

WHITE LIKE (OR NOT LIKE) ME: CREATING A WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE
AND EXAMINING HOW IT DIFFERS BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

By

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ABSTRACT

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Previous research on white racial identity (WRI) has typically relied on questions that have asked whites questions that measure their self awareness of themselves as white, their feelings of belonging to a white racial group, and their attitudes towards racialized ethnic others. These measures equate white racial identity exclusively with group membership, which only captures the structural components of whites racial identities. Group membership serves as one proxy of racial identity, but white racial identities also have important interactional and cultural components that cannot be captured by measuring group membership alone. In this research, this goal is achieved by the creation of a White Racial Identity Scale (WRIS) which includes traditional questions that ask whites about their group membership but includes new questions that measure whites American, Cross-Racial, Ethnic, Racial and Institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Exploratory factor analysis was conducted, revealing 8 factors that contribute to WRI. These factors supported and expanded upon the factors that were hypothesized. These factors were then subjected to linear regression to determine the ways socio-demographic factors impact WRI. Findings show that the factors that contribute to WRI do differ by religion, racial composition of networks and neighborhood, gender, income, Michigan residency and family prejudice. Adding in these items allow for a measure of white racial identity that goes beyond group membership to measure how respondents perform and present these identities in social interactions.

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To Eric. Thank you for being my rock.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
INTRODUCTION	1
Psychological Research on White Racial Identities	1
Sociological Research on White Racial Identities	3
Theoretical Framework	6
Research Questions	7
Key Definitions	11
Contribution	16
Dissertation Outline	17
LITERATURE REVIEW	19
Identities	19
Race and Ethnicity	26
White Racial Identities	31
Research Questions	32
Rationale for White Racial Identities through Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences	32
WRI and American attitudes, behaviors, and preferences	33
WRI and attitudes, behaviors, and preferences concerning cross-racial interaction	35
WRI and ethnic attitudes, behaviors, and preferences	36
WRI and racial attitudes	38
WRI and institutional attitudes, behaviors, and preferences	39
Rationale for Measuring White Racial Identities through Demographics	41
WRI and racial and ethnic self identification	42
WRI and education	42
WRI and neighborhoods and networks	43
WRI and gender	43
WRI and class status	45
WRI and urbanicity	47
METHODS	49
Introduction	49
Research Rationale	51
Participants	52
Instrument	60
Previous Acculturation Measures and Psychometric Properties	63
Measuring American Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences	71
Measuring Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences Concerning Cross-Racial Interaction	75

Measuring Ethnic Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences	77
Measuring Racial Attitudes	79
Measuring Institutional Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences	80
Analytic Strategy	81
Exploratory factor analysis	82
Limitations of EFA	84
Normality for variables subjected to EFA	87
Missing data for variables subjected to EFA	87
Validity of variables subjected to EFA	89
Recoding variables utilized in the EFA	90
Linear regression	91
Missing data for variables subjected to linear regression	92
Recodes of linear regression variables	94
Regression assumptions	97
Conclusion	105
FINDINGS	106
Introduction	106
Exploratory Factor Analysis	106
Linear Regression	113
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	135
Introduction	135
American Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences as Proxy Measures of WRI	136
Cross-Racial Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences as Proxy Measures of WRI	137
Ethnic Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences as Proxy Measures of WRI	139
Racial Attitudes as Proxy Measures for WRI	141
Institutional Attitudes, Behaviors, and Preferences as Proxy Measures of WRI	142
How WRI Differ by Key Socio-Demographic Indicators	143
Open-ended racial/ethnic identification	143
Gender	144
Class	145
Religion	147
Neighborhood and network	148
Family prejudice	149
Key Themes for Consideration	150
WRI and white hegemony	150
Beyond group membership	152
WRI as more than awareness or identification	153
Limitations and Future Research	153
Conclusion	156
APPENDIX	157
REFERENCES	161

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: List of Dropped Questions	56
Table 2: Demographic Information (n=220)	58
Table 3: Survey Items Used to Measure Each Hypothesis	60
Table 4: Missing Data for Items Subjected to EFA	88
Table 5: Missing Data for Socio-Demographic Items	92
Table 6: Durbin Watson Statistics for Dependent Variables	99
Table 7: Cooks Values for Dependent Variables (n=220)	104
Table 8: Collinearity Statistics for Independent Variables	104
Table 9: Factor Loadings for White Racial Identity	107
Table 10: Alpha Values for Each White Racial Identity Sub-Scale	110
Table 11: Alpha Value if Item Deleted for American Scale	111
Table 12: Alpha Value if Item Deleted for Cross- Racial Scale	111
Table 13: Alpha Value if Item Deleted for Ethnic Scale	112
Table 14: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences by Basic Demographics	114
Table 15: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences by Race, Class, Gender, Urbanicity and Religion	117
Table 16: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences by Race, Class, Gender, Religion, Neighborhood, Network and Family Prejudice	120
Table 17: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences with all Independent Variables	125
Table 18: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences with Variables that Significant in All Previous Models	130
Table A.1: White Racial Identity Scale Instrument	158

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Normal P-Plot of Regression Standardized Residual for Dependent Variables	98
Figure 2: Scatterplots of Regression Standardized Residual and Regression Standardized Predicted Value for Dependent Variables	100
Figure 3: Histograms for Dependent Variables	102

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this dissertation is to create a White Racial Identity Scale (WRIS) and to examine how this scale differs by socio-demographic factors such as gender, class, education and urbanicity. In particular, I will investigate white racial identities through American, Cross Racial, Ethnic, Racial and Institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences. It is important to study white racial identities, as they are integral to the maintenance of racism. White racial identities invest whites into the larger system of white supremacy by cultivating an us versus them mentality that presupposes whites' success and access to resources as being contingent on the oppression of racialized ethnic others (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Ferber, 1998; Lipsitz, 1998; Wellman, 1977). This kind of boundary maintenance is central to the preservation of inequalities, as it determines where the lines of privileged and not privileged are drawn (Schwalbe et al, 2000:430) and justifies why whites should maintain their ideological and material privileges.

White racial identities have been examined from both psychological (Behrens, 1997; Croll, 2007; Helms, 1990; Helms, 1997; Knowles and Peng, 2005; Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson, 1994) and sociological perspectives (Bettie, 2000; McDermott and Samson, 2005), neither of which has succeeded at developing a generalizable measure of white racial identity that interrogates the predictors of white racial identity, how white identities are performed at multiple levels of society and how these identities manifest in a "post-racial" era.

Psychological Research on White Racial Identities

Psychological research has measured white racial identities by asking white respondents about whether they identified as white (Helms, 1990) and whether they felt that their fate was tied in to the fate of other whites (Bobo and Johnson, 2000). The White Racial Identity Attitude

Scale was the first to explore the contours of white racial identity (Helms, 1990; Helms and Carter, 1990). The scale constructs white racial identity as a developmental process, wherein whites move from racist and largely unaware of their status as racial beings to non-racist and more aware of themselves as white. Helm's conception of the model was heavily based on nigrescence models that argued that black identities develop in relation to their contact with African American attitudes, orientations and values (Cross, 1991).

Such theoretical linkages are problematic for a number of reasons, the first of which being that the model assumes that the process of racial identity development is congruous for whites and blacks (Behrens, 1997; Behrens and Rowe, 1997; Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson, 1994). Whites occupy a uniquely privileged position in American society, which allows them to deny the relevance of their racial identity if they so choose (Brander Rasmussen et al, 2001; Frankenburg, 1997). Racialized ethnic minorities on the other hand are typically forced to grapple with their racial identity (Allen and Richard, 2001). These different trajectories are salient factors in determining individual self-concept. In addition, such a focus examines white racial identities through the lens of whites acceptance of racialized ethnic others. These measures tell us more about white racial attitudes than they do about the content of whites own identities (Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson, 1994). Finally, the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale conceptualizes white racial identity as a thing, not a process (Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson, 1994) which ignores the ways in which white racial identities shift over time and context.

More recent measures of white racial identity have surfaced (Knowles and Peng, 2005). Yet, these psychological measures continue to be problematic for two primary reasons. First, they rely too heavily on respondent's own self-identification and awareness of being white, which only measures an individuals' personal identity and ignores the fact that individual's also

have social identities (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Tajfel, 1982). Identities are “the sets of meanings people hold for themselves that define “what it means” to be who they are as persons, as role occupants, and as group members,” (Burke, 2004:5). This expanded definition of identity highlights the need to research identity through measurements that continue to questions about an individual’s self perception and attitudes, but also ask respondent’s questions about how they actually interact with others and enact their identity through concrete behaviors and preferences.

