Therefore, analyses on participant perception of intergroup contact demonstrated the significant role that contact plays in facilitating cross-race relationships. And, contrary to hypotheses, perception of parent racial attitude was found to have little effect on the chance that participants would engage in cross-race relationships.

Influences and Experiences

Influences on Friendship and Dating Choices

In order to test the target of influence in the friendship and dating choices made by participants, a 2 (gender: male and female) X 3 (race: European-American, African-American, and Other) X 2 (grade: 9th grade and 12th grade) MANOVA with repeated measures on *Influences* (society, peers, religion, parents, other) was conducted for friendship and dating. It was expected that peers would be named as the largest source of influence for friendships and parents for dating. A main effect was found for *Influences* on friendship choice, $F(4, 343) = 12.87, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$, and dating choice, $F(4, 343) = 11.45, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$, although follow-up tests revealed no significance for highest source of influence on either. When comparing sources of influence for friendship and dating in paired-samples t-tests, no significant differences were found. Sources of influence were virtually the same for dating and for friendship (see Table 3). Therefore, the hypothesis claiming that peers would be ranked as the highest source of influence on friendships and parents on dating was not supported.

An interaction for dating was found for Grade and Gender, $F(4, 343) = 3.69, p < .002, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Younger females ($M = 1.59$) were significantly more likely than older females ($M = 1.78$) to report that parents were their largest influence on dating partners, $p = .012$.

Perceptions of Opportunity and Experience

The opportunity to meet others of a different race was examined in relation to actual cross-race experiences in order to determine what the association was between opportunity and experience. It was expected that the likelihood of participants having cross-race friends (referred to as *Experience*) would depend upon the ease they felt they

had to meet people of a different race at school (referred to as *Potential*). A univariate on *Potential* and *Experience* was tested for friendship and for dating. An interaction between potential and experience was significant for friendship, $F(1, 342) = 12.25, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$, and for dating, $F(1, 331) = 22.77, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$, demonstrating that having the ease to make cross-race friends and having the opportunity to date someone of a different race was related to actual cross-race experiences.

Perceptions of Contact and Experience

To examine the role of intergroup contact, a 2 (contact: low, high) X 5 (Friendship and Dating Judgments: *Potential*, *Experience*, *Intimacy*, *Message*, *Negative Feelings*) ANOVA was conducted for friendship and dating. It was expected that those who reported high intergroup contact would be more likely than those reporting low contact to find it easy to make cross-race friends or date interracial, have cross-race friends or date interracial, bring cross-race friends or dates home, experience positive feedback from parents, and know that their parents had no negative feelings about their cross-race relationships. For Friendship, the only effect found was for *Intimacy*, $F(1, 337) = 19.71, p < .001$. Participants with high contact ($M = 1.09$) were more likely to bring cross-race friends home than those with low contact ($M = 1.28$), $p < .001$. For dating, an effect was found for *Potential*, $F(1, 334) = 9.98, p = .002$, and *Experience*, $F(1, 331) = 32.84, p < .001$. Participants with low contact ($M = 1.14$) were less likely to say that, given the opportunity, they would date someone of a different race, compared to those with high intergroup contact ($M = 1.04$), $p = .002$. They ($M = 1.65$) were also less likely to say that they had dated someone of a different race compared to those with high contact ($M = 1.34$), $p < .001$ (see Table 4). Thus, perception of intergroup contact did not

have much effect on actual cross-race experiences and only partially supported the hypothesis. Degree of intergroup contact played more of a role in establishing cross-race relationships, such as bringing a friend home or being willing to date interracial. It had no effect on how parents responded to these relationships.

Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Experience

Perception of parent racial attitude was examined in order to see if racial attitude played a role in participants' cross-race experiences. Like tests for intergroup contact, it was expected that participants who believed their parents had positive racial attitudes would be more likely than those with negative attitudes to answer the *Friendship* and *Dating Judgments* positively. A 2 (racial attitude: positive, negative) X 5 (Friendship and Dating Judgments) ANOVA was conducted. For friendship, the only effect found was for *Message*, $F(2, 335) = 44.85, p < .001$, with follow-up tests showing that participants who believed their parents had negative racial attitudes ($M = 1.47$) were more likely to say that their parents had reacted negatively to a cross-race friend than those who said their parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.94$), $p < .001$. For dating, perception of racial attitude had an effect on *Potential*, $F(2, 333) = 6.75, p = .001$, *Intimacy*, $F(2, 325) = 12.83, p < .001$, *Message*, $F(2, 329) = 41.35, p < .001$, and *Negative Feelings*, $F(2, 331) = 30.02, p < .001$. Participants who said their parents had negative racial attitudes ($M = 1.21$) were less likely than parents with positive attitudes ($M = 1.06$) to say that, given the opportunity, they would date someone of a different race, $p = .001$. They were also less likely to bring a cross-race date home ($M = 1.35$) in comparison to those who said their parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.08$), $p < .001$. Participants who believed their parents had negative racial attitudes ($M = 1.36$) were more likely to say

their parents had reacted negatively because a person they were interested in was from a different race than those who said their parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.89$), $p < .001$. And, finally, participants who said their parents had negative racial attitudes ($M = 1.55$) were more likely to say their parents had negative feelings toward their date because of his or her race than those whose parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.94$), $p < .001$ (see Table 5 and Figure 3).

Perceptions of Experiences with Intimacy

In order to find out why certain participants had never invited cross-race friends or dates to their homes, tests were conducted to find which reason was given most often for both friendship and dating. It was expected that parents would most likely be named as the reason for both friendship and dating. A 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender) MANOVA for *Intimacy Justification* (parents, too few, not close enough, none allowed over, just because) was conducted for friendship and dating. A main effect was found for *Intimacy Justification*, $F(4, 343) = 4.02$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$ in friendship, with the most often used reason being “not close enough” ($M = 1.59$). In paired samples t-tests, it was chosen more often than “parents” ($M = 1.84$), $p = .010$, “too few” ($M = 1.93$), $p < .001$, and “just because” ($M = 1.89$), $p = .001$. For dating, a main effect was also found for *Intimacy Justification*, $F(4, 343) = 11.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .29$. In this case, parents ($M = 1.36$) were listed most often as a reason not to bring cross-race dates home. In paired samples t-tests, “parents” was used significantly more often than “too few” ($M = 1.96$), $p < .001$, “not close enough” ($M = 1.88$), $p = .001$, “just because” ($M = 1.80$), $p = .005$, and “no one allowed over” ($M = 2.00$), $p < .001$. Thus, the hypothesis stating that parents would be used most often as a reason not to bring cross-race friends and dates home was

only partially supported. Parents were used as the reason significantly most often for dating but not for friendship (see Table 6 and Figure 4).

A main effect for race was found in friendship, $F(8, 339) = 1.97, p = .050, \eta_p^2 = .07$, showing that reasons given for not bringing cross-race friends home differed according to the race of the participant. In particular, European-Americans ($M = 1.31$) were more likely than African-Americans ($M = 1.65$) and Others ($M = 1.79$) to say that they were not close enough to cross-race friends to invite them to their homes, $p = .031, .008$.

An age effect was found for dating, $F(4, 343) = 2.84, p = .027, \eta_p^2 = .09$, with older students ($M = 1.17$) being more likely than younger students ($M = 1.64$) to list parents as the most often used reason for not inviting dates who were a different race to their homes, $p = .002$.

Intergroup Contact and Perceptions of Experiences with Intimacy

Perception of intergroup contact was next examined in order to see if it played a role in the reasons why participants did not bring cross-race friends and dates home. A 2 (contact) X 5 (*Intimacy Justification*) ANOVA was conducted for friendship and dating. It was expected that those participants who reported low intergroup contact would be more likely to say “parents” and “too few” were the reasons why they have not brought cross-race friends or dates home. No effect was found for perception of contact in friendship, however, an effect was found for parents, $F(1, 39) = 8.08, p = .007$, in the dating context. Those who reported high contact ($M = 1.14$) were more likely to say that parents were the reason they did not bring cross-race dates home in comparison to those who reported low contact ($M = 1.58$), $p = .007$, opposite to expectations. While parents

were chosen as the reason most often by those with low contact, they did not use it more than those with high contact. One possible explanation is that those who reported high contact were more likely to engage in cross-race relationships and therefore were more likely to encounter negative reactions from parents, avoiding the issue as best they could by not bringing cross-race dates home.

Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Experiences with Intimacy

In order to test the effect perception of parent racial attitude had on the reasons why participants did not bring cross-race friends or dates home, a 2 (racial attitude) X 5 (*Intimacy Justification*) ANOVA was conducted for friendship and dating. For friendship, an effect was found for parents, $F(2, 60) = 6.98, p = .002$. Those who said their parents had negative attitudes ($M = 1.44$) were more likely to say parents were the reason than those who said their parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.91$), $p = .001$. No significance was found for dating.

Perceptions of Parental Expression of Feelings

When examining the messages parents communicated to their children regarding cross-race relationships, the two types of relationships, friendship and dating, were compared in order to see if there was a difference in the messages participants said their parents expressed depending on the context of the relationship. It was expected that participants would report that their parents would be more concerned with safety and would use negative racial comments for friendship, but they would be more likely to say cross-race dating was wrong and stress the need to stay within your own race for dating. In paired samples t-tests, *Expression of Message* (supportive, societal concerns, safety, limit relationship, betrayal to race, and negative comments) was compared in friendship

and dating. Indeed, parents differed in the messages they expressed depending on whether they were talking about cross-race friendships or cross-race dating. Participants said that their parents were more likely to tell them directly that cross-race dating was wrong ($M = 1.96$) in comparison to cross-race friendships ($M = 2.00$), $p < .001$. In fact, they did not say cross-race friendships were ever wrong. In addition, participants said that their parents were more likely to use betrayal to race and staying within one's own race more often for cross-race dating ($M = 1.93$) than for friendships ($M = 1.98$), $p = .001$. Furthermore, with the exception of the most overt forms of reasoning used (betrayal to race and wrong), all other forms of reasoning went down in frequency with dating, while betrayal and wrongness increased in use for dating. Overall, according to participants, parents placed more emphasis on conventional reasoning, such as wrongness and betrayal to race, when it came to cross-race dating versus cross-race friendships, while means for friendships reflected the fact that they were discouraged by indirect lines of reasoning, such as concerns for safety and negative racial comments (see Table 7 and Figure 5).

Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Expression of Feelings

In order to test the effect perception of parent racial attitude had on the feelings parents expressed about cross-race relationships, a 2 (racial attitude) X 6 (*Expression of Message*: supportive, societal concerns, safety, limit relationship, betrayal to race, and negative comments) ANOVA was conducted for friendship and dating. For friendship, an effect was found for safety concerns, $F(2, 339) = 11.55$, $p < .001$ and for negative comments, $F(2, 339) = 21.92$, $p < .001$. Parents who were said to have negative attitudes ($M = 1.87$) were more likely to show their concerns about cross-race friends by

expressing concerns for safety more so than those whose parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.99$), $p < .001$. According to reports of participants, they ($M = 1.75$) were also more likely to make negative comments or jokes about cross-race friends than those whose parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.98$), $p < .001$. For dating, an effect was found for expressing societal concerns and the wrongness of the relationship, $F(2, 338) = 3.90$, $p = .021$, betrayal to race and limiting dates to within own race, $F(2, 339) = 13.79$, $p < .001$, and negative comments and racial jokes, $F(2, 339) = 22.24$, $p < .001$. Those who said their parents had negative racial attitudes ($M = 1.88$) were more likely to say that their parents expressed concerns about how wrong it was to date someone of a different race in comparison to those who said their parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.97$), $p < .001$. They were also more likely to say that their parents believed their cross-race dating was a betrayal to their own race ($M = 1.77$) in comparison to those whose parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.97$), $p < .001$. And, finally those who said their parents had negative racial attitudes ($M = 1.82$) were more likely to say that their parents made negative racial comments when expressing their feelings regarding cross-race dating in comparison to those who perceived their parents to have positive racial attitudes ($M = 1.99$), $p < .001$ (see Table 8, Figure 6, and Figure 7).

Reactions to Parents' Negative Feelings

Tests were run to examine how participants responded to parents' negative feelings about their cross-race relationships. It was expected that adolescents would ignore parents or express their views in reaction to their parents' negative feelings regarding their cross-race friendships and would be more likely to comply with parents' wishes in their cross-race dating experiences. A 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender)

MANOVA with repeated measures on *Reaction* (ignore parents, express views, end relationship, end but remain friends in secret, agree) for friendship and dating was conducted. No main effect was found for friendship. However, a main effect for *Reaction* was found for dating, $F(4, 343) = 4.47, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .12$, with follow-up tests indicating that participants chose to ignore parents most often ($M = 1.47$) in comparison to all other reactions, $ps < .001$. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported for either friendship or dating. Participants were no more likely to ignore parents or express views than react in any other manner when it came to their friendships. And, unexpectedly, they were more likely to ignore parents than comply with them when it came to their dating experiences.

For dating, a main effect was also found for gender, $F(4, 343) = 4.70, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$. Specifically, males ($M = 1.72$) were more likely to say that they would end a relationship in compliance to parents' wishes than females ($M = 1.96$) would, $p = .020$.

Intergroup Contact and Reactions to Parents' Negative Feelings

Examinations on intergroup contact were conducted on *Reaction* in both friendship and dating in order to see if it had any effect on how participants reacted to their parents' negative messages and feelings. In a 2 (contact) X 5 (*Reaction*: ignore, end relationship, talk, comply but see in secret, agree with parents) ANOVA the only effect found was for agree with parents in the dating context, $F(1, 44) = 4.88, p = .032$. Those who reported low contact ($M = 1.82$) were more likely to say that they agreed with parents than those who reported high contact ($M = 2.00$), $p = .032$. While the majority of participants, both low and high, said that they would ignore parents, perception of intergroup contact did indicate a difference between those who said they agreed with

parents and those who did not say they agreed. Therefore, perception of contact did have an impact on the probability that participants would agree with parents and their feelings regarding cross-race dating. Similar tests run on perception of parent attitude did not detect any significant differences.

In sum, analyses on *Influences and Experiences*, revealed contradictory findings regarding the influence of parents and their messages on the choices adolescents make regarding their cross-race relationships. Adolescents did not name any one source of influence more highly than another when it came to their friendship and dating choices. While parents were listed most highly for friendship and peers for dating, the differences between them and other sources of influence were not significantly different enough.

Ease in making friends and having the opportunity to date someone of a different race did impact whether or not participants had engaged in these cross-race relationships. By adding the role of intergroup contact, it was found that perception of contact also impacted the probability that a participant had cross-race friends, would date someone of a different race, and had already dated interracially, again demonstrating the importance of intergroup contact on engaging in cross-race relationships. Perception of parent attitude had more of an effect on the actual experiences of cross-race relationships, especially cross-race dating. With the exception of ever having dated someone of a different race, follow-up tests for dating experiences showed that participants whose parents had negative racial attitudes were less likely to date someone of a different race, less likely to bring that date home, more likely to have negative reactions from parents concerning the relationship, and more likely to know that their parents had negative feelings regarding the relationship. This is in contrast to friendship experiences, where

the only effect perception of racial attitude had was on the chance of their parents expressing negative feelings toward friends. Thus, more things must be considered and obstacles to be overcome when entering a cross-race dating relationship compared to a cross-race friendship.

When it came to bringing cross-race friends and dates home, adolescents said that in their friendships they were not close enough to their cross-race friends to bring them home. Yet, participants whose parents had negative attitudes were more likely to say their parents were the reason they did not bring these friends home. Parents were also the main reason participants gave for not bringing cross-race dates home, especially those who reported high intergroup contact. When parents expressed negative feelings toward a cross-race relationship, participants did not show differences in how they responded for friendships, but they did choose to ignore parents most often when it came to dating. Adolescents were most likely to say that their parents' negative messages had no influence on the choices they made in their personal relationships, older students more so than younger students. The following results will move from parent influence on personal cross-race experiences by adolescents to results on hypotheses regarding the nature and expression of parent racial attitudes, specifically.