Second, these measures of white racial identity rely too heavily on whites’ awareness of themselves as racial beings and whites’ willingness to vocalize this awareness to researchers. It is likely that many respondents’ answers to questions about their white racial awareness contradict how respondents actually enact their racial identity. These presumptions become especially problematic in a “color-blind” and “post-racial” society that encourages whites to deny the relevance of their membership in a white community leading them to declare that race has any significance in shaping their lives or the lives of those around them (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Feagin, 2006). Given these complexities, it is more important to ask how an individual chooses which identity to perform in particular spaces, and how their performance is shaped by larger structural forces, than to ask the more simple question of whether one has a white identity or not.

Sociological Research on White Racial Identities

On the other hand, whiteness studies has researched white racial identity through historical accounts that study how the boundaries of whiteness shifted over time; deconstructions of white privilege that focus on the institutional benefits of whiteness; or analyses of the fragmented nature of white identities (Hartigan, 1999; McDermott, 2006; Morris, 2005; Sweetland, 2002; Wray, 2006). The first of these strands of whiteness studies historicized

whiteness by showing how its boundaries have shifted over time to encompass a range of ethnicities (Foley, 1997; Ignatiev, 2009; Jacobson, 1999). Such an approach points to the socially constructed nature of racial categories and the identities that are possible within them. It also highlights the ways that whiteness has worked as a mechanism for boundary maintenance to keep whites in while racializing and disenfranchising other “non-white” ethnic minorities. These approaches are important because they simultaneously demonstrate how individuals and groups experience whiteness as well as how racial projects guide these experiences (Omi and Winant, 1994). However, they often place too much emphasis on the ways white racial identities are temporally grounded, without relating these identities to the larger system of white hegemony.

The second line of inquiry has been lodged largely within the anti-racist movement, and has attempted to interrogate and dismantle white privilege (Ferber, 1998; McIntosh, 1988; Wise, 2008), which is a key component of white racial identity on a structural level. These studies are the most politically grounded, as they make explicit calls for whites to become aware of and “give up” their white privilege as a means of overthrowing the larger racial order (Ignatiev and Garvey, 1996). Whiteness, and the privileges that come along with it are often invisible (Doane and Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Frankenberg, 1997) and this type of work is important to help uncloak whiteness, which is especially necessary during a time when racial systems of domination are often concealed through color blind and egalitarian rhetoric (Bonilla Silva 2014; Sears et. al., 2000).

However, too often, these approaches focus on “white privilege” as a benefit that all whites experience equally. Correspondingly, studies within this area do not give enough emphasis to how white privilege and white identities may be fragmented by diverse social positions, such as class, or local physical space. Examining whiteness and white privilege in this

way obfuscate the complexity inherent in whiteness and subsequently reifies the polarized racial binary of black versus white. In addition, the rhetoric about white privilege often provides whites a way out of racism, by operationalizing whiteness at the individual level, and not connecting it to larger structures of power. Encouraging whites to give up their privilege, in the fight against racism, is a worthy task. However, it is not sufficient to dismantle the larger system of white supremacy that feeds whiteness (Andersen, 2003).

The final line of inquiry, rooted largely in post-modern thought, examines how white identities are fragmented by a number of social positions, including class, gender, sexuality, and local physical space. These studies build upon historical accounts that document the shifting nature of white racial identities and reinforce arguments that white racial identities are not biological, nor are they determined solely by skin color or other physical attributes. Instead, white identities are socially constructed, a product of micro and macro social forces and interactions across time and space. In this way, there is not a singular way to perform whiteness. Instead, white performances encompass a variety of standpoints and epistemologies that coalesce into a multitude of white individual and group identities. Therefore, our understanding of whiteness as a uniform category that one either is or isn't inadequately captures the intricate nature of how race is constructed and enacted in local physical spaces (Hartigan, 1999; Morris, 2005). These non-normative performances of whiteness can sometimes create a space of resistance where hegemonic notions of whiteness can be challenged, although they often reinforce it.

In contrast to psychological studies on white racial identity, these studies interrogate identities from a more sociological perspective and examine how they are created and maintained at performative, interactive, and structural levels of society. They have done this by

interviewing respondent's about their own self-perceptions and how they negotiate and enact their own identities, interviewing others to see how they view the respondent, and by theorizing about how these identities are influenced by the multiple and sometimes contradictory factors of race, class, gender, and local space (Bettie, 2000; Candelario, 2000; Foley, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; Hartigan, 1999; McDermott, 2006; Morris, 2005; Roediger, 2007; Sweetland, 2002; Wray, 2006). These studies have provided important qualitative data about the nature of white racial identities. However, the small scale of these studies means that their conclusions are not generalizable outside of the particular local context that was researched. In addition, although these studies on white identities open up a number of new possibilities that can problematize whiteness, they do not incorporate analyses of how these identities are constructed in relation to the larger system of white supremacy, and how whiteness, as an ideological construct serves to construct and maintain the border between white and racialized ethnic other. In conjunction with these omissions, studies of whiteness that are too heavily focused on identity ignore the particular socio-historical processes, or racial projects that guide the range of white identities that are possible (Omi and Winant, 1994). Examinations of non-normative white identities must not only analyze the distinctive performances that are possible, but must also look at which performances of whiteness are valued and which are not, and in what spaces. Such analyses would provide further insight into where the boundaries of normative whiteness begins and ends, and how these boundaries shift over time and space. Given these gaps, it is clear that new measures for white racial identity are necessary.

Theoretical Framework

To remedy these issues, I propose that the study of white racial identity should be moved into the field of Social Psychology. Situating white racial identity in this way allows for an

examination of how identities are outcomes of both psychological and social processes. Consequently, identities are more than self-identification, but also cannot be determined by strict, linear relationships between social group memberships. Instead, identities are constructed and maintained by a reciprocal relationship between internal and external forces that are fluid and contextual (Blumer, 1969; Burke and Reitzes, 1981; Burke, 2004; Stryker, 1980). This research study attempts to examine these the cultural and interactive components of white racial identity by building on previous acculturation measures that have largely been developed by and distributed to multi-racial (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997; Phinney, 1992; Phinney and Ong, 2007), black (Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996) and immigrant (Birman and Tyler, 1994; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Birman, Trickett and Vinokurov, 2002; Campisi, 1948; Campisi, 1947b; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Cortes et al., 2003; Lim et al., 2002; Persky and Birman, 2005; Tsai, Ying and Lee, 2000; Ward and Kennedy, 1994; Weinstock, 1964) populations. These measures have not ever been distributed to white American populations, largely because white identities are often taken for granted as invisible, normative (Brander-Rasmussen, 2001; Frankenburg, Hartmann, Gertreis and Croll, 2009), and culture-less (Perry, 2002; Perry, 2007), particularly for those that identify as white.

Research Questions

Six primary research questions were utilized to explore these relationships:

RQ1: What American attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ2: What attitudes, behaviors and preferences regarding cross racial interactions are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ3: What ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ4: What racial attitudes are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ5: What institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ6: How do these attitudes, behaviors and preferences differ by key socio-demographic factors including age, education, religion, ethnic identification, bilingual ability, gender, class, urbanicity, neighborhood and network racial composition and family prejudice?

I hypothesize that together, respondents' American, cross racial, ethnic, racial, and institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences serve as a measurable representation of their white racial identity. White respondents from different socio-demographic backgrounds will exhibit different configurations of these attitudes, behaviors and preferences and therefore, it can be hypothesized that they have distinct white racial identities.

This model examines white racial identity through five different categories of attitudes, behaviors and preferences. The relationships between white racial identities and white attitudes have been well established in the literature (Croll, 2007; Helms, 1990; Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson, 1994; Wellman, 1977). Individuals are likely to develop attitudes that are similar to those they were socialized around (Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson, 1994). These attitudes, in turn, serve as proxies for the types of identities individual's possess and enact (Broman, 1989; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996; Wellman, 1977). Behavior (Burke and Reitzes, 1981; Goffman, 1959) and preferences (Bourdieu, 1984) have been theorized to be proxies for identity.

Finally, this model explores the ways these factors are influenced by white's varied social positions and demographics. This analysis builds on the sociological studies mentioned earlier

that have examined how white racial identities differ based on factors such as class, gender, and urbanicity. Such an analysis also connects individual white racial identities to larger systems of stratification and shows how whites may have identities that are simultaneously privileged and oppressed.

Respondent's attitudes, behaviors and preferences are empirically testable representations of their own self-concept, which includes how they understand themselves as role occupants and group members. There is a reciprocal relationship between identity, attitude and behavior. Individuals subscribe to identities, attitudes and behaviors that have meanings that are consistent with their "common underlying frame of reference" (Burke and Reitzes, 1981:84). Attitudes and behaviors are not only guided by performances and identities that align with a particular role, but are also constructed to ensure that it does not signify performances and identities that are associated with roles that are counter to that identity (Burke and Reitzes, 1981; Fine, 1991; Fine, 1993; Hall, 1987; McCall, 2003; Schwalbe et al., 2000). Measuring respondent's behaviors and preferences is of particular importance as they may actually may be a more accurate indicator of identity than respondent's own self identification, which is likely to be inaccurate and idealized (Robinson and Smith-Lovin, 1992; Rosenberg and Turner, 1990; Wellman, 1977). Measuring white racial identities through these cultural proxies are especially necessary as a key facet of white racial identities is that they are built on discourse of racial normativity (Delgado and Stefancic, 1997) invisibility (Frankenburg, 1997, Brander-Rasmussen, 2001) and unawareness (Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll, 2009).

Respondent's attitudes, behaviors and preferences also serve as performative cues that signify identity to others (Goffman, 1959; Goffman, 1967). These interactions highlight the fact that identities are products of forces other than group membership alone. Instead, identities

emerge through “situated accomplishment[s] of societal members (West and Fenstermaker, 1995:21; West and Zimmerman, 1987)”. These accomplishments serve to either affirm or deny the performed identity through social interaction as the individual and those they interact with pick up these cues and respond to them through the process of “doing” identity (Markus and Moya, 2010; West and Don, 1987; West and Fenstermaker, 1995).

Finally, respondent’s attitudes, behaviors and preferences provide information about where the respondent is positioned in the larger social structure. Individuals arrive at particular attitudes, behavioral patterns and preferences through social encounters that are highly stratified and typically determined by their social position and cultural community (Bourdieu, 1984). Including questions that measure identity at these levels allows for complex racial performances and identities, but still connects these performances and identities to larger structural forces. Such a measure also has the potential to deconstruct whites’ proclamations that all identities are created equally by empirically examining how whites’ conceive of and enact their own racial identities in their everyday lives through avenues such as music and food preferences and cross-racial interactions.

To investigate these relationships between white demographics, attitudes, behaviors and white racial identity, I conducted a study 311 college students using survey instruments that asked students questions about their attitudes, behaviors, practices and preferences. I used these variables to create a White Racial Identity Scale (WRIS) and then examined how this scale differed based on respondent’s socio-demographic backgrounds.

Key Definitions

Too often, in the literature the term whiteness has been used inscrutably and interchangeably to represent white supremacy, white privilege, white hegemony, white identities/white racial identities (WRI), and white performances. Consequently, it is unclear whether whiteness is a structural system of domination, a set of privileges, an ideology, or an identity (Andersen, 2003). Like any other system that structures society, whiteness operates on multiple levels, hence the difficulty in categorization. For conceptual clarity, I typically rely on the latter, more particularized terms instead of referring to the more vague term of whiteness throughout the rest of the paper.

In my theoretical frame, white supremacy denotes a system that emphasizes a political, social, and cultural system of white dominance (Almaguer, 1994; Bonilla Silva, 2001). In this system, whites are allocated power and privilege at the expense of racialized ethnic others (Lipsitz, 1998). This term often too general to be helpful, as it does not describe how whites gain their power, how they utilize it in different contexts, or how their relationship to power is complicated by their other social positions. For this reason, I use it sparingly. The particular privileges whites receive from the social arrangement of white supremacy, whether they be material, or ideological are represented by the concept of white privilege (McIntosh, 1988; McIntosh, 1989). Hegemonic whiteness is a much more useful concept when thinking about how whites are situated in relation to power, and what these arrangements mean as it examines the boundaries that divide whites from racialized ethnic others and from other subordinated whites. The boundaries of hegemonic whiteness rely heavily on particular spatial, sexual, economic, and cultural arrangements that foster racial segregation, idealize whiteness, and devalue racial ethnic others. Its particular manifestations shift to accommodate changing cultural and political systems

(Essed, 1991), but its goal is always the same; to maintain the larger system of white supremacy. White racial identities are constructed in relation to this larger system of hegemonic whiteness and the identity of racialized ethnic others, but occupy a range of positions in relation to this larger system. The construction and performance of these identities are influenced not just by race, but also by social positions such as gender, class, local space, and sexuality (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill, 1996; Bettie, 2000; Candalario, 2000; Frankenburg, 1993; Foley, 1997; Hartigan, 1999; Hill-Collins, 2004; McDermott, 2006; Morris, 2006; Roediger, 2007; Sweetland, 2002; Wray, 2006;). White performances include the ways that whites enact particular attitudes, behaviors, preferences that serve as representations to others of their white racial identities. Adequate compliance with expected attitudes, behaviors, and preferences are also performative proxies that indicate to others where they are positioned in relation to white hegemony. In the next section, I will define hegemony and hegemonic whiteness, and relate the concept of hegemonic whiteness to white performances and white racial identities in more detail.

The idea of hegemony emerged from the ideas of Antonio Gramsci who argued that domination often occurs indirectly through culture and discourse, not by force. Such an arrangement fosters consent from the masses and legitimates those that are in power (Gramsci and Buttigieg, 1992). Yet, despite the comprehensive nature of hegemony as a means for structuring our society, there is no one set of unified values, beliefs, and behaviors that maintain it. Instead, its perpetuation relies on interlocking systems of social stratification that dictate different values, beliefs, and behaviors according to one's position in the larger system. Gramsci's theories have been applied both to systems of gender relations (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 1987) and race relations (Hughey, 2010; Morris, 2006).

Hegemonic whiteness relies on the same processes of consent and ideological and discursive legitimation to maintain a racial hierarchy that stratifies whites in relation to their ability to achieve the hegemonic ideal (Hughey, 2010; Morris, 2006). These legitimations utilize cultural mechanisms, interactive expectations, institutional limitations and norms to determine the range of what types of white racial identities are valued. At a structural level, hegemonic notions of whiteness set forth certain standards for performance, that include expectations for behavior, practices, and preferences that are not representative of the cultural and behavioral patterns of all whites. These hegemonic expectations, unquestioned in our society, often become the basis for controlling images that guide white performances and thought (Hill Collins, 2000; Hill Collins, 2004). These idealized, stereotypical norms of whiteness exclude all people who are perceived to be non-white on the basis of phenotype alone, along with many people who are phenotypically deemed “white” if they are unable to adequately achieve these forms of hegemonic whiteness. Together, these create racialized identity standards that are used to shape white behavior. However, white actors can and do respond to these limitations in a number of ways.

White hegemony is enacted and maintained by a number of signifiers, yet, the exact contours for what constitutes ideal hegemonic performances are not clear. This is because hegemonic whiteness relies heavily on indirect and proscriptive means of domination. Consequently, the most important determining factor of white racial identity is avoiding any performance that can be associated with the “threatening spectre (Pascoe, 2005)” of blackness (Dyer, 1997; Morrison, 1993; Nelson, 1992). Whites who are unable to perform some of the more popular signifiers of whiteness, either because of their working class status (McDermott, 2006), their proximity to people of color (Hartigan, 1999; Morris, 2006) or their inability to

speak “proper” English (Sweetland, 2002) are subordinated. On a structural level, the importance given to these signifiers highlights the fact that whites that can achieve an upper class, suburban performance are typically more valued than others, although white hegemony is supported by a number of different configurations of white performance. Although these signifiers are important markers of white racial identity, they are not exhaustive of all of the ways hegemonic whiteness is signified, especially in local spaces. Exactly which whites are subordinated and how varies across global, regional, and local contexts (Connell and Messerschmit, 2005) and social positions (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill, 1996; Hill Collins, 2004). These processes create a hierarchy of racialization (Connell and Messerschmit, 2005; Hughey, 2010; Morris, 2006) in which whites are stratified according to their ability to maintain their distance from “blackness”, however conceptualized.

Whites who are subordinated within the larger system of white hegemony, for whatever reason, exist at the margins of whiteness, where they occupy a space that is “not quite white” (Wray, 2006), yet not quite black. They may not reap the same benefits as other whites that are more adept at negotiating the terrains of hegemonic whiteness, but those at the margins still often subscribe to oppressive forms of hegemonic whiteness by perceiving whites as superior on some levels to people of color (Morris, 2006:25) even when it may be against their economic interests to do so. In fact, whites that are not able to meet hegemonic expectations for white performance often have to prove their investment in white hegemony through a “hegemonic bargain” wherein they prove their dedication to white hegemony by emphasizing the signifiers that they do have access to (Chen, 1999).