Expressions of Parent Racial Attitudes

Ratings of Attitudes and Feelings About Cross-Race Relationships

In order to test the effect perception of parent racial attitude had on how participants rated their parents' feelings regarding cross-race relationships (referred to as *Friendship* and *Dating Attitude Rating*), an independent samples t-test was conducted first on *Friendship Attitude Rating* (1 – Very Good, 7 – Very Bad) and *Attitude*, finding

that parents who were said to have negative attitudes averaged their ratings of cross-race friendships from Okay to Neutral ($M = 3.25$), while parents who were described as having positive attitudes averaged their ratings of cross-race friendships to be Very Good to Good ($M = 1.54$), $p < .001$. For *Dating Attitude Rating* and *Attitude*, parents who were described with negative attitudes averaged their ratings of cross-race dating from Neutral to Little Bad ($M = 4.93$), while parents who were described as having positive attitudes averaged their ratings of cross-race dating from Good to Okay ($M = 2.32$), $p < .001$.

When comparing the overall rating scales for friendship with those for dating, cross-race dating ($M = 2.87$) was rated significantly more negative than cross-race friendships ($M = 1.89$), $p < .001$. Similar tests on the effect contact had on parents' attitudes toward cross-race relationships revealed no significant connection between degree of contact and how participants rated their parents' attitudes toward cross-race relationships.

Perceptions of Expressions of Parent Racial Attitude

Perception of parents' racial attitudes and the means by which parents communicate these attitudes to their adolescents were examined. It was predicted that adolescents who rated their parents' racial attitudes to be neutral to negative would be more likely to give examples of indirect negative messages. A 3 (racial attitude) X 5 (*Attitude Expression*: negative statements, positive statements, negative demeanor, positive demeanor, general/neutral statements) ANOVA was conducted, finding significance for negative statements, $F(2, 337) = 51.05$, $p < .001$, positive statements $F(2, 337) = 7.47$, $p = .001$, positive demeanor $F(2, 337) = 27.99$, $p < .001$, and neutral statements $F(2, 337) = 14.20$, $p < .001$. Follow-up tests showed that parents with negative attitudes were more likely to make negative statements ($M = 1.32$) than those

with positive attitudes ($M = 1.89$), $p < .001$. Parents with positive attitudes were more likely to make positive statements ($M = 1.83$) and display positive demeanor ($M = 1.56$) than those with negative attitudes ($M = 2.00, 2.00$), $ps = .003, < .001$. Therefore, perception of negative attitudes was qualified most often with examples of direct negative statements rather than the expected indirect route illustrated by negative demeanor. It was the parents who were perceived to have positive attitudes who expressed them most often through indirect means, such as positive demeanor.

Means of Perceptions of Parental Expression: Direct or Indirect

In order to examine the manner in which parents communicated their feelings regarding race, a series of hypotheses were tested on direct and indirect means of communication. A 2 (type of expression: direct and indirect) X 3 (racial attitude: positive, neutral, and negative) MANOVA with repeated measures on type of expression was conducted. A main effect was found for type of expression, $F(1, 346) = 5.21$, $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, with follow-up tests indicating that more participants said their parents expressed themselves directly ($M = 1.80$) rather than indirectly ($M = 1.85$), $p = .013$. While it was predicted that adolescents who rated their parents' racial attitudes to be neutral to negative would be more likely to report that their attitudes were expressed indirectly versus directly, perception of parents' racial attitudes had no bearing on how parents expressed themselves.

Messages Associated with Direct and Indirect Expressions

Messages regarding cross-race relationships were analyzed in order to investigate whether the types of messages differed according to how they were expressed, directly or indirectly. It was expected that participants who said their parents sent direct messages

would be more likely to use direct reasons, such as forbidding the relationship or expressing the wrongness of it, when explaining their approval or disapproval of cross-race relationships. A 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender) MANOVA with repeated measures on *Direct Expression* (limit relationships, negative comments, forbidden, wrongness, betrayal to race, positive statements) was conducted. A main effect was found for *Direct Expression* $F(6, 341) = 3.72, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .01$, with follow-up tests indicating that betrayal to race was used most often as a negative message and second most often overall ($M = 1.97$), next to positive statements ($M = 1.96$). Participants reported that it was used significantly more often than limit relationship, $p = .002$, negative comments, $p = .020$, and wrongness, $p = .020$. Thus, the hypothesis stating that examples of direct negative messages by parents would include statements forbidding the relationship or expressions about its wrongness was not supported. Of those who did not use positive statements, participants reported that the largest negative concern was over feelings about betraying one's own race and limiting relationships to one's own race (see Table 9). Similar tests run on indirect messages revealed no significant findings, indicating that no particular indirect messages were expressed any more or less when it came to general attitudes toward cross-race relationships.

For direct messages, a main effect was found for race, $F(9, 338) = 2.12, p = .013, \eta_p^2 = .01$, gender, $F(5, 342) = 2.53, p = .019, \eta_p^2 = .01$, and grade, $F(1, 346) = 8.30, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .02$. European-Americans ($M = 1.95$) were more likely to say that their parents forbade cross-race relationships than African-Americans and Others ($M_s = 2.00$), who both said that their parents never expressed any messages forbidding them to date outside of their race, $p_s = .017$. Males ($M = 1.99$) were more likely than females ($M =$

1.93) to say their parents used positive direct statements regarding cross-race relationships, $p = .002$. Also, younger students ($M = 1.98$) were more likely to say that parents expressed messages concerned with betraying their race more so than older students ($M = 1.94$), $p = .031$, while older students ($M = 1.94$) were more likely to say their parents used direct positive statements regarding cross-race relationships more so than younger students ($M = 1.98$), $p = .038$.

Adolescents' Reactions to Direct and Indirect Expressions

Type of expression (direct or indirect) was also examined in order to study whether adolescents reacted differently depending on how they perceived their parents to express their racial attitudes. A 2 (Grade) X 3 (Race) X 2 (Gender) MANOVA was conducted with repeated measures on *Direct* and *Indirect Expression*. For direct expression, it was expected that adolescents would be more likely to continue seeing the person or to see the person in secret, while indirect expression of messages would yield children who were more likely to consider parents' views. No significance was found for either means of expression, indicating that neither type of expression by parents influenced adolescent attitudes or decision-making for friendship choice or dating choice.

In further analyses, it was expected that adolescents whose parents expressed themselves indirectly would be more likely to say it was alright for parents to express views, while parents who used direct means to express themselves would be more likely to say that it was not alright for parents to express views. An ANOVA was conducted on the variables labeled *Indirect* and *Direct Expression Judgment* and *Expression Judgment*. For direct expression, no significance was found. However, differences were found for indirect expression and how participants felt about parents expressing their views, $F(1,$

346) = 5.08, $p = .025$. Contrary to expectations, those whose parents expressed themselves indirectly were more likely to say that it was *not* alright for parents to express views ($M = 1.14$) versus those who said it was alright ($M = 1.27$).

In order to examine if reasons differed as to why it was alright or not alright, a 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender) MANOVA was conducted with repeated measures on *Expression Justification* (personal choice, parent care, parent right, parent opinion, agree, consideration of family, and moral) for indirect and direct messages. A main effect was found for *Expression Justification* using indirect means, $F(6, 341) = 2.25$, $p = .040$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, and direct means, $F(6, 341) = 6.65$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Follow-up tests indicated that parents who expressed themselves indirectly were more likely to have children who said parents had the right to express views because they had the right to their own opinion ($M = 1.76$). It differed significantly from those who said they agreed with the parents ($M = 1.98$), $p = .006$ and those who said their family's wishes must be considered ($M = 2.00$), $p = .002$. Like *Indirect Expression Judgment*, participants whose parents used direct means of communicating said that parents had the right to their own opinion ($M = 1.65$) more often than any other justification used. Comparisons showed that it was chosen more often than personal choice ($M = 1.88$), $p = .004$, parent care ($M = 1.83$), $p = .023$, parent right ($M = 1.87$), $p = .015$, agree with parents ($M = 1.97$), $p < .001$, consideration of family ($M = 1.99$), $p < .001$, and moral ($M = 1.91$), $p = .001$ (see Table 10). Thus, while participants did not differ in their responses of whether it was alright or not alright for parents to express their views directly regarding race and that it was not alright for them to express them indirectly, they did say that parents had the personal freedom to express their opinions regardless of how the attitude was expressed.

Influence of Direct and Indirect Expressions

Type of expression was also examined in order to test whether influence on adolescents differed according to the type of expression used by parents. It was expected that participants who reported that their parents sent direct messages would be more likely to use personal choice and moral reasoning when expressing their freedom to make their own decisions regarding their personal relationships, while those who reported that their parents expressed themselves indirectly would be more likely to agree or say their parents had a positive influence. *Direct Expression* was examined with repeated measures on *Influence* (personal choice, subversion, obey, agree, none, positive). No relationship was found for direct expression and its influence on adolescents, however, a relationship was found for *Indirect Expression*, $F(3, 344) = 42.77, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$. Those participants who said their parents expressed themselves indirectly ($M = 1.63$) were more likely than all others to say that their parents had no influence on their choices in their personal relationships, $ps < .001$.

Influence and Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude

Influence was also tested in order to examine the effect perception of parent racial attitude had on decisions participants made regarding cross-race relationships. A 2 (racial attitude) X 6 (*Influence*: personal choice, subversion, obey, agree, none, positive) ANOVA was conducted. An effect was found for subversion, $F(2, 339) = 6.99, p = .001$, obey, $F(2, 339) = 6.99, p = .001$, and none, $F(2, 339) = 8.83, p < .001$, indicating that racial attitude played a role in how participants said they were influenced by parent messages. Similar to tests run on indirect expressions, most of the participants said they were not influenced at all by their parents' messages regarding race. This was especially

true for those who said their parents had negative attitudes ($M = 1.82$) more so than those who said their parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.97$), $p < .001$. Those who reported that their parents had negative attitudes ($M = 1.96$) were also more likely to say they would use subversion and see a person in secret compared to those whose parents had positive attitudes ($M = 2.00$), $p = .001$. And, finally, participants who reported that their parents had negative attitudes ($M = 1.96$) were more likely to say they would obey parents than those who described their parents as having positive attitudes ($M = 2.00$), $p = .001$. Thus, participants who described their parents as having negative attitudes said, on the one hand, that they were not influenced at all by their parents' messages. On the other hand, they were the ones who were more likely to use subversion to get around parents and to obey parents in comparison to those whose parents had positive attitudes (see Table 11).

In summary, results for *Expression of Parent Racial Attitudes* demonstrated that the nature of parent messages, whether expressed directly or indirectly according to participants, bore little influence on the attitudes and choices children made in their personal relationships. Yet, differences were found in how parents expressed their concerns about cross-race relationships depending on whether parents were referring to cross-race friendships or cross-race dating. According to participants, parents used conventional reasoning most often to express their concerns with cross-race dating, such as messages about these relationships being wrong, concerned with what others would think, and that it would be a betrayal to their own race. Concerns with cross-race friendships were more indirect in nature, such as concerns for personal safety and negative racial comments or jokes. Participants reported that parents most often

expressed their own feelings about race directly to their children, and used this same direct means to convey their feelings regarding cross-race dating. The very nature of the type of expressions used in each of these relationships demonstrated that parents were more direct in expressing their concerns for cross-race dating versus cross-race friendship and that they differentiated between the two relationships when it came to the messages they expressed. However, the manner in which they delivered these messages, directly in most cases, had no influence on personal opinion regarding cross-race relationships, according to participants.

Decision-Making and Conflicts in Relationships

Decision-Making in Friendships and Dating

Questions regarding decision-making in friendships and dating relationships was examined in order to see how adolescents viewed the role of parents in their personal relationships. It was expected that adolescents would state that they should make decisions regarding both their friends and dating partners rather than their parents. A 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender) MANOVA with repeated measures on *Decision Judgment* (parents, teenager, both) was made for both. A main effect was found for *Decision Judgment* in friendships, $F(2, 345) = 396.95, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .57$ and in dating, $F(2, 345) = 284.96, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .50$. Following expectations, participants for both were most likely to say that teenagers should make decisions regarding their friendship and dating choices ($M = 1.16, 1.19$) rather than parents ($Ms = 1.93$) or both parents and teenagers ($M = 1.91, 1.89$), $ps < .001$ (see Table 12). Follow-up tests comparing friendship and dating found no differences, with participants believing that teenagers should be the ones to make their own decisions. In addition, contrary to expectations,

older participants were no more likely than younger participants to say parents had the right to set rules.

It was predicted that personal choice would be used most often as a reason why adolescents should make all decisions regarding their personal relationships for friendship and dating. A 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender) MANOVA was conducted on *Decision Justification* (safety, maturity, parent experience, authority, parent guidance, personal choice, consequences, mutual decision). A main effect for *Decision Justification*, $F(2, 345) = 204.14, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .40$, was found for friendship and for dating, $F(2, 345) = 149.38, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$. Personal Choice was chosen most often as the reason teenagers should make their own decisions regarding their friendship choices ($M = 1.46$) and dating choices ($M = 1.54$), more so than every other justification used, $ps < .001$. In comparisons of relationships, participants were more likely to use personal choice as a reason why teenagers should make their own decisions when it came to friendship ($M = 1.45$) versus dating ($M = 1.54$), $p = .001$. Thus, personal choice was used most often for both friendship and dating, supporting the hypothesis. However, when the two relationships were compared, it was used less often for dating than for friendship (see Table 13).

Age Effect of Rules

Of those who believed parents' rights to set rules changed with age, analyses were conducted to examine whether reasons used by participants also changed with age. It was expected that older adolescents who said that the right to set rules and the obligation to follow them does change with age would qualify their responses with conventional and safety concerns. A 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender) MANOVA with repeated measures

on *Change Justification* (safety, maturity, parent experience, authority, parent guidance, personal choice, consequences, no response) was conducted for friendship and dating. A main effect for friendship, $F(2, 345) = 122.30, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .30$, and for dating, $F(2, 345) = 82.42, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .21$, was found for *Change Justification*. Maturity ($M = 1.56, M = 1.67$) was chosen more often as the reason why rules changed with age for friendship and for dating, more so than any other justification used, $ps < .001$. For friendship, a main effect was found for grade, $F(2, 345) = 3.74, p = .019, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Older students ($M = 1.49$) were more likely than younger students ($M = 1.62$) to use maturity as a reason why setting rules and following them changed with age, $p = .022$. No age effect was found for dating. Thus, contrary to expectations, older students were no more likely than younger students to use conventions and safety concerns to justify their responses. In fact, they were much more likely to use maturity and personal choice than any other reasoning for both friendship and dating. In a comparison of relationships, maturity was the only justification that differed significantly for friendship compared to dating. Participants were more likely to say that maturity allowed rules to be changed and the obligation to follow them lessened with age for friendship ($M = 1.50$) compared to dating ($M = 1.64$), $p < .001$.

Conflicts and Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude

Perception of parent racial attitude was examined in order to test what effect it had on whether participants have ever argued with parents about their friendship and dating choices. A 2 (racial attitude) X 2 (*Friendship Conflict*: yes, no) X 2 (*Dating Conflict*: yes, no) ANOVA was conducted. An effect was found for *Friendship Conflict* but not for *Dating Conflict*, indicating that racial attitude had an effect on arguments

about friendship choices but not on dating choices. Those who believed their parents had negative attitudes ($M = 1.49$) were more likely than those who believed their parents had positive attitudes ($M = 1.71$) to say that they have argued with their parents about their friendship choices, $p = .004$. Further tests did not reveal any significant relationship between parent racial attitude and what the arguments were about. In addition, no significance was found in general comparisons of relationships, meaning participants were no more likely to have a conflict with parents over friendships than they were over dating relationships.

Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitudes and Comparisons of Relationships

Tests were conducted on the effect perception of racial attitude would have on evaluating different cross-race relationships. A 2 (racial attitude) X 2 (*Friendship Comparison: yes, no*) X 2 (*Marriage Comparison: yes, no*) ANOVA was conducted. An effect was found for both *Friendship Comparison*, $F(2, 304) = 13.48, p < .001$, and *Marriage Comparison*, $F(2, 298) = 9.81, p < .001$, indicating that perception of racial attitude did have an effect on how parents viewed the different relationships. Those who perceived their parents to have negative attitudes ($M = 1.56$) were more likely to say their parents' views regarding the racial background of an individual differed when it came to dating versus friendship in comparison to those who perceived their parents to have positive attitudes ($M = 1.87$), $p < .001$. Likewise, those who believed their parents had negative racial attitudes ($M = 1.55$) were more likely than those who believed their parents had positive racial attitudes ($M = 1.84$) to say that their parents' views regarding the racial background of an individual differed when it came to marriage versus dating, $p < .001$ (see Table 14).