On the other end of the white performance spectrum are liberal, well educated whites are often aware of systems of racial oppression and can live up to hegemonic ideals about what it

means to be white, but choose identities and performances that counter these expectations as a means of showing that they are “color blind” or not racist. However, these whites too often reinforce hegemonic whiteness through paternalizing discourse and behavior (Winant, 1997).

What this shows is that although the particular performances of white identities vary, larger socio-historical forces work to ensure the continuation of white hegemony as the guiding force behind expectations about what it means to be white (Coates, 2003; Doane, 1997; Hughey, 2010). Despite the fact that both of these groups of whites may engage in attitudes, behaviors, practices, and preferences that reflect a distance from hegemonic ideals of white performance, they often continue to perpetuate the larger system of hegemonic whiteness and to reinforce whiteness as a mechanism for constructing boundaries between whites and racialized ethnic others that affords and legitimizes privileges to those whites at the expense of these “others”.

These iterations of white identities are the result of hegemonic ideology that fosters a “white racial frame” and guides all white performances and thought, despite the nuances of whites’ unique social positions. The white racial frame “is a centuries-old worldview and has constantly involved a racial construction of reality by white and other Americans, an emotion-laden construction process that shapes everyday relationships and institutions in fundamental and racialized ways (Feagin, 2010:ix)”. It is grounded in individual and collective memories that often perpetuate a “collective forgetting” of the racial and ethnic subordination that has been so central to America’s history (Feagin, 2010:16). This frame also provides a toolkit that is used to dictate how individuals and groups perceive and operate within the world (Feagin, 2010; Swidler, 1986). It advocates particular behaviors that are rooted in European, Protestant culture, such as hard work, individualism, and manifest destiny (Feagin, 2010:13) and implicitly criticizes those with different cultures or frames. The ideology cultivated by the white racial

frame is so strong that class and education do not mediate its effects--although whites of varying social positions may utilize it in different ways (Feagin, 2010:13-15). This frame presupposes that whites are inherently better and harder working than black Americans, and therefore deserve to be privileged (Feagin, 2010). It also underscores the pervasive nature of hegemonic whiteness as it is continually made and remade in all social contexts, no matter how diverse, in order to remain relevant and yet stay invisible (Martinot, 2007). The high value placed on one's ability to meet these hegemonic standards serve as representations of our individual and collective investment in the larger system of white supremacy and immersion within white culture.

Contribution

This dissertation contributes to the literature on identity, race, and whiteness studies. This research is important for identity research because it highlights the fact that identities are formed at the crux of performative, interactional, and structural processes and teases out how individuals navigate these multi-level processes to produce and maintain a diverse range of identities. In addition, it provides an empirical study of the links between identity and behavior. This research also contributes to the literature on race. Our country is undergoing an "identity crisis" spurred by the increase of multiracial individuals and the shifting and increasingly ambiguous definitions of race (Fernandez, 1992; Kivisto, 2002; Root, 1992). The racial landscape of the United States has drastically changed, largely due to an increase in interracial marriages, immigration, and multiracial identification. Due to these changes, racial identities can no longer be derived from skin color or other physical characteristics alone. Diverse articulations of racial identity performances abound, yet these identities are still guided by structural hegemonic forces that have remained relatively stable over time. Although these racial identities are constantly in flux, the structural boundaries and hegemonic ideals we use to categorize racial membership remain

extremely rigid. It is unclear whether racial boundaries are being transgressed through these fluid and frequent racial border crossings or are being reified, albeit fragmented (Lee and Bean, 2004). This research examines how this tension between hegemonic racial structures and localized racial performances lead to unique configurations of racial identities. Finally, this research makes an important contribution to the field of whiteness studies. The field of whiteness studies has been critiqued for its lack of empirical research (Doane and Bonilla Silva, 2003; McDermott and Samson, 2005). In particular, very few larger scale quantitative studies of white racial identity have been done and the few studies that are available rely too heavily on measures that equate white racial identity with white racial awareness (Croll, 2007).

Dissertation Outline

In chapter two, I review the literature on identity, race, and white identities and performances. Much of the work on identity is grounded in a social-psychological perspective that highlights the specific processes that influence identity formation at the levels of self-concept, interaction, and structure. The section on race emphasizes how the current racial projects at play are a product of larger racial formations, and the idea that race is a socially constructed system that is used to maintain boundaries between whites and racialized ethnic others. The final section on white identities and performances investigates the particular ways whites internalize and navigate these larger systems of stratification through diverse performances that are highly contingent on racial and ethnic group self identification, age, education, local space, religious background, gender, class status, urbanicity, and political views. Together, these three strands of literature set the backdrop for a study of white racial identities.

In chapter three, I provide an overview of the questions that I included on the quantitative

survey that I collected from 311 undergraduate students in Sociology classes at a Midwestern Research 1 university and provide the rationale for why I included each grouping of questions. The survey questions measured the five different factors that I hypothesize contribute to white racial identity: (1) American attitudes, behaviors and preferences (2) cross racial attitudes, behaviors and preferences (3) ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences (4) racial attitudes (5) institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences. I also explain my methodology, which includes linear regression and exploratory factor analysis (EFA). In chapter four, I discuss the findings of this EFA, which indicate that 8 factors including American, Cross Racial, Ethnic, Intimate, Racial, Institutional, Music and Food attitudes, behaviors and preferences are all proxy measures for WRI. In addition, regression indicated that these attitudes, behaviors and preferences shifted based on religion, racial neighborhood and network composition, income, gender, and family prejudice. In chapter five, I discuss the significance of these findings, particularly that this research indicates that whites do have cultural preferences and practices and that these preferences and practices differ by key socio-demographic indicators. I conclude by discussing the broader implications of this research, along with its limitations and suggestions for future research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Identities

Identities are representations of who people perceive themselves to be, how others perceive them, and where they are situated in the larger social structure (Burke, 2004). I outline how identities are influenced by these individual, interpersonal, and structural factors below. In addition, I include a discussion of the key arguments that examine how individuals arrive at their identities, especially when there are so many contending forces influencing identity choice.

Identities are influenced by structural forces that operate at the macro level. These structural forces are a culmination of patterned relationships (Blumer, 1969; Stryker, 1980) that create boundaries of what we are up against (Connell, 1987) and determine the types of identities that are available to us to construct and perform (Blumer, 1969; Stets and Burke, 2000; Stryker, 1980). Hegemonic ideals of what identities are acceptable and how these identities should be performed are often manifested through control of discourse or ideologies (Denzin, 1987; Fine, 1993; Foucault, 1995) that determine what behavior is acceptable and why.

Identities are also comprised of our own self-concept and are a representation of where we see ourselves fitting in society. Together, all of our identities comprise our “selves” (Stets and Burke, 2000). This self-concept shifts and is reinforced through micro level interactions with others. However, identities are not just a composite of internal and external forces (Mead and Morris, 1967). Individuals also interpret these forces subjectively through the self through a system of meaning making and interpreting (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Maines, 2000; Mead and Morris, 1967; Stryker, 1980; Stryker, 1981). Selves interpret gestures and symbols that materialize in their worlds and use these interpretations as a foundation for their own self-

concept, identity performance, and interactions with others.

Identities are always guided by structure, interpretation, and personality (Mead and Morris, 1967), however, the extent to which each of these influence interactions varies across space and time (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Hacking, 1999). Historical and spatial contexts create identities that are nuanced and fragmented, which leads to the creation and performance of multiple identities for each individual self (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000). The fact that our selves are influenced by multiple factors lead to a self that is fragmented and contingent upon the particular social situations in which we find ourselves. It is rare, if not impossible that we bring our whole selves to the table. Instead, our selves are dictated by the particulars of the social experience we are engaging in, wherein we highlight the useful aspects of our selves and do not engage the others. This is true even in our relationship with ourselves (Mead and Morris, 1967).

These nuances led Goffman to conclude that we have social identities and personal identities (Goffman, 1986). Social identities are often ascribed by others, who read an individual's performance and link it with particular types of identities. These identities are social in the sense that the meanings that we make of these presentations, and the types of identities we attribute to them arise out of socially agreed upon symbols and criterion. Personal identities highlight the unique nuances that arise out of each individual's particular "life history". Social forces guide these identities, however, they reveal how identities may differ from our societal expectations due to individual factors that we are not aware of upon our first reading of someone.