In order to examine how participants viewed different types of cross-race relationships, tests were conducted on questions regarding relationship comparisons. It was predicted that participants would view marriage differently from friendship and dating when race was involved, stating that they were more likely to consider social and familial consequences when it came to marriage versus friendship and dating. A 2 (grade) X 3 (race) X 2 (gender) MANOVA with repeated measures on *Friendship Comparison Justification* and *Marriage Comparison Justification* (social consequences, personal choice, moral, seriousness of relationship, no difference) was conducted. A main effect was found for both friendship, $F(3, 344) = 24.46, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .08$ and marriage, $F(3, 344) = 13.12, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Contrary to expectations, participants chose personal choice most often as the reason why they would not listen to parents' wishes when it came to their personal relationships ($M = 1.78, 1.83$). Personal choice was chosen more often than every other justification, $ps < .001$. Thus, the hypothesis stating that adolescents would be more likely to consider social consequences and the seriousness of the relationship for marriage in comparison to dating was not supported.

In sum, results for *Decision-Making and Conflicts in Relationships* showed that adolescents believed their personal relationships to be within their personal domain and not under the control of parents, often more so for friendship than for dating. Teenagers were chosen most often as the individuals who should make choices in their personal relationships. Personal choice was used most often as the reason why they should make their own decisions. Results also showed that parents had more of a right to make rules for dating versus friendship, with older participants more likely to say that these rules and the obligation to follow them changed with age due to the maturity of the adolescent.

Results indicated that perception of parent racial attitude had an effect on comparisons of relationships. Parents with negative attitudes were more likely to differentiate between friendship and dating and dating and marriage. Personal choice was also used most often in comparisons of friendship, dating, and marriage. Participants believed that, despite disapproval from their parents, they would be less likely to listen to their wishes because they should be the ones to make decisions regarding these relationships.

Chapter V

Discussion

Following movements and laws to desegregate our schools, neighborhoods, and businesses, the last three decades in the United States have been witness to fundamental changes in the way people of different backgrounds and ethnicities have been forced to, in some instances, and accustomed to, in others, live, learn, and work with individuals who are different from themselves in appearance and background (Orfield, 2000).

Results found in research on intergroup contact has demonstrated that individuals who have contact with others who are different from themselves are more likely to have better racial attitudes as they get older, are more comfortable working with people from different ethnicities, and maintain lower prejudice levels into adulthood when they are put in positions to work with people of varying backgrounds and identities (Schofield, 1995).

Cross-race friendships have been found to be significant predictors for reduction of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Schofield, 1995; Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2002; Slavin & Cooper, 1999). Yet, even if intergroup contact is maintained over time as children get older, cross-race friendships decline with age as children approach adolescence (Aboud, et al., 2002; Graham & Cohen, 1997; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987b). The focus of the present study looked at one predictor of influence on this decline in cross-race relationships, parents. The influence parents have in their adolescents' cross-race relationships was examined in order to determine how this influence is expressed in the relationships and how it shapes the attitudes adolescents have toward their own cross-race relationships and experiences, whether it be through adolescents' perceptions of

intergroup contact, perceptions of their parents' racial attitudes, or in the manner and content of their parents' messages regarding race and cross-race relationships.

The results from the study demonstrated that adolescents' perceptions of intergroup contact and their perceptions of parent racial attitudes shape the personal cross-race experiences of adolescents in different ways, one shaping the opportunity to engage in cross-race relationships and the other to shape the experiences in cross-race relationships. Demonstrating the importance of these two conditions in the analyses, few of the findings resulted in significance when perceptions of contact and parent racial attitudes were removed from analyses of personal experiences. Furthermore, when the two factors were examined together, none of the analyses revealed an interaction between the two, demonstrating that these two conditions result in separate outcomes, affecting cross-race relationships separately but not together. The present study also added to the literature on intergroup relationships in its comparisons of cross-race friendships and cross-race dating, which had previously never been examined together. The comparisons were made in order to determine if the two relationships are treated differently by adolescents and their parents. Indeed, perceptions of intergroup contact and parents' racial attitudes were not necessary in the analyses to demonstrate that parents do treat these two relationships differently, both in how they express themselves and what they say. The following section will focus specifically on those findings for adolescent perceptions of intergroup contact. Subsequent sections will discuss the role adolescents' perceptions of parents' racial attitudes and parents' messages play in their children's cross-race relationships.

Intergroup Contact and the Development of Attitudes

One goal of the present study was to examine adolescents' perceptions of intergroup contact in order to study its relationship to the development of adolescents' attitudes toward cross-race relationships. As expected, adolescents' perception of intergroup contact related to their attitudes toward cross-race relationships, even without the support of parents and was repeatedly found to be directly related to the establishment of these relationships.

Perceptions of Intergroup Contact and Its Influence on Intergroup Relationships

Dubois and Hirsch (1990) found that the number of cross-race children living in a neighborhood and the number of cross-race children in classrooms were related to the number of cross-race friends reported by children. The more balanced a classroom is with respect to the number of children from different groups, the more likely it would be that cross-race friendships would form (Astin, 1982; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; Schofield, 1995; Stephan & Stephan, 1984, 1996), and the frequency of cross-race friendships would be related to the number of potential cross-race friends (Clark & Ayers, 1992; Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a; Howes & Wu, 1990; Shrum et al., 1988). Findings, here, supported past research and added adolescents as yet another group who benefits from intergroup contact, a group who had previously never been examined within the context of intergroup contact theory. Results showed that even adolescents are affected by their perceptions of intergroup contact, leading them to have positive intergroup attitudes and greater comfort in working with others of a different race.

Not only did perceptions of high intergroup contact lead more participants to report cross-race friendships, but it also had an effect on intimacy within cross-race

friendships and to experiences participants have had engaging in cross-race dating relationships. More participants said that they had brought cross-race friends home, that they had dated interracially, and that they would date interracially if given the opportunity. These findings were novel because previous research had focused mostly on whether or not participants had cross-race friends (Clark & Ayers, 1992; Hallinan & Smith, 1985; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987a; Howes & Wu, 1990; Shrum et al., 1988). The findings here did not simply look at reports of friendships, but it also examined how intimate participants were with their cross-race friends by asking them to their homes. In addition, previous research had never added the element of romantic cross-race relationships in their examinations of intergroup contact theory. Not only did perceptions of intergroup contact lead to a greater number of cross-race relationships for friendship and dating, supporting the findings of Yancey (1998), but it also led to more participants being open to the idea of cross-race dating if the opportunity presented itself and to surround themselves with friends who had similar attitudes to cross-race dating.

Perceptions of Intergroup Contact and the Role of Authority

Previous research on the sanction of authority within intergroup contact theory had never specifically looked at the role of parents and their impact on the attitudes children held toward other ethnicities. While the findings indicated that perceptions of intergroup contact did not have an effect on cross-race friendships, it did lead to the greater likelihood that parents would be named as a reason to not bring cross-race dates to their homes, albeit, it was not the type of contact that was expected to have an effect. Perceptions of *high* contact, not low, led to the greater likelihood that parents would be named most often as the reason why participants did not bring cross-race dates home. It

is possible that perceptions of high intergroup contact led to more instances of negative feedback from parents. If higher contact led to a greater chance of dating interracially, as found with questions regarding personal experiences, then it would stand to reason that it would also lead to more occasions to hear or perceive negative feedback from parents. Furthermore, it demonstrates that parents treat cross-race friendships and dating differently, a detail discussed more below.

While the majority of participants said they would ignore their parents' feelings about their cross-race relationships, adolescents' perceptions of low contact had an effect on those who said they agreed with parents' opinions, demonstrating the possibility that less contact gave less opportunity to experience the possibility or to be exposed to cross-race dating. Less opportunity, or potential, leads to more agreement or likeness of thought. Conflict in thinking is not likely when opportunity for conflict does not exist. Personal experience plays a role in shaping intergroup attitudes. Knox et al. (2000) found that the majority of those who had cross-race dated would do so again. Those who had not dated interracially were less open to the possibility of it. The same could be said of seeing others engage in cross-race relationships. The more contact one has leads to the better chance of seeing cross-race relationships, thus normalizing the relationship. Without it, one would see it as odd and be more likely to agree with parents. Levin et al. (2003) found in a longitudinal design that college students with more ingroup friends had more negative attitudes at the end of college. Less intergroup contact led to more negative attitudes. If parents expressed negative attitudes, as they did for participants responding to this question, little intergroup contact could lead to the lack of occasion to

find fault with parents' attitudes, leading to the greater chance of agreeing with their position.

In sum, perceptions of intergroup contact supported previous research on intergroup contact theory by demonstrating that high intergroup contact leads to higher reports of cross-race relationships and better attitudes toward participating in these relationships, adding to previous research which had only looked at young children's friendships and the effect of friendships on adult attitudes. Furthermore, parents, as the role of authority, played an influential role in adolescents' decisions to bring cross-race dates home and the chance of their agreeing with their parents' feelings toward cross-race relationships. High contact was shown to lead to the greater chance of cross-race dating as well as the greater chance that parents would be named as a reason cross-race dates were not brought home. This indicates that despite better attitudes toward the more intimate relationship of cross-race dating and the willingness to engage in the relationship, participants were still hesitant to explore the intimate act of bringing their dates home to meet their families due to their parents' feelings toward cross-race dating, an experience not felt for cross-race friendships. In turn, perceptions of low contact led to attitudes similar to that of parents, demonstrating that low contact not only leads to more negative attitudes toward cross-race relationships but those attitudes mimic those of parents due to less opportunity to see their norms questioned and thus overturned. The following section will examine the role of perceptions of parents' racial attitudes on the experiences participants had with cross-race relationships.

Perception of Parents' Racial Attitudes and Intergroup Relationships

Another goal of the present study was to examine the impact adolescents' perceptions of parents' racial attitudes had on the decisions and experiences of their children's cross-race relationships. In contrast to adolescents' perceptions of intergroup contact, which had an effect on the formation of cross-race relationships, adolescents' perceptions of parents' racial attitudes had an effect on the experiences adolescents had in their cross-race relationships. These experiences and the influence perceptions of parents' racial attitudes had differed according to the type of relationship.

Cross-Race Friendships and Perceptions of Parents' Racial Attitudes

Previous research on cross-race friendships focused on individual factors that played a role in the choices adolescents make in their cross-race friendships. The present study added to the literature on cross-race friendships by examining the issue in the context of differences in quality, conformity, and parenting style together rather than independently in separate studies.

For cross-race friendships, perceptions of negative attitudes in parents were associated with parents' negative feelings toward their children's cross-race friends. Parents were also named most often as the reason why adolescents who believed their parents had negative racial attitudes did not bring cross-race friends home, a result of how negative feelings toward cross-race friends could impact intimacy within a cross-race friendship. Participants distanced themselves from the possibility of intimacy in their cross-race friendships, with perceptions of parents' racial attitudes being a specific contributing factor.

If bringing a friend home can be considered an act of intimacy in a friendship, then, similar to the work conducted by Aboud et al. (2002), cross-race friendships appear

to lack this level of intimacy both for perceptions of negative parent racial attitudes and in the overall findings for cross-race friendships, where “not close enough” was used most often as a reason not to bring cross-race friends home. Aboud et al. (2002) found that cross-race friendships were similar to same-race friendships across all qualities with the exception of levels of intimacy and mutual trust. Support was found in the present study for their findings. What the present study added to current literature on the subject was its examination of levels of intimacy within the context of adolescents’ perceptions of their parents’ racial attitudes. Rather than only look to see whether levels of intimacy differed in cross-race relationships, the present study went one step further to look at a particular contributing factor, parents, finding that perceptions of negative attitudes in parents were linked to a lack of intimacy in cross-race friendships.

Cross-Race Dating and Perceptions of Parents’ Racial Attitudes

One specific difference between cross-race friendships and cross-race dating where perceptions of parents’ negative attitudes were concerned was in adolescents’ personal experiences with cross-race relationships. Perceptions of negative racial attitudes had an effect not only on the belief that parents had negative feelings toward cross-race dating partners but it also impacted the openness participants felt toward cross-race dating, the likelihood that they had ever engaged in a cross-race dating relationship, levels of intimacy in these relationships, and the likelihood that parents had expressed negative feelings regarding cross-race dating relationships. Perceptions of negative racial attitudes in parents added more obstacles to the relationship and made it more difficult for adolescents to engage in these relationships in the first place. Yet, despite the impact perceptions of negative attitudes played in cross-race dating experiences, it did not have

the same direct impact on how parents expressed their feelings. Instead, perceptions of parents' racial attitudes played more of a role in the less threatening relationship of cross-race friendships.

Because dating is the more intimate type of relationship tested here, it exceeded perceptions of parents' racial attitudes, supporting previous literature on "ambivalent racism" (Katz & Hass, 1988; Devine, 1989). Parents believe themselves to be positive or neutral because they hold positive views of outgroups and express these attitudes to their children. Yet, they also demonstrate in other ways that they prefer their own race over others. Those parents who were rated toward the negative end of the scale on their racial attitudes for friendship were more than likely openly expressive of their feelings regarding cross-race friendships in comparison to those parents who were perceived to have positive attitudes, thus having greater impact on children deciding not to bring cross-race friends home. In friendships, it would be less acceptable to the ambivalent racist to express his or her feelings openly, if the ambivalent racist is even aware of those feelings; and, therefore, the child might not directly be aware of how his or her parents feel about cross-race friendships. Those who are aware and do not fear expressing their feelings about cross-race friendships will be the parents who are rated negatively. However, for dating, there is something about parents, despite their perceived attitudes, that has led participants to name them most often as the reason they do not bring cross-race dates home. Dating crosses the boundaries of attitude perception, whereas friendship and the role of parents are confined to the perception of parents' attitudes. Even when participants were asked to rate their parents' attitudes toward cross-race friendships and cross-race dating, they rated their parents' attitudes to be more negative

toward cross-race dating than cross-race friendships, regardless of whether the overall perception of their racial attitudes were positive or negative.

In sum, the role perceptions of parents' racial attitudes played in the cross-race dating experiences demonstrated two things the present study set out to prove and expand on in current literature regarding cross-race relationships. First of all, previous literature had never examined the dating relationship and had focused its attention on cross-race friendships. The present study went further by examining cross-race romantic relationships, finding that the more intimate romantic relationship differed even further from the qualities and experiences of cross-race friendships. Secondly, the differences between the two relationships were seen more often in how the relationships were treated by parents. Cross-race friendships differed in treatment according to perceptions of parents' negative attitudes. Cross-race dating relationships, on the other hand, did not relate much to perceptions of attitudes. Rather, they appeared to transcend attitude and were treated differently and more negatively than cross-race friendships, no matter how adolescents perceived their parents' attitudes to be. The following section will examine how parents treat these two different types of relationships both in the way they express themselves and what they say.

Parents' Messages

A third goal of the present study was to examine perceptions of parents' messages regarding cross-race relationships in order to not only examine how they were expressed but also how they differed according to the type of relationship. Previous research on parenting and its influence on adolescents' personal relationships had never been examined within the context of race. Indeed, when race was added to the picture, results

indicated that parents expressed themselves differently than the previous research for same-race relationships had indicated. What was novel about this particular area of analysis was the fact that parents' messages not only differed from previous research but they also differed according to the type of relationship. Concerns for cross-race friendships were confined to perceptions of negative parent racial attitudes and were indirect based on the content of these expressions rather than specifically stated by participants. In contrast, concerns for cross-race dating were not predictable according to perceptions of parents' attitudes. Instead, parents, overall, were more negative and more direct in their feelings and expressions about cross-race dating.

Cross-Race Friendships Versus Cross-Race Dating

Similar to the results on the reason why participants said they did not bring cross-race friends or dates home, the differences in expressions for relationships demonstrated the effect of aversive or ambivalent racism (Katz & Hass, 1988; Devine, 1989). When cross-race friendships and dating were compared, adolescents said that parents were most likely to name personal safety as their greatest concern for cross-race friendships. In contrast, they said that parents' concerns with cross-race dating focused on messages claiming that it was wrong or that they should only date within their own race. Parents never told their children that cross-race friendships were wrong, whereas it was one of the most often used expressions of negative feeling used by parents for dating. Parents might not want to discourage a friendship because it would make them look bad, would take away the independence they are passing on to their adolescents (Smetana et al., 1994), making them appear to be prejudice. Instead, they concealed their concerns with worries about safety or made negative comments and jokes. This is a safe and indirect

route to take without being overtly opposed to the relationship. Adults can rationalize their negative feelings in terms of abstract political and social issues (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). The aversive racist (Dovidio, 1999) consciously rejects prejudice and endorses fair treatment. They will not discriminate directly but will unconsciously justify negative feelings on a factor other than race (such as safety and jokes, in the case of the present study).

Dating, on the other hand, might be too strong or serious a relationship to ignore and to push to a subconscious level. Unlike expectations in which it was believed parents would be subversive in both types of relationships, wanting to appear to be unprejudiced, parents were more directly expressive about cross-race dating than cross-race friendships. Conventional reasoning surpassed personal choice or the promotion of autonomy. Like Smetana et al. (1994) found, personal choice was still allowed in friendship, with a little guidance from parents, but it was not present for dating. Smetana et al. (1994) had evaluated messages parents and adolescents expressed in conflicts, finding that parents allowed more and more personal choice with age, especially in adolescent personal relationships. However, they had never addressed the issue of race in these conflicts. The results here indicated that the addition of race in adolescent personal relationships changes the manner in which parents express their concerns, differing by the type of personal relationship. Evaluations of perceptions of parents' racial attitudes found similar results, while intergroup contact played no significant role in how parents expressed their feelings regarding cross-race relationships.

Indirect Versus Direct

Although parents expressed their indirect concerns for cross-race friendships with indirect excuses and reserved their direct reasoning for cross-race dating, when participants were asked how parents expressed their general racial attitudes, results indicated that perceptions of negative attitudes in parents were most often expressed with direct statements from parents. Positive attitudes were most often a combination of direct statements and a certain demeanor which expressed their attitudes to their children. Yet, when participants were asked how parents expressed their feelings specifically about cross-race relationships, overwhelmingly, participants said they expressed themselves directly, whether their attitudes were positive or negative.

Previous research on modern racism (Devine et al., 2001; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) had limited its theory to expressions of attitudes in adults and had never examined how these expressions were verbalized to their children in their children's cross-race relationships. Even research on parenting by Grusec and Goodnow (1994) said that parents promote autonomy by *indirectly* transmitting values and control to their children in order to give them a sense of independence and that children are more likely to obey parents when they are taught values indirectly. However, they limited their research to positive expressions of values. When race was added to the picture and adolescents were on the receiving end of their parents' messages, it was the adolescents who said that parents most often used direct means to communicate their negative feelings, with perceptions of parents' racial attitudes having no bearing on how parents expressed their feelings. Parents with negative attitudes did not use either type of expression more so than another, showing that the theory of modern racism is not evident in the manner in which overall racial attitudes are communicated. Furthermore, no matter how the attitude

was expressed, adolescents reacted similarly with no differentiation between types of messages. Whether parents expressed themselves directly or indirectly, participants said that while parents had the freedom to express their opinions, they did not have to listen to them.

Because previous research on intergroup relationships had never explored the content of parents' messages about cross-race relationships, the findings here provided a more rounded picture of how parents not only express their racial attitudes but how their messages were perceived by their children. In this case, positive messages about race were reported to be expressed most often, while the most often used negative comment was that participants engaging in cross-race relationships were betraying their own race and should only be in relationships with people like themselves. Examples of direct negative messages for the overall sample were reserved for cross-race dating. As pointed out earlier, messages expressed by parents for cross-race friendships were only differentiated in significance according to perceptions of parents' racial attitudes. For cross-race dating, overall, parents who expressed negative feelings were concerned with conventions and expressed these conventions directly to their children. However, while the messages were perceived to be direct by the participants, the actual messages expressed were not the most direct possible. Conventions, such as concerns about maintaining traditions and cultural boundaries, somewhat hide or soften complete opposition to relationships. Only European-American parents went the extra step and were more likely to forbid cross-race relationships than any other ethnicity.

In sum, results for the influence of parents' messages further supported the findings for personal experiences participants had in their cross-race relationships.

Contrary to previous literature on modern racism and parenting, parents expressed their feelings regarding cross-race relationships directly. For the most part, adolescents said that their parents used positive statements to talk to them about cross-race relationships. However, of those who used negative statements, participants said that they reserved these comments for cross-race dating and believed that cross-race dating relationships were wrong and a betrayal to their own race. Previous research on modern racism limited their findings to adult expressions about their personal feelings regarding race. The current study took the general research on the topic and expanded its application to how these feelings are expressed to the children of these adults, finding that indirect and covert expressions of racial bias might apply to cross-race friendships but not to cross-race dating. Furthermore, the limitations of Grusec and Goodnow (1994) were evident in the findings on negative expressions of parents' values. Participants, overall, perceived their parents' messages to be direct rather than indirect when race was added to the picture and negative messages, rather than positive ones, were examined. And, although participants said they would ignore these negative messages, they did show that they would at least consider them for cross-race dating in their personal experiences, particularly when the issue came to engaging in cross-race romantic relationships and bringing those dates home.

The Role of Authority

The findings examining the role of authority according to perceptions of adolescents lent further support to the research previously conducted on parent-adolescent conflicts (Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smetana & Berent, 1993; Smetana et al., 1991; Smetana, 1991). Questions in this section on the role of authority did not

specifically address issues of race in adolescents' personal relationships. And, participants did demonstrate a slight leaning toward expressing their autonomy in their friendships versus their dating relationships. Supporting the findings of Smetana (1991), adolescents believed that friendship, especially, was subject to their opinion and that this right to make their own choices increased with age. Yet, despite adolescents' reported belief that all of their relationships were subject to personal choice, they differed in the degrees they ascribed to this position according to the type of relationship they were discussing.

Yet, it should be noted that while adolescents believed they had complete jurisdiction over their personal relationships, they demonstrated that they at least considered their parents opinions when race was an issue. Their perceptions of their parents' attitudes had an effect on decisions they made, such as bringing cross-race friends home. Parents, overall, played a role in a variety of experiences for cross-race dating, from deciding to be in one to bringing those dates home. Thus, while adolescents might claim that their relationships are subject to their choice and that they would most likely ignore parents when they expressed their racial attitudes, they said something different when they described their personal experiences with cross-race relationships. Parents, either knowingly or unknowingly, played a role in the decisions they made in their cross-race relationship experiences.

Limitations

The present study has several limitations which should be noted. First of all, the assessment of intergroup contact was limited by the selection of schools used in the sample. The original design sought to compare schools that differed in levels of

diversity, homogeneous versus heterogeneous samples. It was believed that experiences and attitudes would be shaped and influenced not only by the school settings but also by parents whose attitudes toward cross-race relationships might differ due to the school and neighborhood environments in which their children go to school and live. Unfortunately, permission was not allowed to enter schools showing low diversity among their student body. Therefore, the schools sampled here were considered to be diverse with large mixes of ethnicities. Interestingly, despite diversity being somewhat equal, students from the same schools rated diversity in their schools differently and came from very diverse to not at all diverse levels of neighborhoods, a perception that was found to influence attitudes toward cross-race relationships. Furthermore, despite the lack of extreme levels of intergroup contact (low to high), *perception* of contact was found to play a key role in the development and likelihood of cross-race friendships. Future studies should examine whether more extreme levels of contact play an even more significant role in shaping not just the chance of a cross-race relationship but also whether or not attitudes are influenced.

A second limitation of the current study is the age of the sample groups. Pilot tests using the current measure were conducted with undergraduate college students. Results from pilot testing in the final section of the questionnaire, *Decision-Making*, differed considerably from the findings using 9th and 12th grade students. It is entirely possible that older adolescents, or young adults, view the role of parents differently and believe that parents should play more of a role in establishing rules and boundaries in order to protect their children from harm. Participants in the pilot study did not believe parents who made rules were trying to inhibit adolescent choice as did the younger

samples in the current study, where no age effect was found. Instead, they repeatedly mentioned that parents should guide their children to make smart decisions and that with time and experience they will be able to make the right choices. They also overwhelmingly said that if their parents opposed cross-race marriages they would take this view into consideration. Future studies should add young adults to the sample in order to add contrast and development in attitudes toward the influence and role of parents.

A third limitation of the current study was the fact that the influence of peers was not assessed. In middle childhood to early adolescence, children begin to spend more time with peers and less time with parents. Peers become a growing influence on the choices adolescents make in their relationships. The current study does not set out to overlook or undermine the role of peers in the decisions adolescents make in their personal relationships. The present study, instead, was designed to assess the role of parents first. Future studies should address the influence of peers in order to ascertain what role they play in addition to that of parents and intergroup contact on the decisions adolescents make in their cross-race relationships.

A fourth limitation of the current study was that the present survey measured perception rather than actual experiences and attitudes of parents and adolescents. Levels of intergroup contact, parents' racial attitudes, and parents' expressions of their feelings regarding cross-race relationships were all measured by the perceptions adolescents had of these factors. One reason participants were asked their perceptions rather than specifically ask parents was due to the fact that participants were expected to make their decisions about cross-race relationships in reaction to how they perceived their parents'

attitudes to be. While it was possible that their parents' actual attitudes were not as negative or as positive as portrayed by their child, the child was reacting to his or her *perception* of what his or her parents' attitudes were. Secondly, the present study did not measure parental attitudes with self-report measures due to concerns with the theory behind aversive racism. If an aversive racist thinks he or she is not prejudice, then, when given time to respond and consider answers, he or she will respond in a manner that will portray him or her in the most favorable light. Adolescents are in the homes. They hear what their parents say when not in public. While many parents might not believe they are expressing bias, their children are more than likely picking up these messages and using them to shape their own experiences and attitudes. And, as demonstrated in the results, even they were not aware of their parents' influence on their experiences. Future studies should examine adolescents' perceptions of their parents attitudes and compare them to parents' self-reports of their feelings regarding cross-race relationships in order to determine how closely the two perspectives are linked and how either, or both, influence the experiences and attitudes adolescents have in their cross-race relationships.

A fifth limitation of the current study was concerned with the way in which friendship was defined. For the purpose of this study, friendship was defined as a positive social relationship. There were no analyses of reciprocal friendship relationships, as has been conducted in developmental children's friendship literature, which focuses explicitly on children's friendships. In this study, friendship was used in "laymen's terms" similar to the ways in which it has been used in social psychology research on cross-race friendships (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). The theoretical framework behind the current study is Intergroup Contact Theory, and in keeping with

other work examining the role of intergroup contact, friendship was treated and defined in an analogous manner. Future studies should take a closer look at reciprocal cross-race friendships in order to examine the degree to which these friendships are genuine and how decisions and experiences with them vary according to the degree of reciprocity as well as the influence of parents' racial attitudes.

And, finally, a sixth limitation of the current study is the assessment of family income for participants. SES and level of family income have become sources of influence in the lives of families, possibly even, it could be argued, superceding categories of race. For the purpose of this study, SES was not measured in participants primarily to ensure that examinations of parent-adolescent conflict and intergroup contact were in keeping with previous work conducted on the same groups of participants. The present study chose to focus on schools where the population consisted of mainly middle-income students, consistent with previous work measuring intergroup contact and parent-adolescent conflict. Future studies should take a closer look at the influence of SES on adolescent responses to issues regarding cross-race relationships as well as how this affects their perceptions of their parents' racial attitudes.

Conclusion

The purpose of the present study was to determine what effect, if any, parents played in the decisions and experiences adolescents have in their cross-race relationships. Perceptions of intergroup contact, parents' racial attitudes, and content of parents' messages were measured in order to determine what influence they played in the process. Three outcomes arose from the analyses on adolescents' cross-race relationships.

First, perceptions of intergroup contact, by itself, played more of a central role in influencing adolescents' cross-race relationships than was expected. Perceptions of contact were added to the measure initially to determine if it aided perceptions of parents' racial attitudes to enhance positive outcomes and attitudes in adolescents' cross-race experiences. While the focus of the present study was on the influence of parents, an interesting result surfaced in the analyses on contact: perceptions of intergroup contact did not work in conjunction with perceptions of parents' racial attitudes at all. Instead, the results lent further support to the important role intergroup contact plays in the formation of cross-race friendships, adding to the literature the benefits of intergroup contact on cross-race romantic relationships. While perceptions of parents' racial attitudes influenced the cross-race experiences of adolescents, perceptions of intergroup contact influenced the facilitation and formation of cross-race relationships. This is a new finding never addressed before in research on intergroup contact theory. No other studies have systematically examined perceptions of intergroup contact and its effect on the formation of cross-race relationships. Instead, previous research had looked at individual factors contributing to the benefits of intergroup contact. The current study measured perceptions of contact along with its effect on having cross-race relationships as well as attitudes toward these relationships.

Perceptions of intergroup contact were also examined for effects on cross-race experiences and parents' messages regarding cross-race relationships. Again, previous literature had never examined experiences within these relationships and the impact of parents in relation to contact. Perceptions of intergroup contact were found to have no effect on parents' messages, whether it was the content of the message or how it was

communicated. In addition, it played no role in how participants responded to their parents' messages. Perceptions of intergroup contact were not even related to perceptions of parents' racial attitude.

Thus, the benefits of intergroup contact are evident in previous research which has looked at how it enables cross-race friendships, which, in turn, relate to improved racial attitudes that are maintained over time. What was not demonstrated in the current study was how it shaped attitudes regarding cross-race relationships, a new finding in itself. Rather, attitudes and experiences were shaped mostly by perceptions of parents' racial attitudes. Contact facilitates relationships while parents' attitudes shape experiences within those relationships.

Consequently, a second significant outcome was found in how perceptions of parents' negative attitudes shaped the experiences of their adolescents' cross-race relationships differently. Because previous research on intergroup relationships had never examined the impact parents' attitudes have on cross-race experiences, the current findings added an entirely new perspective on influences in adolescents' cross-race relationships. Perceptions of parents' racial attitudes had a greater impact on cross-race dating, from bringing dates home to negative messages expressed by parents. Yet, the more negative expressions regarding these relationships were not subject to adolescents' perceptions of their attitudes. Rather, these negative expressions were found even in those parents' who were said to have positive racial attitudes. The results of this study demonstrated that these negative feelings, when they exist, impacted the experiences of cross-race relationships.

And, finally, results looking at the content and manner of expressing parents' attitudes toward race and cross-race relationships demonstrated that parents differentiate between the types of relationships. Previous research had never examined parents' negative messages specifically, in particular messages regarding race, in the context of adolescents' social relationships. The current findings demonstrated that while parents expressed themselves indirectly in content regarding their adolescents' cross-race friendships, they were more direct and more negative in their feelings toward cross-race dating. Previous research has demonstrated that adults today express racial bias in indirect and covert ways, not wanting to appear prejudice to the outside world. However, for the first time, their expressions of racial attitudes were examined within the context of their children's own cross-race experiences, finding that parents are more openly expressive in their negative attitudes where their children are concerned, most especially when those concerns involve cross-race dating. And, while adolescents might report that these feelings have no influence on them and that they make their own decisions, their actions, specific to their personal experiences with cross-race relationships, say something else.

Despite changes in our society which have witnessed increasing numbers of interracial marriages, the numbers are still very low and research indicates that many families still do not accept the idea of cross-race dating relationships. As children get older and approach adolescence, cross-race friendships decline. This decline comes at a time when adolescents are actually moving into more diverse and larger environments, such as high schools, where intergroup contact should be at its peak. The present study demonstrated that parents approach cross-race friendships and dating relationships

differently. Parents are more expressive in their feelings toward cross-race dating, and perhaps, despite adolescents feeling like they are in control of their private lives, they are subtly being influenced by their parents' attitudes. Without intergroup contact, children are less likely to engage and experience cross-race relationships. Yet, even with contact, parents' attitudes and messages shape the experiences within those relationships. To fully reap the benefits of intergroup contact, changes must be made in parents' attitudes and how they express these attitudes to their children. The present study hopes to highlight the influence of these attitudes, pointing out the ways in which parents send two separate messages regarding friendships and dating, and the subtle ways in which parents express them in order to shine light on how our experiences with race are shaped and determined throughout our lives by those surrounding us.

Table 1

Means for Intergroup Contact and Self-Reported Cross-Race Friendships Across Contexts

Cross-Race Friendships by Context					
Contact		School	Outside of School	Neighborhood	Group Totals
Low	<i>M</i>	3.10	2.63	2.07	2.60
	<i>SD</i>	(0.73)	(0.79)	(0.90)	(0.81)
High	<i>M</i>	3.79	3.61	3.32	3.58
	<i>SD</i>	(0.47)	(0.56)	(0.76)	(0.60)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	3.41	3.07	2.64	3.04
	<i>SD</i>	(0.72)	(0.85)	(1.05)	(0.87)

Note: *N* = 341. Scale for Number of Cross-Race Friends: 1 = None; 4 = Many.
M = Mean. *SD* = Standard Deviation.