Although everyone has multiple identities, some identities are more probable than others. People "choose" from a toolkit (Swidler, 1986) of identities to make a determination about which one should be performed. The macro and micro connect through the process of negotiation,

which uses the concept of roles to remedy the disjuncture between the individual and social structure (Strauss, 1978; Stryker, 1981). These negotiations are often instantaneous and determined by the limitations of the situation (Howard, 2000). Most of the time, individuals are not aware or conscious of this choice. Each identity also comes with a unique identity standard (Burke, 2006; Burke and Rietzes, 1981) that determines the particular performance that is expected of that identity. Individuals execute these expectations through role performances and continually compare their interpretation of the identity standard with their role performance to ensure that the performance represents the identity (Burke, 2006). Individuals also make determinations about their identity based on their desire to define the situation and to maintain an identity that is consistent with others interpretations of them (Robinson and Smith Lovin, 1992). Individuals internalize and interpret structure through these processes, as they evaluate hegemonic understandings of their identity performance and compare it with their own understanding of that identity.

Cultural naming, meaning making, resources, and consistency all serve as mediators that allow individuals to interpret the restraints of the larger social structure and the dominant discourse that accompanies it, and to construct an identity in relation to these larger forces. Cultural naming indicates that macro level cultural categories exist that assist in determining expectations for particular identities. These expectations shape how individuals perform particular identities and how these identities are verified through interaction (Burke, 2004:6). Societies often cultivate shared meanings that tie individuals together and link them to the social structure. However, local meanings do exist that may not be directly tied to larger structures (Burke, 2004:7). The perception and value of a resource in human interaction is often influenced by broader understandings of the meaning of these resources. In this way, controlling the

meanings of particular resources can also lead to control over their perception and distribution (Burke, 2004:8). Objects are key in identity maintenance and consistency. “Once an object becomes a symbolic representation of meaning for a person, it becomes important to maintain that meaning in order to sustain a coherent, cohesive view of the world...People perceive, seek out, and create events to sustain the meanings which they hold about themselves and their social worlds,” (Robinson and Smith-Lovin, 1992:14).

The structured, patterned nature of society makes social relationships durable and highly resistant to change (Stryker, Owens and White, 2000). However, this does not mean that identities are simply automatons that develop in direct relation to societal structures. Identities are as complex and multifaceted as the societies in which they emerge (Stryker, Owens and White, 2000). The self dictates identity performance through the use of “cognitive schemas” which serve as frameworks for “internally stored information and meanings”. These cognitive schemas dictate human behavior by delineating potential interpretive conclusions (Stryker and Burke, 2000). As such, they become cognitive bases for defining situations and determining role choice, by increasing sensitivity and receptivity to certain behavioral cues (Stryker and Burke, 2000). The role individuals take comes with a certain set of expectations, which they perform and is then labeled as action. In this way, cognitive schemas help to determine identity salience and identity commitments in any given situation, which then shapes role choice behavior (Robinson and Smith-Lovin, 1992; Stryker and Burke, 2000).

Identity theorists build on these frames to argue that identities are relatively stable over time, and their manifestations are directly related to the social structures they occupy—therefore identities may change as the structures they inhabit change. In particular, individuals may choose or default to a particular identity based on the salience of that identity, which again is

largely determined by structure (Serpe, 1987). These decisions are often based on which identity holds most prominence in the identity salience hierarchy (Serpe, 1987:45). The identities that are most prominent are often those the individual has the greatest commitment to. Commitment is often dictated by interaction or affect. Interactional commitment arises to secure identities that are necessary to the maintenance of other identities. Affective commitments arise to maintain identities that increase an individual's status and social relationships (Serpe, 1987; Stryker and Serpe, 1994).

Identity choice is also influenced by group membership and reference group membership. Group membership is determined by external ascription of what group an individual belongs to and the corresponding cultural and behavioral expectations that accompany that groups performance. However, the particular identity standards dictated by group membership may not always fit with individual attitudes and behavior (Rosenberg and Turner, 1981). It is often more important to examine how identities are shaped by an individual's reference group (Cross ,1991). A reference group “designates the group to which an individual orients himself, regardless of actual membership,”(Rosenberg and Turner, 1981:66). Consequently, an individual's sense of self was contingent upon how they positioned themselves within the larger social framework, not just the position the larger society put them into (Hyman, 1968). In this way, reference groups and roles both serve as intermediaries between individual actions and beliefs and larger social structures, making them necessary tools for social-psychological examinations. Reference group orientations are more helpful when analyzing self concept than group identity because they create a conceptual space that allows the individual more agency in choosing which group is most significant to their identity in particular spaces and times.

This does not mean that there is a one to one relationship between an individual's identity and their behavior. Identities and the roles that accompany them are shaped by both norms and counter norms, which provide some possibility for self change (Heiss, 1981). Although dominant societal norms are internalized and in this way shape roles, often a social actor's commitment to these internalized norms is fleeting and contingent upon the situated interactions they find themselves in (Heiss, 1981:98). Consequently, processes of role taking and interactions are somewhat flexible as actors can choose to follow or oppose normative behavioral expectations.

Shifting the analysis from social behavior to role choice behavior indicates that social behavior is determined by an individual choosing which role is most appropriate for any given situation, not by individual "choice" or interpretation (Stryker and Burke, 2000:285), therefore lodging the process of identity negotiation firmly in structural limitations. We come to know who we are and what behavior is expected of the role we play through role taking and socialization (Stryker, 1980:62). Socialization and role taking occur in every social interaction (Stryker, 1980:63-64). In this way, our identities are never static (Stryker, 1980:64). Shared behavioral expectations are key to social interaction and social positions or roles are expressed and represented by particular symbols. Once these symbols are made visible, behavioral expectations that are consistent with the societal expectations of what it means to be in that role ensue. In this way, our position in the social structure limits the kinds of interactions we have and the type of roles and selves we develop. Our reactions to these limitations shape interaction and interaction shapes social structure (Stryker, 1980:66). Our relationships with others and our own self-identity comprise a dialectic process, with each relationship helping to constitute the other (Robinson and Smith-Lovin, 1992:13).

Flexibility to act on these roles is influenced by how much power a person has in the system. Societies are composed of multiple subuniverses, each of which has its own body of knowledge and institutional structure (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:87). Power determines which subuniverse's meanings and goals become more dominant in any given social order. However, power does not only determine which subuniverse wins out, but also determines which realities will be created in the first place (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:119). Individuals do resist the expectations of others that are imposed upon them and persist with their own definitions of the situation. Individuals with more power are more able to resist definitions that are imposed on them and more often attempt to change others definitions of the situation than conforming themselves (Cast, 2003).

Groups who are stigmatized on a structural level also engage in "identity work" to create a space that allows them to feel valued and to negotiate the stigma that has been placed upon them (Anderson and Snow, 2001). Key to this argument is the point that inequalities that manifest themselves in individual's everyday realities extend beyond the direct effects of structural inequalities such as race, class and gender (Anderson and Snow, 2001:397). Consequently, it is important to examine who has the power to control and define spaces and interactions, who gets attention and who does not, and who is expected to perform work that may be invisible or emotion based. These micro level inequalities can sometimes be more significant determinants of identity, and role behavior, as they influence non-verbal communication and interpersonal interactions (Anderson and Snow, 2001; Karp and Yoels, 1986). Cumulatively, these micro-aggressions can have dire consequences, affecting social actors self-perceptions and self-expectations.

Such an analysis highlights the structural significance of the self, while not ignoring the complex, multi-layered processes that often shape the self in social interactions. This directly contradicts SSI's notion that "role taking is a stable, background process (Cast, 2004:296)". Cast contends that role taking is instead a "social process" that changes over time and through human interaction (Cast, 2004).

Race and Ethnicity

These theories show that identities are not just the outcome of individual or interactional phenomenon. Instead, they arise out of structural processes, and are influenced by factors that are often beyond our control. In this way, structure is "more than another term for pattern" but instead "reflects the experience of being up against something, of limits on freedom, and also the experience of being able to operate by proxy (Connell, 1987:92)". Factors that determine which identity is most salient, has the highest rewards, and is most consistent with what is expected are limited by structures and situated in particular temporal historical moments. Racial formations in the United States are one of the most important patterns that determines which identities are available and how they can be performed. Consequently, identities are not just created by what they are, but what they are not. Identities' are constructed through difference (Fine, 1993; Hall and Open University., 1997; Schwalbe et al., 2000; Tajfel, 1982) as boundary mechanisms that emerge in particular racial formations.