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Cross-race friendships across contexts as a function of participants' perceptions of intergroup contact.

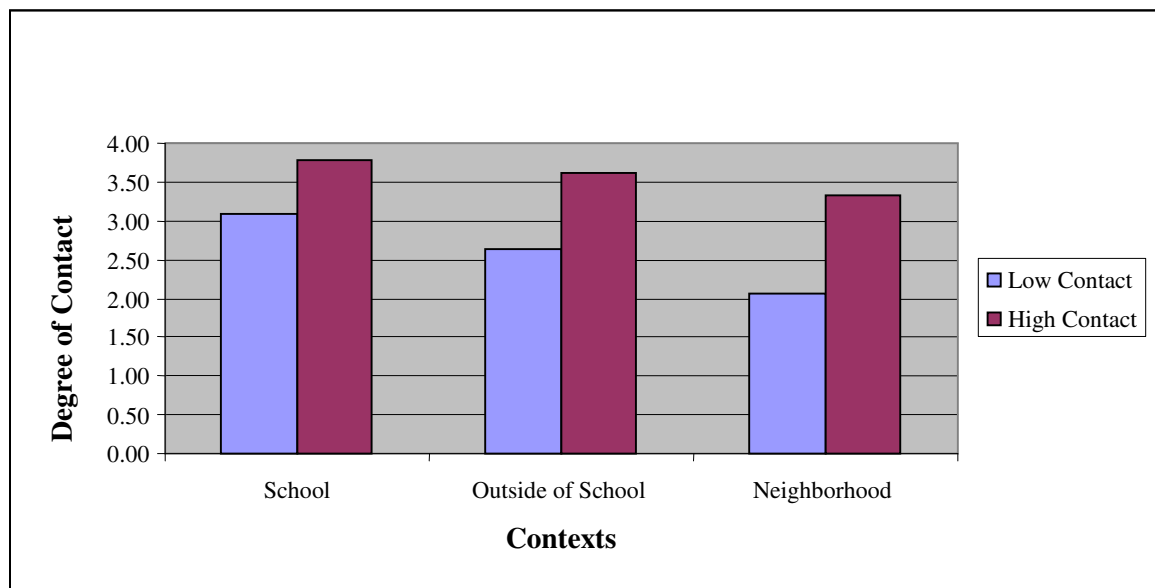


Table 2

Means for Perception of Intergroup Contact and Attitudes About Cross-Race Relationships

Attitudes About Cross-Race Relationships							
Contact		Comfortable	School Friends	Outside School Friends	Neighborhood Friends	Interracial Dating (School)	Interracial Dating (Neighborhood)
Low	<i>M</i>	1.72	3.08	2.62	2.06	2.34	1.73
	<i>SD</i>	(0.92)	(0.75)	(0.79)	(0.91)	(0.80)	(0.78)
High	<i>M</i>	1.31	3.79	3.60	3.32	3.22	2.97
	<i>SD</i>	(0.71)	(0.47)	(0.57)	(0.76)	(0.68)	(0.82)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.53	3.41	3.07	2.63	2.74	2.29
	<i>SD</i>	(0.86)	(0.72)	(0.86)	(1.05)	(0.87)	(1.00)

Note: $N = 347$. Scale for comfortable: 1 = Very comfortable; 4 = Very uncomfortable. Scale for number of cross-race friends and dating: 1 = None; 4 = Many. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Figure Caption

Figure 2. Adolescents' personal attitudes toward cross-race relationships as a function of their perceived degree of intergroup contact.

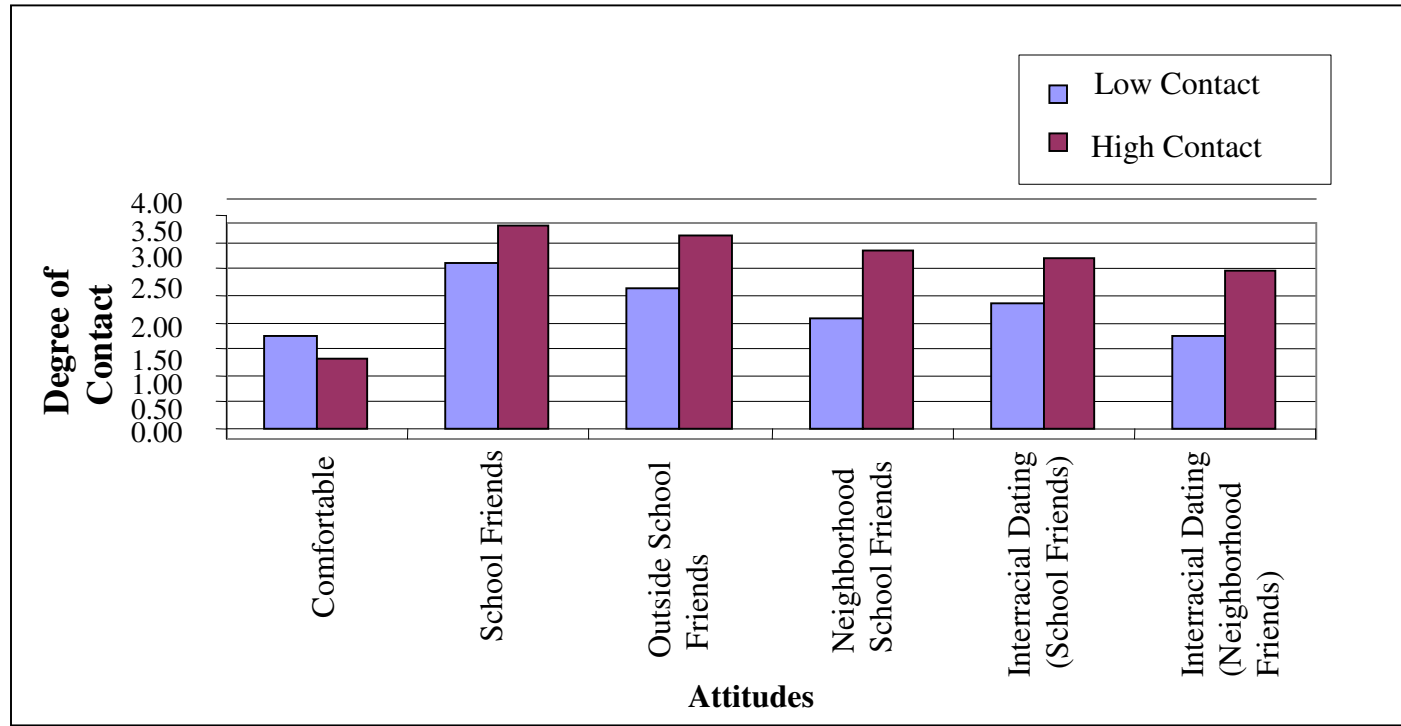


Table 3

Means for Adolescent Perception of Strongest Source of Influence

Perception of Strongest Source of Influence						
Relationship		Society	Peers	Religion	Parents	Other
Friendship	<i>M</i>	1.87	1.72	1.86	1.67	1.88
	<i>SD</i>	(0.33)	(0.46)	(0.35)	(0.47)	(0.32)
Dating	<i>M</i>	1.87	1.68	1.86	1.71	1.88
	<i>SD</i>	(0.34)	(0.47)	(0.35)	(0.46)	(0.33)
Group Total	<i>M</i>	1.87	1.70	1.86	1.69	1.88
	<i>SD</i>	(0.33)	(0.46)	(0.35)	(0.46)	(0.32)

Note: $N = 347$. Strongest source of influence: 1 = Yes; 2 = No.

M = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Table 4

Means for Perception of Intergroup Contact and Evaluations of Friendship and Dating Experiences

Evaluations of Friendship and Dating											
Contact		Potential		Experience		Intimacy		Message		Negative Feeling	
		Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating
Low	<i>M</i>	1.12	1.14	1.03	1.65	1.27	1.15	1.87	1.82	1.87	1.88
	<i>SD</i>	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.18)	(0.48)	(0.45)	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.38)	(0.34)	(0.33)
High	<i>M</i>	1.06	1.039	1.00	1.34	1.09	1.10	1.86	1.76	1.80	1.85
	<i>SD</i>	(0.24)	(0.19)	(0.00)	(0.48)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.35)	(0.36)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.10	1.09	1.02	1.50	1.19	1.13	1.86	1.79	1.88	1.86
	<i>SD</i>	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.13)	(0.48)	(0.39)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.41)	(0.34)	(0.34)

Note: $N = 347$. Evaluation categories refer to adolescents' personal experiences with cross-race relationships: opportunity/ease in making friends or dating, having cross-race friends or cross-race dates, bringing those individuals home, negative messages from parents, and negative feelings specific to friend or date. Judgments: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Table 5

Means for Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitude and Evaluations of Friendship and Dating Experiences

Evaluations of Friendship and Dating											
Attitude	Experience			Potential		Intimacy		Message		Negative Feelings	
		Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating
Positive	<i>M</i>	1.02	1.51	1.08	1.06	1.18	1.08	1.94	1.89	1.95	1.94
	<i>SD</i>	(0.12)	(0.50)	(0.27)	(0.24)	(0.38)	(0.28)	(0.24)	(0.31)	(0.80)	(0.25)
Neutral	<i>M</i>	1.02	1.49	1.14	1.17	1.22	1.18	1.81	1.70	1.88	1.78
	<i>SD</i>	(0.15)	(0.51)	(0.35)	(0.38)	(0.42)	(0.38)	(0.40)	(0.46)	(0.52)	(0.42)
Negative	<i>M</i>	1.02	1.53	1.11	1.21	1.21	1.35	1.47	1.36	1.45	1.55
	<i>SD</i>	(0.15)	(0.50)	0.32	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.48)	(0.50)	(0.49)	(0.72)	(0.50)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.02	1.51	1.09	1.09	1.19	1.13	1.86	1.80	1.76	1.86
	<i>SD</i>	(0.13)	(0.50)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.39)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.68)	(0.34)

Note: $N = 347$. Evaluation categories refer to adolescents' personal experiences with cross-race relationships: opportunity/ease in making friends or dating, having cross-race friends or cross-race dates, bringing those individuals home, negative messages from parents, and negative feelings specific to friend or date. Judgments: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Figure Caption

Figure 3. Evaluations of cross-race dating experiences as a function of perceptions of parent racial attitude.

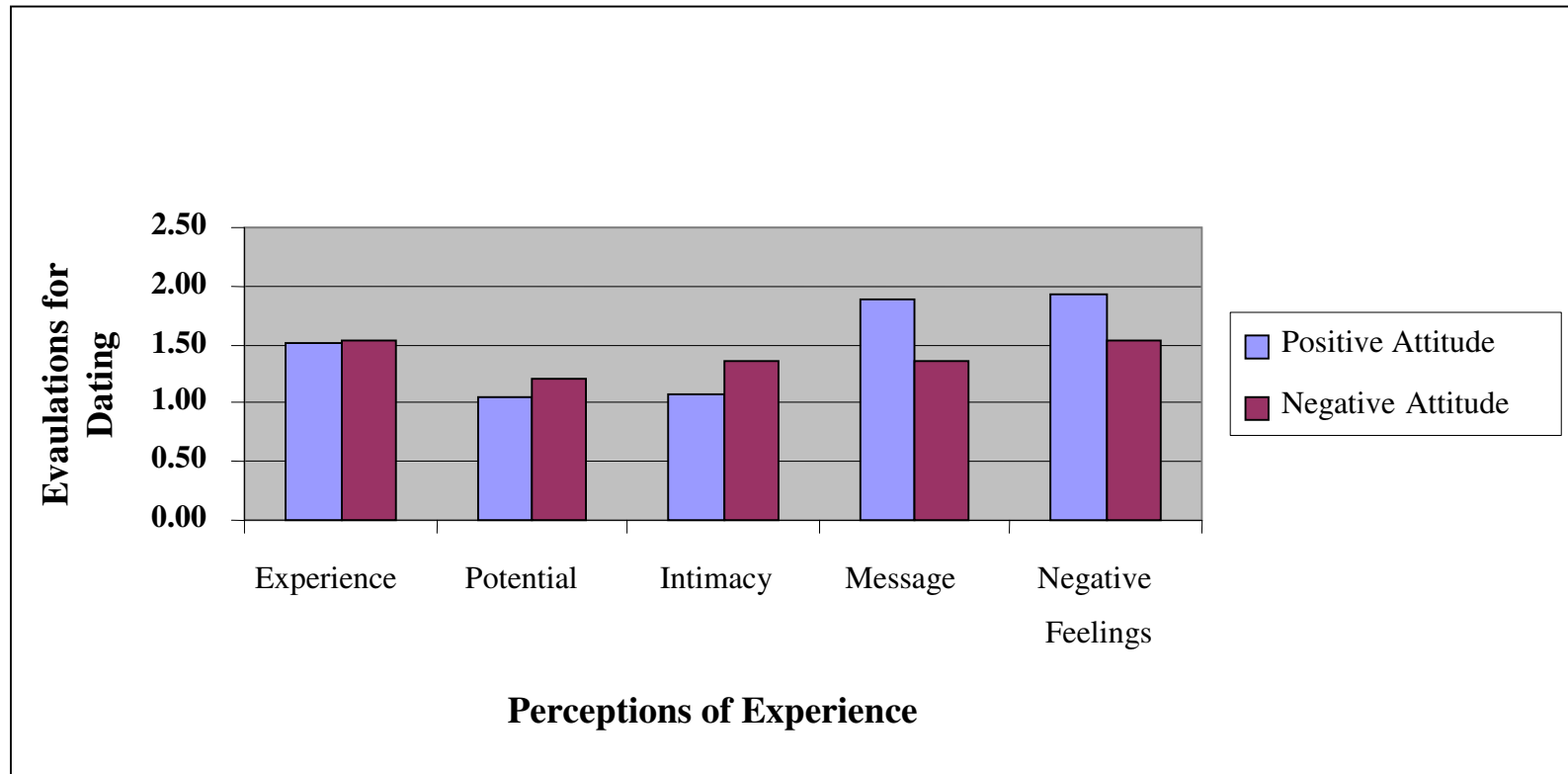


Table 6

Means for Refraining from Inviting Cross-Race Friends and Dates Home

Intimacy Justifications						
Relationship		Parents	Absence of Relationships	Lack of Intimacy	No explicit reason	Not Allowed
Friendship	<i>M</i>	1.84	1.93	1.59	1.89	1.75
	<i>SD</i>	(0.37)	(0.25)	(0.50)	(0.32)	(0.43)
Dating	<i>M</i>	1.36	1.96	1.88	1.80	2.00
	<i>SD</i>	(0.50)	(0.27)	(0.36)	(0.41)	0.00
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.60	1.94	1.74	1.84	1.88
	<i>SD</i>	(0.44)	(0.26)	(0.43)	(0.36)	(0.22)

Note: $N = 101$. Justifications: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. Categories listed for intimacy justifications refer to the reasons participants gave for not bringing cross-race friends or dates home: parents, too few cross-race friends, not close enough, just because, and no one is allowed in home. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Figure Caption

Figure 4. Reasons for Refraining from Inviting Cross-Race Friends and Dates Home

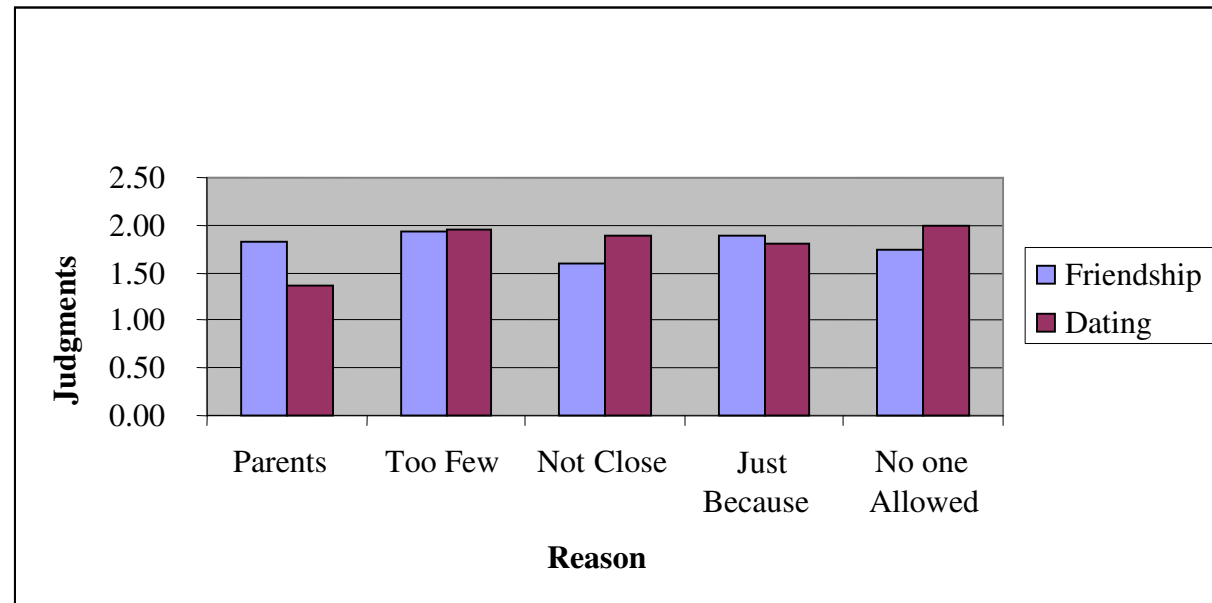


Table 7

Means for Perceptions of Parents' Messages about Cross-Race Friendship and Dating

Messages							
Relationship		Supportive	Wrong, Societal Concerns	Safety	Limit Relationship	Betrayal to Race	Negative Comments
Friendship	<i>M</i>	1.99	2.00	1.98	1.99	1.98	1.95
	<i>SD</i>	(0.08)	(0.00)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.22)
Dating	<i>M</i>	1.99	1.96	1.99	1.99	1.93	1.97
	<i>SD</i>	(0.09)	(0.20)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.25)	(0.17)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.99	1.98	1.99	1.99	1.96	1.96
	<i>SD</i>	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.19)

Note: $N = 347$. Justifications: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. Categories listed for expression of parent messages refer to specific statements parents have communicated to their adolescents regarding their cross-race relationships: positive/supportive, wrong/concerned with society, personal safety concerns, limit relationship to friendship, limit relationships to own race/betrayal to race, and negative racial comments or jokes. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Figure Caption

Figure 5. Perceptions of parents' messages regarding cross-race friendships and cross-race dating.