Racial orders are always products of structure and interaction (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Essed, 1991; West and Fenstermaker, 1995). Iterative processes that incorporate both the institutional and the interactive guide racial and ethnic boundary construction and maintenance (Essed, 1991). Both race and ethnicity must be a part of any

adequate analysis of how inequality structures our society (Gold, 2004). The racial model is helpful because of its articulations of whiteness as a mechanism for power, through which other ethnicities are othered, racialized and subjugated (Ferber, 1998). However, this model does not go far enough because too often, it categorizes “white” and “black” as European and African American. In reality, white and black are metaphors for axes of power that may or may not have anything to do with phenotype. Theorists who advocate for a more nuanced perspective criticize the racial model for not adequately theorizing about racialized ethnic groups that fall outside of white or black (Foner and Fredrickson, 2004). However, in their attempt to articulate the unique experiences of each individual racialized ethnic group, ethnicity theorists too often fall back on pluralistic models that ignore the fact that “groups with disparate phenotypes, histories, contexts, and origins sometimes encounter remarkably similar patterns of oppression (Kivisto, 2002, Sidanius and Pratto 1999, Winant 2001, as summarized in Gold, 2004:951)”. Omi and Winant’s (1986) articulation of racial projects and Essed’s (1991) conceptualization of everyday racism are helpful to create a model that addresses both of these concerns.

Racial projects serve as systems of representation and organization that serve as intermediaries between structure, ideology, and interaction (Bonilla Silva, 1997:60; Omi and Winant, 1986). Racial projects are also simultaneously structural and temporal, maintaining rigid hierarchies while at the same time being grounded in the social and historical (Omi and Winant, 1986). In this way, the concept of racial projects can illuminate how racial and ethnic boundaries are constructed and maintained at all levels of society, and come together to form particular “projects”. Essed’s (1991) model also incorporates an analysis of how interactive and institutional processes work together to structure racial and ethnic relationships. Everyday racism is based on a system of “socialized meanings making practices immediately definable and

uncontested so that, in principle, these practices can be managed according to (sub)cultural norms and expectations,” (Essed, 1991:48). In this way, the everyday becomes a locus for social control as it normalizes and reproduces social hierarchies.

Using these models, we can see how race is “an unstable and “decentered” complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle... race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies (Omi and Winant, 1994:55)”. Racial and ethnic definitions are “created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed (Omi and Winant, 1994:55)” through a series of racial projects that organize and link racial ideologies, representations, and structure (Omi and Winant, 1994:56). What racial or ethnic category an individual is placed into and what this categorization means is contingent upon the particular racial projects that are at play.

Racial and ethnic categories both serve as tools for constructing and maintaining rigid hierarchical boundaries (Cornell and Hartmann, 2006; Ferber, 1998; Rumbaut, 2009; Spickard, 1992) that distribute power and resources to some (Cornell and Hartmann, 2006:31), and exclude and oppress others (Cornell and Hartmann, Ferber, 1998; Rumbaut, 2009; Spickard, 1992:12; Wray, 2006). These boundaries are constructed to ensure that white hegemony and its accompanying system of white supremacy can be maintained and can continue to serve as a bastion of privilege and power for those included within its ranks. Martinot argues that whites fight vehemently to maintain this border because they are aware of the “fragility of white identity, and the thinness of its hegemony (Martinot, 2007:21)”.

This kind of boundary maintenance is central to the preservation of inequalities, as it determines where the lines of privileged and not privileged are drawn (Blau, Blum, and Schwartz, 1982; Ferber, 1998; Perry; Schwalbe et. al., 2000:430; van den Berghe, 1967).

Having the ability to determine who can identify as what within this larger social system is a representation of power in and of itself, as it provides the ability to keep certain people in, and others out (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Cornell and Hartmann, 2006; Espiritu, 1992). However, the group power afforded by these boundaries comes with a cost. It is contingent on both intragroup cohesion and on intergroup exclusion (Arendt, 1974; Blau, Blum and Schwartz, 1982; Van den Berghe, 1967) that homogenizes members of the in-group and stigmatizes members of the out-group.

These racial and ethnic boundaries are also imbued with meanings (Omi and Winant, 1986) that justify existing power relationships and provide a rationale for why those deemed white are deserving of their ideological and material privileges. (Bonilla Silva, 2014; Omi and Winant, 1986:62). However, upon interrogation of these concepts, it is clear that the boundaries that they carve out are socially and temporally constructed, indicating that who is allowed a white identity and what type of a performance is expected of the white identity they have expands and contracts to include some and exclude others based on what is necessary to maintain the larger system of white supremacy at any particular moment. Furthermore, these boundaries are complicated by a slew of factors, including skin tone, class, gender, citizenship, local space and religion (Andersen and Hill Collins, 2007; Gold, 2004; Zinn and Dill, 1996).

The politicization of America's racial and ethnic identities in order to maintain the boundaries of white supremacy can be seen in the shifting nature of these delineations. Before America's founding individuals were often classified as "white" and "black" based on their particular religious affiliations, regardless of skin color (Jordan and Jordan, 1974). At the turn of the century, many who would be contemporarily deemed white, including Jews, Irish and Italians, were labeled and stigmatized as Black, due to their beliefs in non-Protestant religions,

and because of their working class status (Brodin, 1998; Ignatiev, 2009; Jacobson, 1999). In the early 1940's, in Texas, and other parts of the Southwest, race was also largely dictated by class status. Individuals of Mexican descent could be classified as white if they were property owners, while whites that were sharecroppers were often classified as black (Almaguer, 1994; Foley, 1997; Glenn, 2004). This system of racial classification was further compromised by gender, as Mexican women were sometimes allowed to marry white men of a similar class status, and to become "white" by doing so (Foley, 1997). Racial and ethnic identity and membership continues to shift for Hispanics and Latinos today. Contemporarily, some Hispanics and Latinos are considered white, some as in between black and white, and others as black. Which category they are placed within is contingent on factors including skin color, class, citizenship and nationality (Candalario, 2000; Rumbaut, 2009). Asians experience similar processes of racialization. Markers of "foreignness" such as the inability to speak English fluently without an accent and to be indoctrinated within American culture automatically disqualifies Asian Americans from being classified as white. However, achieving a good education and a "normal" middle class American lifestyle can place Asians in the running for whiteness—positioning them as one of "us" instead of as one of "them"—a "real" American (Tuan, 2001:2, 155). Since the attacks on America on September 11th, many Arab Americans who have historically been considered (and considered themselves) to be white, are now finding that their whiteness is in question. Arabs are suspected to be Muslims, which for some, automatically qualifies them to be "non-white" and terrorists (Bakalian and Bozorgmehr, 2009). On the other hand, whites that do not achieve middle class status, live in all white suburbs, or associate primarily with whites can be stripped of some of the privileges that come with being complicit with white hegemony (McDermott, 2006; Sweetland, 2002; Wray, 2006). Of course,

despite this flexibility, this is not to say that the boundary between white and black is a porous one. Many within American society, including African and Caribbean immigrants have never been allowed to cross the boundary over to whiteness (Foner and Fredrickson, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005; Waters, 1990; Waters, 1999). Even Asian Americans and Hispanics who are able to achieve some of the cultural markers of whiteness are often not fully accepted as white (Rumbaut, 2009; Tuan, 1998). Reports have shown that whites are more comfortable living with Asians and Hispanics than blacks, but despite this, white segregation from Asians and Hispanics has been on the rise (Charles, 2003:167; Gotham, 2000). These distinctions highlight how racial formations and race as a boundary construction mechanism guide our lives, but still allow for a wide array of racial identities and performances.

White Racial Identities

White racial identity emerges through the same patterns of interaction. White racial identity emerges through a “dynamic equilibria” (White, 2008) that is a response to national and local racial formations. These racial formations guide the types of white racial identities that are available and ensure that these identities are held together, ranked, created in relation to the ideals of white supremacy and hegemony. However, particular manifestations of white racial identities vary by demographics, attitudes and values, and behaviors, practices and preferences. Together, this interaction between structural and cultural forces determines the type of WRI particular whites exhibit. In this research, I examine the specific processes that lead to WRI and how WRI differs by demographics through the following six research questions.

Research Questions

This study addresses six research questions to examine these issues. These questions examine white attitudes, behaviors and preferences as proxies, or indirect measures of WRI as racial identities are complex processes that cannot be measured directly.

RQ1: What American attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ2: What attitudes, behaviors and preferences regarding cross racial interactions are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ3: What ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ4: What racial attitudes are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ5: What institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ6: How do these attitudes, values, behaviors, cultural practices and preferences differ by key socio-demographic factors, including age, education, religion, ethnic identification, bilingual ability, gender, class, urbanicity, neighborhood and network racial composition and family prejudice?