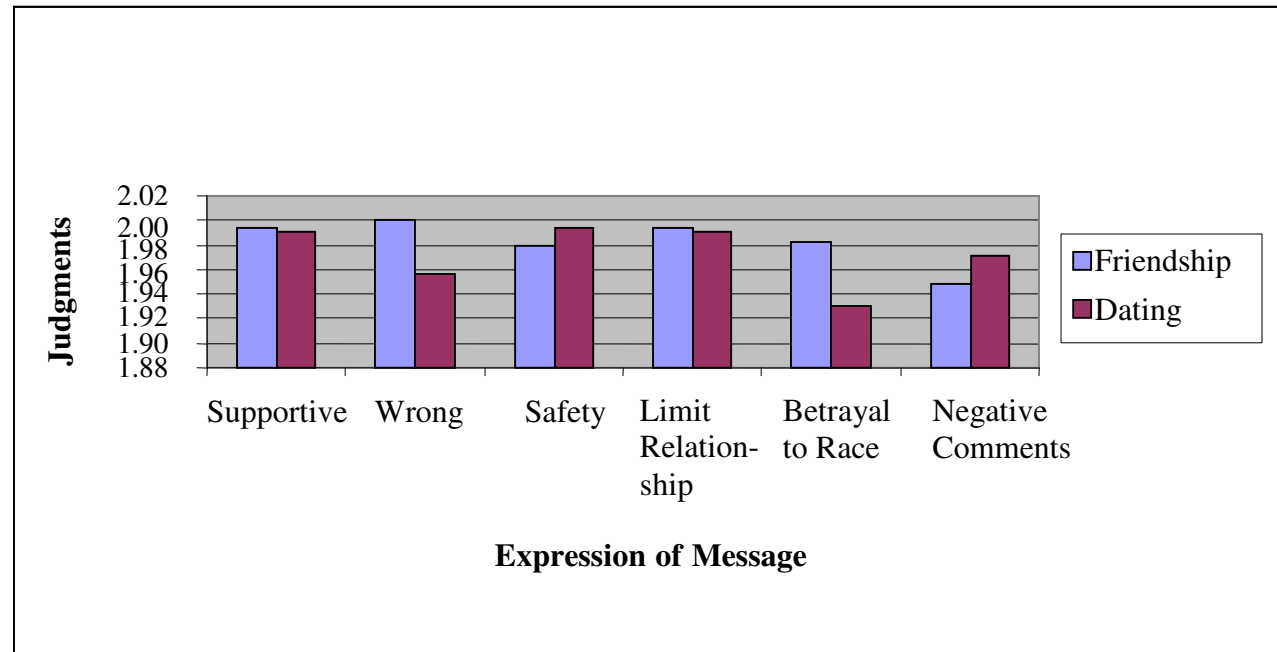


Table 8

Means for Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitudes and Perceptions of Parents' Messages about Cross-Race Friendship and Dating

Parents' Messages													
Attitude		Supportive		Wrong, Societal Concerns		Safety		Limit Relationship		Betrayal to Race		Negative Comments	
		Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating	Friendship	Dating
Positive	<i>M</i>	2.00	1.99	2.00	1.97	1.99	1.99	2.00	2.00	1.99	1.97	1.98	1.99
	<i>SD</i>	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.00)	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.00)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.09)
Neutral	<i>M</i>	2.00	1.98	2.00	1.93	2.00	2.00	1.98	1.98	1.95	1.86	1.98	2.00
	<i>SD</i>	(0.00)	(0.15)	(0.00)	(0.26)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.35)	(0.15)	(0.00)
Negative	<i>M</i>	1.98	2.00	2.00	1.88	1.89	2.00	1.98	1.98	1.95	1.77	1.75	1.82
	<i>SD</i>	(0.15)	0.00	(0.00)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.00)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.21)	(0.42)	(0.44)	(0.39)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.99	1.99	2.00	1.93	1.96	2.00	1.98	1.98	1.97	1.87	1.90	1.94
	<i>SD</i>	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.00)	(0.25)	(0.14)	(0.03)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.32)	(0.25)	(0.16)

Note: $N = 347$. Judgments: 1=Yes; 2=No. Categories listed for parents' messages refer to specific statements parents have communicated to their adolescents regarding their cross-race relationships: positive/supportive, wrong/concerned with society, personal safety concerns, limit relationship to friendship, limit relationships to own race/betrayal to race, and negative racial comments or jokes. *M*=Mean. *SD*=Standard deviation.

Figure Caption

Figure 6. Perception of parents' messages about cross-race dating as a function of adolescents' perception of parents' racial attitudes.

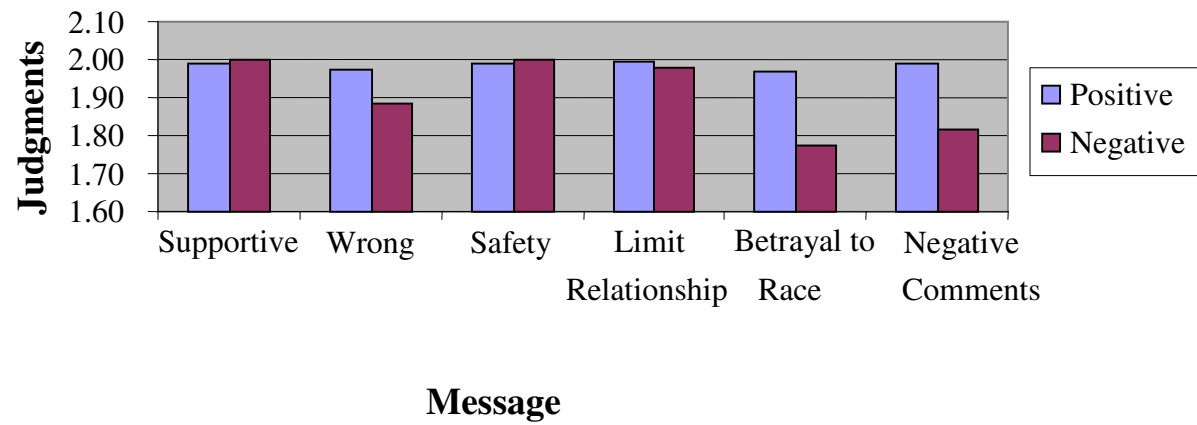


Figure Caption

Figure 7. Perceptions of parents' messages about cross-race friendship and cross-race dating as a function of negative perceptions of parents' racial attitudes.

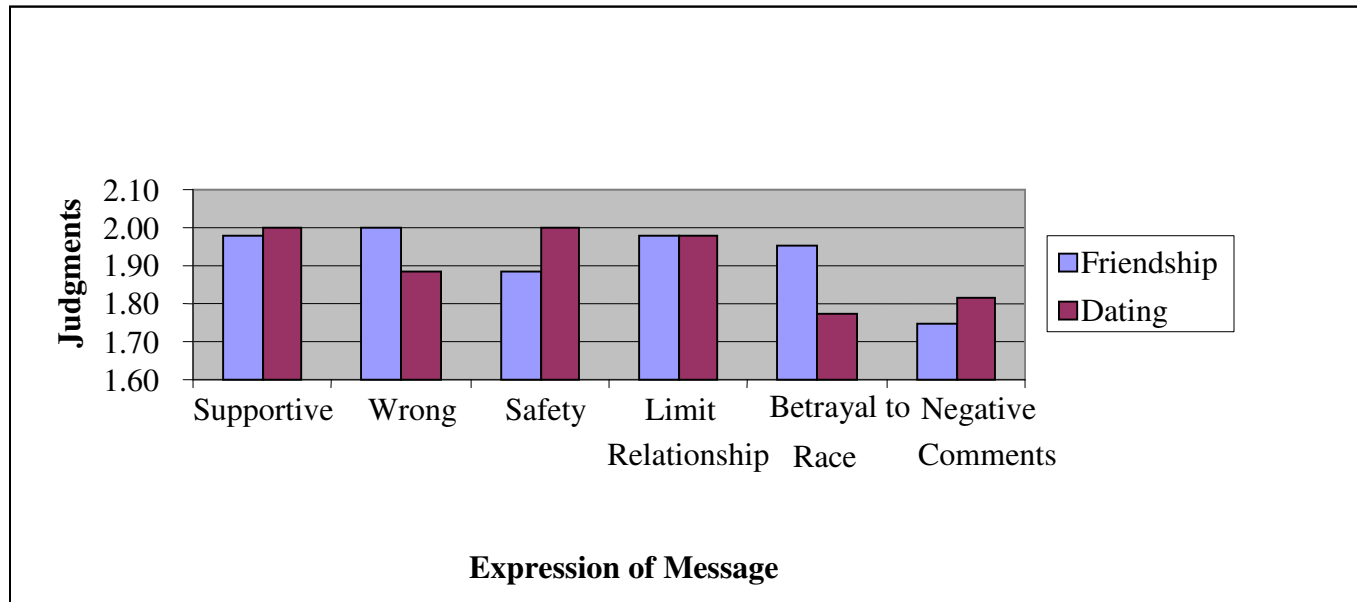


Table 9

Means for Perceptions of Parents' Direct and Indirect Messages

		Messages						
Type of Expression		Limit Relationship	Racial Jokes	Forbidden	Wrong	Social Consequences	Betrayal to Race	Positive
Direct	<i>M</i>	2.00	1.99	1.98	1.97	1.99	1.97	1.96
	<i>SD</i>	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.20)
Indirect	<i>M</i>	2.00	1.99	1.98	1.98	2.00	1.97	1.99
	<i>SD</i>	(0.00)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.00)	(0.17)	(0.12)

Note: N = 347. Messages by justification category: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. Categories listed for parents' messages refer to indirect and direct statements or attitudes parents have communicated to their adolescents regarding cross-race relationships in general: limit relationship to friendship, negative racial jokes or comments, relationship is forbidden, wrong/concerns with tradition and societal standards, concerned with what others think/repercussions on offspring, limit relationships to own race, and positive statements or demeanor. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Table 10

Means for Participants' Reasons Why Parents Can Express Messages by Type of Expression

		Expression Justifications						
Type of Expression		Personal Choice	Parental Care	Parents Rights	Opinion of Parents	Agree with Opinion	Consideration of Family	Moral
Direct	<i>M</i>	1.88	1.83	1.87	1.65	1.97	1.99	1.91
	<i>SD</i>	(0.32)	(0.38)	(0.34)	(0.48)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.28)
Indirect	<i>M</i>	1.86	1.84	1.86	1.76	1.98	2.00	1.90
	<i>SD</i>	(0.35)	(0.37)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.14)	(0.00)	(0.31)

Note: $N = 347$. Expression Justification refers to reasons why it is alright or not alright for parents to express their views about race. Expression justification category: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Table 11

Means for Perceptions of Parents' Racial Attitudes and Influence of Messages

Influence							
Attitude		Personal Choice	Subversion	Obey	Agree	Positive	None
Positive	<i>M</i>	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.98	1.97	1.99
	<i>SD</i>	(0.06)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.11)
Neutral	<i>M</i>	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.95	1.95	1.95
	<i>SD</i>	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Negative	<i>M</i>	1.98	1.95	1.95	1.98	1.82	2.00
	<i>SD</i>	(0.15)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.15)	(0.39)	0.00
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.99	1.98	1.98	1.97	1.91	1.98
	<i>SD</i>	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.26)	(0.11)

Note: *N* = 347. Influence by Category: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. Categories for influence of messages refer to how participants said their parents' messages about cross-race relationships influenced their own or their chances of engaging in one: personal choice, see person in secret, obey parents, agree with parents' opinions, positive/supportive, and no influence. *M*=Mean. *SD*=Standard deviation.

Table 12

Means for Participants' Decision Judgments by Type of Relationship

		Decision Judgments		
Relationship		Parents	Teenager	Both
Friendship	<i>M</i>	1.93	1.16	1.91
	<i>SD</i>	(0.25)	(0.37)	(0.31)
Dating	<i>M</i>	1.93	1.19	1.89
	<i>SD</i>	(0.26)	(0.39)	(0.32)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.93	1.17	1.90
	<i>SD</i>	(0.26)	(0.38)	(0.32)

Note: $N = 347$. Decision judgments: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. Decision judgments refer to whom participants said should make decisions about adolescents' personal relationships. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Figure Caption

Figure 8. Participant response to whom should make decisions regarding adolescent friendship choice.

Figure 9. Participant response to whom should make decisions regarding adolescent dating choice.

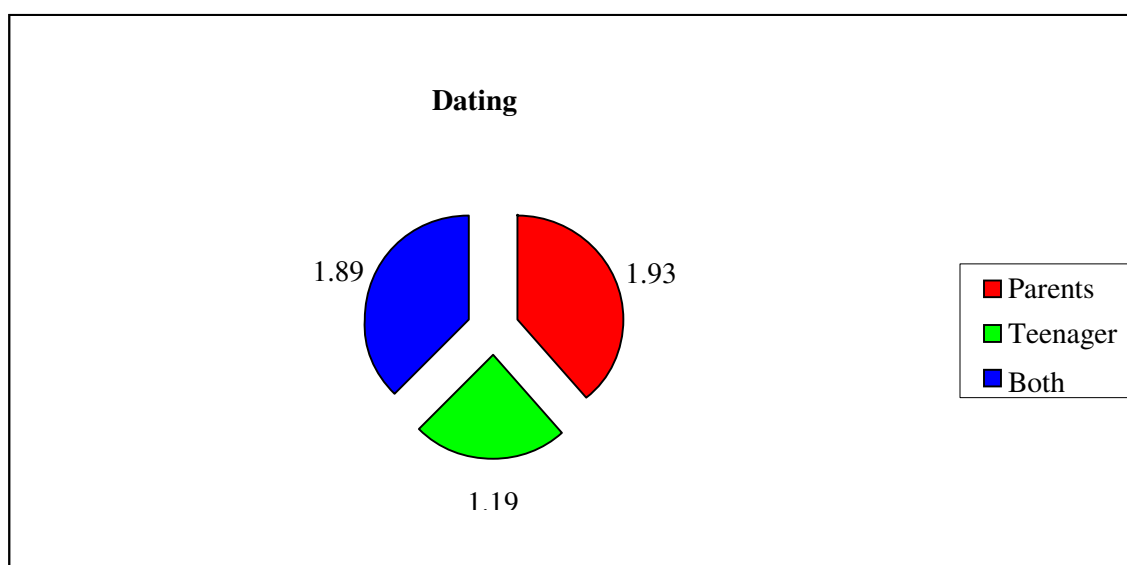
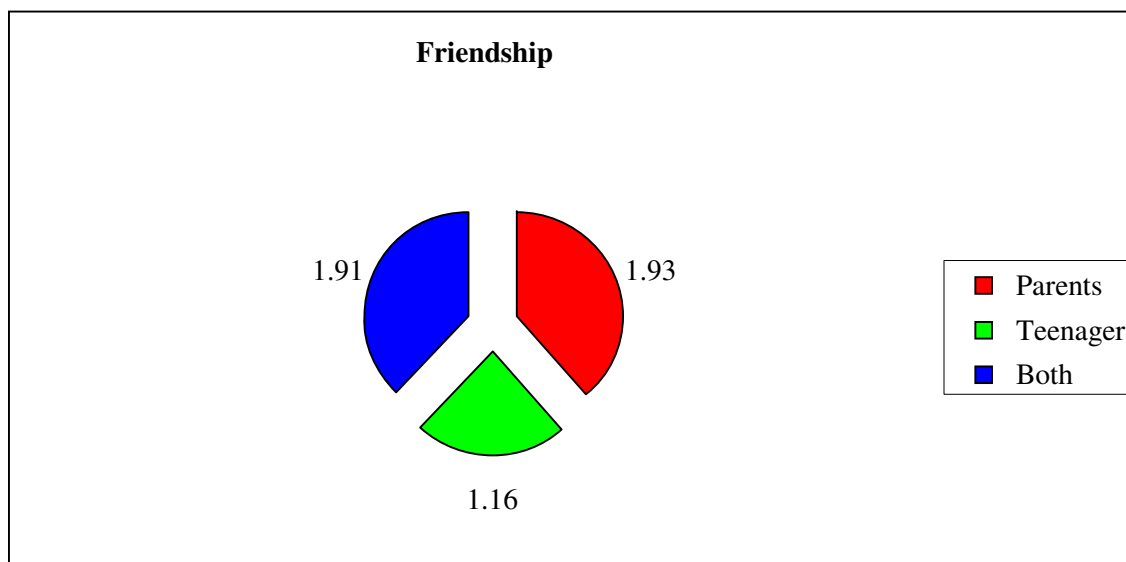


Table 13

Means for Participants' Reasons Why They or Their Parents Should Make Decisions in Adolescents' Relationships

		Reasons							
Relationship		Safety	Maturity	Parental Experience	Authority	Parental Guidance	Personal Choice	Consequences	Mutual Decision
Friendship	<i>M</i>	1.99	1.99	1.98	2.00	1.98	1.46	2.00	1.93
	<i>SD</i>	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.06)	(0.15)	(0.50)	(0.00)	(0.26)
Dating	<i>M</i>	2.00	1.99	1.98	1.99	1.98	1.54	2.00	1.96
	<i>SD</i>	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.50)	(0.00)	(0.20)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	2.00	1.99	1.98	1.99	1.98	1.50	2.00	1.94
	<i>SD</i>	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.50)	(0.00)	(0.23)

Note: $N = 347$. Reasons: 1 = Yes; 2 = No. Categories for participants' reasons refer to the reasons given by participants to explain why they or their parents should make decisions in their personal relationships: personal safety concerns, personal experience and age, experience of parents, parent jurisdiction, parental guidance, personal choice, punishment, and mutual decision. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Table 14

Means for Perceptions of Parent Racial Attitudes and Perceptions of Parents' Comparisons of Cross-Race Relationships

Relationship Comparisons			
Attitude		Dating vs Friendship	Marriage vs Dating
Positive	<i>M</i>	1.87	1.84
	<i>SD</i>	(0.33)	(0.37)
Neutral	<i>M</i>	1.70	1.71
	<i>SD</i>	(0.46)	(0.46)
Negative	<i>M</i>	1.56	1.55
	<i>SD</i>	(0.50)	(0.50)
Group Totals	<i>M</i>	1.71	1.70
	<i>SD</i>	(0.43)	(0.44)

Note: *N*=347. Comparisons: 1 =Yes; 2 = No. *M* = Mean. *SD* = Standard deviation.

Appendix A

Listing of Assessments

Part I. Background

Section D, Diversity Assessment Questionnaire

Question Number	Assessment Label	Type of Assessment
Q1	School Environment	Judgment: Scale
Q2	Class Discussion	Judgment: Scale
Q3	Impact	Judgment: Scale
Q4	Encouragement	Judgment: Scale
Q5	Comfort	Judgment: Scale
Q6	Frequency	Judgment: Scale
Q7	School Friends	Judgment: Scale
Q8	Outside School Friends	Judgment: Scale
Q9	Neighborhood Environment	Judgment: Scale
Q10	Neighborhood Friends	Judgment: Scale
Q11	School Dating	Judgment: Scale
Q12	Neighborhood Dating	Judgment: Scale

Appendix B

*Listing of Assessments**Part II Social Experience**Sections A and B, Friendship and Dating*

Question Number	Assessment Label	Type of Assessment
Q1	Influence Ranking	Ranking
Q2	Potential	Judgment: Yes/No
Q2a	Potential Justification	Reasoning
Q3	Experience	Judgment: Yes/No
Q4	Experience Justification	Reasoning
Q5	Intimacy	Judgment: Yes/No
Q6	Intimacy Justification	Reasoning
Q7	Message	Judgment: Yes/No
Q8	Nature of Message	Judgment
Q9	Expression of Message	Reasoning
Q10	Reaction	Judgment
Q11	Change	Judgment

Appendix C

Listing of Assessments
Part III Parental Attitudes

Question Number	Assessment Label	Type of Assessment
Q1	Attitude Rating	Scale
Q2	Attitude Expression	Reasoning
Q3	Friendship Attitude Rating	Scale
Q4	Dating Attitude Rating	Scale
Q5	Direct Expression Judgment	Judgment: Yes/No
Q6	Direct Expression	Reasoning
Q7	Indirect Expression Judgment	Judgment: Yes/No
Q8	Indirect Expression	Reasoning
Q9	Influence	Reasoning
Q10	Age	Judgment: Yes/No
Q11	Dating Importance	Scale
Q12	Expression Judgment	Judgment: Yes/No
Q13	Expression Justification	Reasoning

Appendix D

*Listing of Assessments**Part IV Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes**Sections A and B, Friendship and Dating*

Question Number	Assessment Label	Type of Assessment
Q1	Rule Judgment	Judgment: Yes/No
Q2	Rule Justification	Reasoning
Q3	Rule Obligation Judgment	Judgment: Yes/No
Q4	Rule Obligation Justification	Reasoning
Q5	Rule Adherence	Judgment: Yes/No
Q6	Rule Adherence Justification	Reasoning
Q7	Rule Change	Judgment: Yes/No
Q8	Rule Change Justification	Reasoning
Q9	Conflict Topic	Reasoning
Q10	Age	Judgment: Yes/No
Q11	Decision Judgment	Judgment
Q12	Decision Justification	Reasoning
Q13	Dating Approval	Judgment
Q14	Resistance	Judgment: Yes/No
Q15	Resistance Justification	Reasoning
Q16	Resistance Change	Judgment: Yes/No

Appendix E

*Listing of Assessments**Part IV Evaluation of Parental and Personal Attitudes**Section C, Comparisons*

Question Number	Assessment Label	Type of Assessment
Q1	Friendship Comparison	Judgment: Yes/No
Q2	Friendship Comparison Justification	Reasoning
Q3	Marriage Comparison	Judgment: Yes/No
Q4	Marriage Comparison Justification	Reasoning
Q5	Relationship Adherence	Judgment: Scale
Q6	Rule Adherence Justification	Reasoning
Q7	Relationship Adherence Justification	Reasoning
Q8	Relationship Adherence Justification	Reasoning

Appendix F

Coding Categories for Justifications in Social Experience

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Potential Justification	1 = Different Interests 2 = Race 3 = Too Few 4 = Segregate Themselves 5 = No Response/Just Because	Asks participants why it is not easy to make cross-race friends or date.	We listen to different music. I don't want to be friends with them. Not a lot of Black people at our school. They only hang out with each other.
Experience Justification	1 = Different Interests 2 = Race 3 = Too Few 4 = Segregate Themselves 5 = No Response/Just Because	Asks participants why they do not have cross-race friends or have never cross-race dated.	We're not into the same things. Our cultures are too different. Not a lot of Black people at our school. They only hang out with each other.
Intimacy Justification	1 = Parents 2 = Too Few, Had None 3 = Not Close Enough 4 = No one is allowed over. 5 = No response/Just Because	Asks why the participant has never brought friend/date home.	My parents would freak out. I have no white friends. I wasn't close enough to them to invite over. Doesn't matter the race, no one is allowed.

(Appendix F continues)

(Appendix F continued)

Appendix F

Coding Categories for Justifications in Social Experience

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Expression of Message	1 = Supportive / Positive 2 = Wrongness, concern with others 3 = Safety / Jurisprudence 4 = Limit Type of Relationship 5 = Limit to Within Own Race 7 = Negative racial statements/jokes 6 = No Response	Asks participants what their parents have said or done to indicate feelings.	They support me in every way. They think its just wrong. They think Blacks are a bad influence. As long as we're friends, it's okay. They'd prefer I date only someone the same race as me. They make racist jokes.

Appendix G

Coding Categories for Justifications in Parental Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Attitude Expression	1 = Negative Statements 2 = Positive / Supportive Statements 3 = Negative Demeanor 4 = Positive Demeanor 5 = Neutral, Nothing	Asks participants to explain parental attitude rating.	They make jokes sometimes. They've always taught me to be nice. The way they act around Blacks. They have a lot of Black friends.
Direct Expression	1 = Limit Type of Relationship 2 = Negative Jokes, Comments 3 = Forbidden 4 = Wrongness, Concern with others 5 = Social Consequences 6 = Limit to Within Own Race 7 = Positive, Supportive 8 = Nothing / No response	Asks participants what sort of direct statements parents have expressed.	They tell me to keep it at friends. They make racist jokes. It's a definite no in my house. They say others will think bad of me. Society is against it so why put yourself at risk. They tell me to date only White boys. They tell me they value my choices.

(Appendix G continues)

(Appendix G continued)

Appendix G

Coding Categories for Justifications in Parental Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Indirect Expression	1 = Limit Type of Relationship	Asks participants what sort of direct statements parents have expressed.	They've inferred that friends are okay.
	2 = Negative Jokes, Comments		Jokes, Comments.
	3 = Physical Comments		They act uncomfortable around Blacks.
	4 = Wrongness, Concern with others		They make comments about society.
	5 = Social Consequences		You have to think of how hard it would be for mixed children.
	6 = Limit to Within Own Race		What's wrong with my own race.
	7 = Positive, Supportive		They've never acted unsupportive in my choices.
	8 = Nothing / No response		
Influence	1 = Personal Choice	Asks participants how messages have influenced their personal decisions.	It's my life.
	2 = Subversion		I still do it only I don't bring them home.
	3 = Obey		I have to do what my parents say.
	4 = Agree		It's not a problem b/c we don't disagree.
	5 = No influence		None.
	6 = Positive Influence		They are good role models and have many different kinds of friends.
	7 = No responses		

(Appendix G continues)

(Appendix G continued)

Appendix G

Coding Categories for Justifications in Parental Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Expression Justification	1 = Personal Choice 2 = Parental Care 3 = Parental Right 4 = Parental Opinion 5 = Agree with Opinion 6 = Consideration of Family 7 = Moral 8 = No responses	Asks participants why it is okay or not okay to express views.	They're entitled to their own opinion. They're just looking out for me. It's their right as my parent. They're free to say whatever they want. It's fine b/c I agree with them. I wouldn't want to upset my family. It's never right to talk bad about someone.

Appendix H

Coding Categories for Justifications in Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Rule Justification	1 = Safety, Jurisprudence 2 = Maturity 3 = Parental Experience 4 = Authority 5 = Parental Guidance 6 = Personal Choice 7 = Consequences 8 = Moral 9 = No response	Asks why it is okay or not okay to make rules about friends or dates.	They worry about bad influences. I'm old enough to make my own rules decisions. They know more than I do. They're my parents. I live in their house. They want to teach me right from wrong. It's my life. I would get in trouble otherwise. It wouldn't be fair.
Rule Obligation Justification	1 = Safety, Jurisprudence 2 = Maturity 3 = Parental Experience 4 = Authority 5 = Parental Guidance 6 = Personal Choice 7 = Consequences 8 = Moral 9 = No response	Asks why parents do or do not have to set rules.	They worry about bad influences. I'm old enough to make my own obligation decisions. They know more than I do. They're my parents. I live in their house. They want to teach me right from wrong. It's my life. I would get in trouble otherwise. It's not right for parents to make rules about my friends.

(Appendix H continues)

(Appendix H continued)

Appendix H

Coding Categories for Justifications in Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Rule Adherence Justification	1 = Safety, Jurisprudence 2 = Maturity 3 = Parental Experience 4 = Authority 5 = Parental Guidance 6 = Personal Choice 7 = Consequences 8 = Moral 9 = No response	Asks why participants do or do not feel an obligation to follow rules.	They worry about bad influences. I'm old enough to make my own decisions. They know more than I do. They're my parents. I live in their house. They want to teach me right from wrong. It's my life. I would get in trouble otherwise. Love should outweigh rules.
Rule Change Justification	1 = Safety, Jurisprudence 2 = Maturity 3 = Parental Experience 4 = Authority 5 = Parental Guidance 6 = Personal Choice 7 = Consequences 8 = Moral 9 = No response	Asks participants why or why don't the rules change with age.	Kids can be more easily influenced. As I get older, I know what's best for me. They'll always know more than I do. I'm under their roof, so it's their rules. They want to teach me right from wrong. It's my life. I would get in trouble otherwise. Love is love no matter the age.

(Appendix H continues)

(Appendix H continued)

Appendix H

Coding Categories for Justifications in Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Example
Conflict Topic	1 = Race 2 = Age 3 = Bad Influence 4 = Personal Choice 5 = General Negative Feelings 6 = No response	Asks participants what conflicts have been about.	They don't want me hanging out w/ Blacks. I dated someone they thought was too old. They thought my friend was bad news. Argued about my making my own choices. They just didn't like the person.
Decision Justification	1 = Safety, Jurisprudence 2 = Maturity 3 = Parental Experience 4 = Authority 5 = Parental Guidance 6 = Personal Choice 7 = Consequences 8 = Mutual Decision 9 = No response	Asks participants why parents or adolescents should make decisions regarding choice of friends or dates.	They're job is to take care of me. With experience, I know what's best for me. They'll always know more than I do. When I'm an adult, I can make decisions. They want to teach me right from wrong. It's my life. It's none of their business. I'd be punished if I didn't listen. It should be something both agree on.

(Appendix H continues)

(Appendix H continued)

Appendix H

Coding Categories for Justifications in Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Resistance Justification	1 = Personal Choice 2 = Moral 3 = Conventional 4 = Authority, Punishment 5 = No response	Asks participants why or why they wouldn't continue seeing person.	It's my life. I can do what I want. I don't see it as bad. Everyone is the same. I wouldn't want people to stare at me. My parents would have a cow.
Friendship Comparison Justification	1 = Social Consequences 2 = Personal Choice 3 = Moral 4 = Seriousness of Relationship 5 = No response	Asks why parents views dating and friendship differently.	They say dating would be frowned on. They think my relationships are my choice. Race shouldn't matter. Friendship is fine. Dating is too serious.
Marriage Comparison Justification	1 = Social Consequences 2 = Personal Choice 3 = Moral 4 = Seriousness of Relationship 5 = No response	Asks why parents views dating and marriage differently.	Raising biracial kids is difficult. I'm an adult. I make my own decisions. If you're in love, that's what matters. It's too difficult b/c marriage is forever.

(Appendix H continues)

(Appendix H continued)

Appendix H

Coding Categories for Justifications in Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes

Category	Codes	Description	Examples
Relationship Adherence Justification	1 = Social Consequences 2 = Personal Choice 3 = Moral 4 = Seriousness of Relationship 5 = No response	Asks why participant would or would not follow parents' wishes.	Raising biracial kids is difficult. I'm an adult. I make my own decisions. If you're in love, that's what matters. It's too difficult b/c marriage is forever.