The rationale for each of these research questions is listed below.

Rationale for Measuring White Racial Identities through Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences

White racial identities can be measured through behaviors, practices and preferences as these outlets provide indicators of the individuals self perception, how they are perceived by others, and where they are positioned in the larger social structure (Wellman, 1997). In particular, this study argues that white racial identities can be measured by five categories of

attitudes, behaviors and preferences including American, Cross Racial, Ethnic, Racial and Institutional. The relevance of each topic area to white racial identity measurement and categorization is discussed below.

WRI and American attitudes, behaviors, and preferences

Asking respondents questions about their American attitudes directly measures their own perceptions of who they are and how they fit into the US community (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996; Phinney, 1992; Tsai, Ying, and Lee, 2000). American culture is imbued with many European characteristics, including “the values and practices derived from the European Enlightenment, Anglican Protestantism, and Western colonialism, namely individualism, personal responsibility, a strong work ethic, deferred gratification, self-effacement, mind over body, self-control, and the mastery of nature,” (Perry, 2002:23). These factors also shape what it means to be white, as many whites identify primarily as “Americans”. High levels of identification with an American or human identity indicate increased levels of investment in a white racial frame that perpetuates Eurocentric ideals and behaviors and denies the relevance of race (Feagin, 2013). Although the boundaries between American culture and white culture are fuzzy and have yet to be studied systematically, research points to the fact that white culture is guided by similar discourses about the invisibility of race, denial of white privilege, and colorblind and individualistic attitudes (Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll, 2009). Ideologies of colorblindness and race-neutrality are also central to white culture (Perry, 2002:23).

Often these discourses of Americanism are also imbued with conservative ideals. White respondent’s political views are another key indicator of their white racial identity. Conservatives are more likely to possess identities that exhibit clear and direct racial animosity

toward blacks (Bonilla Silva 2014). Conservatism also fosters ideologies of symbolic racism, whereby racial inequalities are attributed to blacks inability to work hard, not participate in crime, and to become a generally sound American citizen (Tarman and Sears, 2005). It is more difficult to explicate the relationship between liberal political views and white racial identities, since liberals are often just as likely to possess racist attitudes, but couch these attitudes in “color-blind” non-racist vernacular (Bonilla Silva, 2014).

Attitudes concerning what “proper English” is and the particular ways that the English language is utilized is another performative proxy for WRI. Language use has traditionally been used as a measure of acculturation (Anderson et. al. 1993; Barona and Miller 1994; Barry 2001) and serves as one of the performative proxies that individuals use to express their identity to others (Sweetland, 2002). Hegemonic American whiteness presupposes a certain adeptness with “proper” American English, and an awareness of particular cultural contexts in which certain words are appropriate and others aren’t (Bettie, 2000; McDermott, 2006). Hegemonic whiteness idealizes proper Americanized English as the official language of the United States and expects that “others” who live here should be required to learn and execute this particular form of English. Ebonics, accents, or use of other non-English languages are often frowned down upon (Sweetland, 2002). Hegemonic whiteness guide what language is expected in professional settings and therefore whites who have more access to hegemonic whiteness are less likely than racialized ethnic others to have to code switch in these settings (Cross, 1991).

In sociolinguistic theory, language use is often essentialized as a representation of cultural membership in a particular racial or ethnic group. All African Americans are expected to use African American Vernacular English (AAVE), and all Whites are expected to use more “normative” forms of English (Sweetland, 2002:514). Speech, mannerisms and dress are all

aspects of performativity used to express social position (Bettie, 2000:11). Authenticity is accomplished through the piecing together of different culturally specific performances to achieve a particular ideal (Bettie, 2000). Although these performances are imbued with meaning given to them by the performer, and meant to accomplish the actor's goals, they are also interpreted in larger structural frameworks in ways that may not fall in line with the actor's intentions (Bettie, 2000:17). Such generalizations do not take into account the complex and unique social positions that are created through mitigated experiences of race, class, gender, sexuality, and local physical space (Sweetland, 2002:514) and reinforce white and black as distinct ideological and material spaces.

Expectations for whites to speak "normative" forms of English arise out of ideologies that position whiteness as middle class and suburban, with little to no real contact with people of color (Sweetland, 2002). However, Sweetland's case study tells the story of Delilah, a white woman who is immersed in the culture, class, and local physical space of her working class black peers. Unlike the white suburban youth who use AAVE with no actual exposure to black culture or contact with black people, Delilah's use of AAVE mimics actual black usage, and therefore more authentic (Sweetland, 2002:515). Ultimately, Delilah's crossing of the local physical space and class expectations that align with whiteness allows her to transform her white racial identity through the use of an "individual racial project (Omi and Winant, 1994)" that exists counter to the hegemonic racial projects that are at play at any given historical moment.

WRI and attitudes, behaviors and preferences concerning cross-racial interaction

Cross-racial interactions and comfort have long been used as a measure of how acculturated an individual is within a culture (Barona and Miller, 1994; Barry, 2001; Benet-

Martinez, 2006; Broman, 1989; Campisi, 1947; Phinney, 1992) and have also been used as indicators of identity (Broman, 1989; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). Traditionally, whites have been asked about their attitudes about cross racial interactions as a measure of white racial identity (Helms, 1990). It is necessary to go beyond this by asking whites to report their actual attitudes and behaviors concerning cross racial interactions. These behaviors often indicate practices that often times supersedes their articulated ideologies of racial egalitarianism. Whites who have high levels of cross-cultural interaction are also less likely to exhibit racist attitudes and to be as acculturated into hegemonic white culture as those whose only cultural reference point is hegemonic white culture (Helms, 1990; Helms, 1997). Although cross-racial interactions are becoming much more frequent in public spaces (Anderson, 2011), our private spaces are becoming increasingly stratified by race (Charles, 2003; Farley et al., 1978; Kivisto and Rundblad, 2000; Krysan and Bader, 2007; Massey and Denton, 1993; Swaroop and Krysan, 2011). Many whites publically proclaim racial equality and intermixing, while preserving racial segregation in the privacy of their own homes, romantic relationships, families and close friendships. This type of marginalization is a building block for white racial identities that deny the significance of racism and perpetuate ideologies of the white racial frame.

WRI and ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences

Ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences have traditionally been measured through holiday and food practices as well as feelings of belonging and investment in a particular ethnic group. For the purposes of this research, ethnic attitudes, behaviors, and preferences were measured through participation in ethnic rituals, including holidays, cultural practices, and food.

Holidays are times of celebration, rite, and ritual that hold immense significance in all

cultural communities (Campisi, 1947; Cortes et. al. 2003; Chung, Kim, and Abreu 2004). These traditions influence have been used to measure racialized ethnic other's immersion into dominant American culture, but no systematic studies have been done about the relationship between white racial identities and holiday practices. Consequently, it is unclear whether white's that participate in holidays that emerge from their ancestral ethnic traditions have white identities that are guided by their ancestral ethnic traditions, or whether these practices are simply superficial markers of a more generic American identity.

Familiarity with the cultural practices and knowledge of ones ethnic ancestors also can serve as a representation of white racial identity (Broman, 1989; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996; Phinney, 1992). Although white's cultural attitudes have been relatively well examined in the literature, their actual cultural behaviors are less clear. However, Perry (2002) hypothesizes that white material culture includes "types of food, like hamburgers, hot dogs, spaghetti, and cupcakes... social activities, like line dancing, ceremonial parades, and state and county fairs...[and cultural products like] country music, modern (post-sixties) rock and roll, certain slang terms or ways of talking, and outdoor activities like backpacking," (Perry, 2002:23-24).

Food is another important component of culture and therefore, particular food preferences signify level of acculturation into a group (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). Food preferences are also performative indicators of identity (Lu and Fine, 1995). However, because of the invisibility of whiteness, it is often assumed that there are no measurable food preferences and practices that are associated with white culture. Part of this complication derives from the fact that white culture is hegemonic and has appropriated other cultural foods as its own, including spaghetti and Mexican food (Perry, 2002). Although white cultural foods have not been explored, it is likely that whites, just like any other cultural group have patterned and systemic food

preferences, preparation processes, and aesthetic preferences. However, these preferences are likely to be mitigated by other social positions, such as class and gender.