Appendix I

Summary of Hypotheses

Intergroup Contact Measure

Judgment and rating hypotheses

1. Adolescents who measure highly on Contact will more likely display positive attitudes toward other races and will be more likely to report cross-race friendships.
2. Adolescents in who perceive their schools to be diverse will more likely report more cross-race friends and have more positive attitudes than those who perceive their schools to be less diverse.
3. Adolescents who measure highly on Contact *and* rate their parents' racial attitudes to be positive will be most likely to demonstrate positive attitudes toward interracial relationships across all measures and will report a greater number of cross-race friends and dating partners.
4. Adolescents who perceive their schools and neighborhoods to be diverse and who have parents with positive racial attitudes will be more likely to rate highly their comfort in working with people from different ethnic backgrounds, have many cross-race friends, and have many friends from school and their neighborhoods who date interracially.

Parental Attitudes

Judgment and rating hypotheses

5. Adolescents who rate their parents' racial attitudes to be neutral to negative will more likely report that their attitudes are expressed indirectly versus directly.
6. Adolescents who say that their parents express their attitudes indirectly will also more likely report that they would follow their parents' wishes if they disapproved of one of their friends or dates and would more likely consider their parents' views when it comes to their personal relationships, especially marriage.
7. Adolescents who say that their parents express their negative attitudes directly will be more likely to continue seeing the person or to see the person in secret. They will also be more likely not to consider their parents' views when it comes to their personal relationships.

(Appendix I continues)

(Appendix I continued)

Summary of Hypotheses

Justification hypotheses

8. Adolescents who rate their parents' racial attitudes to be neutral to negative will more likely give examples of indirect negative messages.
9. Participants whose parents send indirect negative messages will be more likely to use conventional reasoning, such as concerns about society, family, and children, when expressing their consideration of parents' views in their personal relationships.
10. Participants whose parents send direct negative messages will be more likely to use personal choice and moral reasoning, such as equality, love, and rights, when expressing their freedom to make their own decisions regarding their personal relationships.

Social Experiences

Judgment and rating hypotheses

11. Adolescents will more likely rate peers as the source of most influence on their choice of friends and parents as the most influential on their choice of romantic interests.
12. Whether or not adolescents will report having cross-race friends or dating someone of a different race will depend on the potential they have to meet people of a different race at school.

Justification hypotheses

13. Adolescents will report that parental messages most often use conventional reasoning, such as concerns about society and what others will think.
14. Adolescents will use personal choice reasoning most often in expressing the lack of influence their parents' views have on the choices they make with regard to friendship choice.
15. Adolescents will use conventional reasoning more often than personal choice and will be more likely to obey, agree, or use subversion when expressing how their parents' views influence the choices they make with regard to dating over friendship choice.
16. Younger adolescents will use personal choice most often in both the friendship and dating sections.

(Appendix I continues)

(Appendix I continued)

Summary of Hypotheses

17. Adolescents who say that they have never brought a friend or date home who was from a different racial background will be more likely to state that their parents were the reason.

Evaluations of Parental and Personal Attitudes

Judgment and ratings hypotheses

18. Adolescents will state that they should make decisions regarding both their friendships and dating partners rather than their parents.
19. Older adolescents will be more likely than younger adolescents to support the rights of parents to set rules and for adolescents to be obligated to follow them.
20. Older adolescents will be more likely to state that the right to set rules and the obligation to follow them does change with age.

Justification hypotheses

21. Personal choice will be used most often as a reason why adolescents should make all decisions regarding their personal relationships.
22. Older adolescents who say that the right to set rules and the obligation to follow them does change with age and will qualify their responses with conventional and safety reasoning.
23. Adolescents will view marriage differently from friendship and dating when race is involved, stating that they are more likely to consider social and familial consequences when it comes to marriage versus the less serious relationships of friendship and dating.
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Appendix J

**University of Maryland, College Park
Department of Human Development
PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM**

<i>Identification of Project</i>	PROJECT TITLE: Adolescent Social Development Survey
<i>Parental Consent for a minor</i>	I agree to allow my child to participate in a program of research being conducted by Christina Edmonds and Dr. Melanie Killen, Department of Human Development, University of Maryland, College Park.
<i>Procedures</i>	The procedure involves a one-time questionnaire lasting approximately twenty minutes. My child will complete the questionnaire in class under the supervision of his or her teacher. My child will be asked a series of questions about his or her personal relationships and how they are impacted by interactions with peers and family. Examples of questions include the following: Do you think it is okay or not okay for parents to set rules about who a teenager's friends are AND Do teenagers have an obligation to follow the rule?
<i>Confidentiality</i>	All information collected in the study is confidential. My child's name will not be identified. All survey forms will be destroyed at the end of the study.
<i>Risks</i>	Participation in the project involves minimal risks or involves a level of risk that is the same as that encountered in ordinary daily living.
<i>Benefits: Freedom to Withdraw and Ask Questions</i>	My child's participation in this study is completely voluntary. I am free to ask any questions or withdraw my child from participation at any time without penalty. I am also free to preview the survey instrument, if desired. My child will be told that he or she may stop participating if he or she chooses and may decline to answer any of the questions without being penalized in any way for doing so.
<i>Name, Address, And Phone Number Of Faculty Advisor</i>	Professor Melanie Killen Dept. of Human Development 3304 Benjamin Building College Park, MD 20742-1131 Office: 301-405-3176
<i>Contact Information Of Institutional Review Board</i>	If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or parent of a participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu ; (telephone) 301-405-4212.

Classroom: _____

Name of Child_____
Date of Birth_____
Signature of Parent/Guardian_____
Date

Appendix K

Social Development Survey**Christina Edmonds****AND****Melanie Killen****UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND****Date:** _____**Date of Birth:** _____ / _____ / _____**Gender:** _____

Contact: Christina Edmonds, Department of Human Development, 3304 Benjamin Building,
University of Maryland, College Park, MD, 20742-1131. Email: cgedmonds@comcast.net

The following survey will ask you questions about yourself. You will be asked questions about your school, your friends, your family, and your experiences with various people. All of your answers will be confidential. There are no right or wrong answers, so please respond to these questions as honestly as you can. You can choose not to answer any questions if you do not want to.

Part I

Section A

First, please tell us a little about yourself.

A1 Were you born in this country? (**circle one**) YES NO
If no, then where? _____

A2. What is your birth date? (month, day, year) _____

A3 What is your race/ethnicity? (**circle the one that best describes you**)

1. African-American
2. Asian-American
3. Hispanic-Latino
4. European-American (White)
5. Other (**please specify**) _____
6. Biracial/Mixed Race (**please list all groups that apply**) _____

A4 Are you (**circle one**): MALE FEMALE

A5 What is the **main** language that your family speaks at home? (**circle one**)

- | | |
|---------|------------------------------|
| English | German |
| Spanish | Japanese |
| Chinese | Hebrew |
| Arabic | Russian |
| French | Other (please specify) _____ |

Section B

In this section, you will be asked questions about how different people have treated you. After each statement, tell us HOW OFTEN you may have experienced each of the following types of incidents. Please circle the number that best describes how you feel.

B1. How often have you experienced the following?:

	Never	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	Always
a) Were you sent to the office unfairly or given an after school detention?	1	2	3	4	5
b) Were you given a lower grade than you thought you should get?	1	2	3	4	5
c) Were you discouraged by others from joining a club?	1	2	3	4	5
d) Did others your age not include you in their activities?	1	2	3	4	5
e) Were you threatened or made fun of?	1	2	3	4	5
f) Were you given a hard time by a store clerk or security guard?	1	2	3	4	5
g) Were you given a hard time by police?	1	2	3	4	5
h) Did people act as if they were afraid of you?	1	2	3	4	5

Section C

The following questions ask about how you have been treated differently as a result of your race/ethnicity. For each statement, please tell us HOW OFTEN you may have experienced each of the following types of incidents *because of your race or ethnicity*. Again please circle the number that best describes how you feel.

C1. How often have you experienced the following *because of your race or ethnicity*?:

	Never	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	Always
a) Were you sent to the office unfairly or given an after school detention <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5
b) Were you given a lower grade than you thought you should get <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5
c) Were you discouraged by others from joining a club <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5
d) Did others your age not include you in their activities <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5
e) Were you threatened or made fun of <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5
f) Were you given a hard time by a store clerk or security guard <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5
g) Were you given a hard time by police <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5
h) Did people act as if they were afraid of you <i>because of your race/ethnicity</i>?	1	2	3	4	5

Section D

This section asks you questions about your school. Please tell us about your experiences by circling what you think is the best answer for each question.

D1How many students in your *SCHOOL* are from racial or ethnic groups that are different from your own?

1. None or A Few	2. Quite A Few But Less Than Half	3. About Half	4. Most
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D2During classroom discussions how often are racial issues discussed and explored?

1. At Least Three Times A Month	2. Once or Twice A Month	3. Less Than Once A Month	4. Never
--	---	--	---------------------

D3. To what extent do you believe that these discussions have changed your understanding of different points of view?

1. Not At All	2. A Little	3. Quite A Bit	4. A Lot
--------------------------	------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------

D5. How comfortable would you be working with students from different racial or ethnic backgrounds on group or class projects?

1. Very Comfortable	2. Somewhat Comfortable	3. Somewhat Uncomfortable	4. Very Uncomfortable
------------------------------------	--	--	--------------------------------------

D6. How often do you work on school projects and/or study with students from other racial or ethnic groups?

1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
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D7. At school how many friends do you have who are from a different racial or ethnic group than you?

1. None	2. One or Two	3. A Few	4. Many
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D8. Outside of school how many friends do you have who are from a different racial or ethnic group than you?

1. None	2. One or Two	3. A Few	4. Many
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D9. In the neighborhood where you live:

1. Nearly everyone is your racial/ethnic group	2. Most of the people are from your racial/ethnic group	3. There is about an equal mix of your racial/ethnic group and other groups	4. Most of the people are from racial/ethnic groups different from you
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D10. How many of your friends from your neighborhood are from a different racial/ethnic group than you?

1. None	2. One or Two	3. A Few	4. Many
--------------------------	--------------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------------

D11. How many people your age from your school date someone from a different racial/ethnic group?

1. None	2. One or Two	3. A Few	4. Many
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D12. How many people your age from your neighborhood date someone from a different racial/ethnic group?

1. None	2. One or Two	3. A Few	4. Many
--------------------------	--------------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------------

Section E

The following questions ask you about HOW OFTEN people in general are treated differently. Please circle the number that best describes the way you feel.

	Never	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	Always
1) How often are racial or ethnic minorities treated unfairly because of their race or ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
2) How often are white people treated unfairly because of their race or ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
3) How often are females treated unfairly because of their gender?	1	2	3	4	5
4) How often are males treated unfairly because of their gender?	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions will ask you about your experience with making choices in personal relationships. When asked questions referring to *race/ethnicity*, it refers to individuals that belong to a category different from your own, such as African-American (Black), Asian-American, Hispanic-Latino, European-American (White), Mixed Race, or Other.

Part II

Section A.

1. Please rank on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = most important; 5 = least important) who you believe to be the most important source of influence on your choice of friends, besides yourself:

Society Peers Religion Parents Other (please specify)

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

2. In your school, is it easy to be friends with people of different racial backgrounds from your own?

Yes No

*****If yes, skip question 3 and go to question 4.**

3. If no, why?

4. Do you have friends with different racial backgrounds from your own?

Yes No

*****If yes, skip question 5 and go to question 6.**

5. If no, why?

6. If yes, have you ever brought those friends to your home?

Yes No

*****If yes, skip question 6 and go to question 8.**

7. If no, why?

8. Have your parents ever reacted negatively because a friend is a different race from you? Yes No

*****If no, skip questions 9, 10, and 11 and go to question 12.**

7. Would or have your parents ever reacted negatively because a person you are interested in or dating was a different race from you?

Yes No

*****If no, skip question 8 and go to question 9.**

8. What kinds of things do you believe they would say or have they said in the past?

9. Do you think they have negative feelings about a person you've dated or been interested in because of their race?

Yes No

*****If no, skip question 10, 11, and 12 and go to question 13.**

10. What do you think those feelings are?

11. Are these feelings communicated...?

Directly Indirectly Both

12. When they communicate these feelings to you, what do you usually do?

Ignore it and do what you want	Talk to them and express view
Comply and end relationship	Comply but continue to see
Agree with them	person outside of home

13. Have your parents' views regarding your interest in dating someone of a different race changed as you've gotten older? (check all that apply)

No change	Become more negative	Become more positive
Expressed less	Expressed more	

Part III.

1. In general, how would you rate your parents' racial attitudes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Good	Good	Okay	Neutral	Little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

2. What have they said or indicated in their behavior to make you think this?

3. In general, how would you rate your parents' feelings regarding cross-race friendships?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Good	Good	Okay	Neutral	Little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

4. In general, how would you rate your parents' feelings regarding cross-race dating?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Good	Good	Okay	Neutral	Little Bad	Bad	Very Bad

5. Have your parents ever said or done anything *directly* to you regarding cross-race relationships, positive or negative? Yes No

*****If no, skip question 6 and go to question 7.**

6. What have they said or done?

7. Have your parents ever said or done anything *indirectly* to you regarding cross-race relationships, positive or negative? Yes No

*****If no, skip question 8 and go to question 10.**

8. What have they said or done?

9. How have their messages influenced decisions you have made regarding cross-race relationships, if at all?

10. Do you feel your parents express their personal views on race and race issues more as you have gotten older? Yes No

11. Overall, how would you rate the importance of your dating and choice of partners to your parents?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Little Important	Not at all important

12. Do you believe it is alright or not alright for your parents to express their views regarding their beliefs about race?

Alright

Not Alright

13. Why?

The following questions will ask you your personal feelings about relationships. When asked questions referring to *race/ethnicity*, it refers to individuals that belong to a category different from your own, such as African-American (Black), Asian-American, Hispanic-Latino, European-American (White), Mixed Race, or Other.

Part IV.

Section A.

1. Do you think it is okay or not okay for parents to set rules about who a teenager's friends are?
 Okay Not Okay
2. Why? _____

3. Do parents have an obligation to make a rule regarding friendship choice for their teenager?
 Yes No
4. Why? _____

5. Do teenagers have an obligation to follow the rule?
 Yes No
6. Why? _____

7. Does this change with age?
 Yes No
8. Why? _____

9. Have you ever argued with one or both of your parents about your friendship choices?
 Yes No
 ***If no, skip question 10 and go to question 11.
10. What was the argument about? _____

11. Who should make decisions regarding friendship choices?
 Parents Teenager

12. Why? _____

Section B.

1. Do you think it is okay or not okay for parents to make a rule about whom a teenager dates?

Okay

Not Okay

2. Why? _____

3. Do parents have an obligation to make a rule regarding their teenager's dating choices?

Yes

No

4. Why? _____

5. Does the teenager have an obligation to follow the rule?

Yes

No

6. Why? _____

7. Does this change with age?

Yes

No

8. Why? _____

9. Have you ever argued with one or both of your parents about your dating choices?

Yes

No

*****If no, skip question 10 and go to question 11.**

10. If yes, what was the argument about? _____

11. Who should make decisions regarding dating choices?

Parents

Teenager

12. Why? _____

13. If you had an opportunity to date someone of a different racial background from your own, would your parents...?

Approve

Disapprove

No Opinion

14. Would you continue to see the person even if your parents disapproved?

Yes

No

15. Why? _____

16. Has the answer to this question changed with age?

Yes

No

Section C.

1. Do your parents' views regarding the racial background of an individual differ when it comes to dating versus friendship?

Yes

No

*****If no, skip question 2 and go to question 3.**

2. If yes, how? _____

3. Do your parents' views regarding the racial background of an individual differ when it comes to marriage versus dating?

Yes

No

*****If no, skip question 4 and go to question 5.**

4. If yes, how? _____

5. If your parents disapproved of your seeing someone because of their racial background, are you more or less likely to listen to them when the issue involves dating versus friendship?

More likely

Less likely

No difference

6. Why? _____

7. If your parents disapproved of your dating someone because of their racial background, are you more or less likely to listen to them when the issue involves marriage versus dating?

More likely

Less likely

No difference

8. Why? _____

If you have had any personal experience with situations similar to those asked above or would like to elaborate on the topic, please feel free to express your thoughts below.

[illegible]

Thank you for your time!

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