WRI and racial attitudes

White respondent's implicit and explicit attitudes both serve as measures of their white racial identities. Explicit racist attitudes are no longer politically correct. However, many whites continue to be immersed in attitudes that are implicitly racist, such as color blind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2006), laissez-faire racism (Bobo and Charles, 2009; Sears, Sidanius and Bobo, 2000), anti-racist racisms (Winant, 2001), or “problematizations (Essed, 1991) that point to the existence of a contemporary American ideology that simultaneously denies and perpetuates racial and ethnic inequalities. All of these concepts signify white attitudes that justify inequality by stigmatizing and blaming racialized ethnic minorities for their inability to be “successful” while ignoring the larger structural barriers created by white supremacy that limit their mobility. These ideologies further reproduce racial and ethnic abstractions that serve as a means of legitimating the marginalization of racialized ethnic minorities (Blumer, 1958; Bobo and Hutchings, 1996). Legitimizing ideologies are key to boundary construction between whites and racialized ethnic others, as successful systems of oppression (including white supremacy) are not only achieved through coercion and social dominance orientations (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999), but also through consent (Gramsci, 1992; Omi and Winant, 1986). Most people want to maintain a positive self-image (Robinson and Smith Lovin, 1992), and cannot do so while consciously oppressing others—unless this oppression is justified through ideology.

WRI and institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences

Institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences have previously been used as indicators of acculturation and identity. In this research, institutional attitudes, behaviors, and preferences were measured through questions that asked respondents about their religious practices, media preferences and institutional trust.

Religion is a key institution of any society, and therefore religious preferences represent the larger culture the individual identifies with and has been socialized within (Dodson, 2002; Durkheim, 2012). The white racial frame that guides white identities and performances is infused with Protestant ideologies that idealize individualism and meritocracy (Feagin, 2006; Weber, 2001). Religion also influences white racial identities through the proxy of politics, especially with the recent growth in white evangelical membership—whose congregants are much more likely to exhibit conservative values and behaviors (Emerson and Smith, 2000).

Media is a mechanism for distributing, creating and refining existing images, tropes, and beliefs in any given society. The proliferation of new media forms in the United States offer seemingly expansive choices through a multitude of media outlets, however, these outlets are still owned and operated by a few small conglomerations (Compaine and Gomery, 2000; Noam, 2009). Many of these conglomerations are invested in showing controlling images (Hill Collins, 2004) that perpetuate hegemonic whiteness, through the idealization of images of white supremacy and purity, and obfuscate the varied and meaningful experiences of racialized ethnic minorities. These images create idealized standards that whites use to filter their own identities. Media preferences often align with the cultural community one is a part of (Barry, 2001; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Broman, 1989; Chung, Kim, and Abreu 2004; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)

and serve as a representation of identity.

However, because whites occupy a privileged position in American society, they are also able to appropriate media facets of other cultures as their own, while still retaining a white racial identity (Johnson, 2003). Many of the studies on whites' immersion into black culture has focused on white youths who participate in hip hop culture, since hip hop culture is one of the most contemporary and accessible black cultural forms available to white youth (Johnson, 2003). Oftentimes, whites' attempts to position themselves within hip-hop culture negatively caricaturizes superficial aspects of African American and hip hop culture. Many whites subscribe to commercialized versions of blackness without having any idea about the actual historical and political experiences of blacks in the United States. These whites often try to negate racial differences by aligning themselves with colorblind ideologies and discourse, although the racial tropes they are playing out clearly suggest that racial differences have meaning in the larger social context.

On the other hand, there are a minority of white hip-hoppers that seem to be more authentically positioned within black hip-hop culture and media forms. These whites are more aware of racial differences, the discriminations associated with white supremacy, and of their position as someone who is racialized as white. Acknowledgement of this whiteness actually increases cultural capital, as it recognizes the divergent and unequal historical trajectories of whites and blacks in America. In this way, being aware of a white racial identity is actually "keepin' it real" (Cutler, 2003; Hess, 2005). Hip hop also serves as an interesting context through which white racial identities can be examined, as it perpetuates larger social ideologies that equate whiteness with privilege, thereby removing its invisibility. In this context, white rap

artists must vie for credibility by highlighting their experiences with social struggles despite the racial privilege bequeathed to them (Hess, 2005:372).

Finally, institutional trust has also been shown to be a proxy for white racial identity, as whites are much more likely than blacks to put their faith in American institutions (LaVeist, Nickerson and Bowie, 2000; Tyler, 2005).

Rationale for Measuring White Racial Identities through Demographics

The above features set up a baseline of attitudes, behaviors and preferences that serve as proxy measures for WRI, however these identities are likely to differ by socio-demographic position and early socialization experiences. Socialization is key to how acculturated individual's are into their ascribed racial group (Broman 1989; Landrine and Klonoff 1996; Rosenberg and Turner 1990). Our childhood socialization experiences are also key to our later identity development. Being socialized in schools, neighborhoods, and family and friend groups that are primarily white influence an individual's white racial identity, as does whether or not they were socialized around whites who exhibited prejudicial behaviors (Croll 2007; Helms 1990). Respondent's racial and ethnic self identification, education, state and city of residence, religious background, gender, class status, urbanicity, and political views mitigate their white racial identities in a number of ways (Hartigan 1999; McDermott 2006; Morris 2005; Sweetland 2002; Wray 2006). Whites must possess some configuration of "white" demographic markers, such as well-educated, suburban, or middle or upper class, or both their self-conception and other's perception of their white racial identity may be questioned. The impact each of these categories has on WRI is discussed in more detail below.

WRI and racial and ethnic self identification

The categories whites use to define their racial and ethnic identities are reflective of the particular racial formation that they are engaged in (Omi and Winant, 1994) and are representations of where they see ourselves positioned in the larger racialized structure. Racial identities vary for whites who categorize themselves as ethnic (Alba, 1990; Riesman and Gans, 1979; Waters, 1990), white (Croll, 2007; McDermott and Samson, 2005), American, or human. White ethnic identification is often an indicator of a racial identity that is looking for distinction, and a connection to some long forgotten ancestral past (Perry, 2002). Identifying as white on the other hand is a representation of subscribing to a more generalized racial identity, one under which ethnic identity has often all but disappeared. On the other hand, identifying as “American” or “human” often represents possessing an identity that normalizes whiteness and equates it as the standard that all other racialized ethnic others should be measured against (McDermott and Samson, 2005).

WRI and education

White racial identity is also determined by education (Jackman, 1994). Whites who are uneducated are more likely hold politically conservative identities also likely to exhibit racist attitudes (Sears, et. al., 2000). However, this relationship between education and white racial identity is complicated by the fact that educated whites are more likely to be aware of normative expectations of political correctness and be fluent in neutral language that allows them to portray racially egalitarian identities, despite their actual racial attitudes.

WRI and neighborhoods and networks

The place a person grew up in is a material realm that is delineated by very real physical boundaries (Gieryn, 2000). These boundaries are often imbued with meanings that guide the identities, behavioral expectations, and interactions that develop in a particular space (Howard, 2000). Maintaining hegemonic whiteness is contingent upon clear lines of demarcation between “white” and “black” spaces. Local physical space can also serve as an ideological construction, imbued with expectations of particular raced, classed, and gendered performances that guide racial identity. Place of birth, residency, and frequenting “serve as tangible markers of symbolic racial [and classed] boundaries (Sweetland, 2002:526)”. The “ghetto” serves as a stand in for black and lower or working class, and suburbia as white and middle or upper class (Sweetland, 2002:526). Together, these raced symbols influence an individual's self-perception, how they interact with others, and where others position them in the larger social structure. Whites who were immersed within white communities, with little to no cross cultural contact, are more likely to be unaware of the ways race influences their identity, either through group membership or cultural markers.

WRI and gender

White women's racial identity is often different than that of white men (Frankenburg 1993). The identities that are made available to white women are greatly influenced by systems of hegemonic whiteness that attempt to subjugate white women and the control of white women's sexuality (Bettie 2000; Ferber 1998; Frankenburg 1993; Wilkins 2004). Although white women retain a general level of white privilege, it is often at the cost of making themselves valuable to white men through sexual and reproductive relationships (Frank, 1998). As a

consequence, white women are the key to maintaining the boundaries of whiteness by breeding and socializing their children into the normative behavioral expectations of whiteness. Because of this, the cost for transgressing these boundaries has been high.

Historically, white women who participated in interracial relationships lost many, though not all of the privileges associated with whiteness. In some extreme cases, when marrying an “illegal alien,” white women could even be stripped of their citizenship rights (Frank, 1998:86-88). These legal repercussions are now a thing of the past, but white women who participate in interracial relationships are often stigmatized and stripped of the ideological privileges of whiteness. White women who are in relationships with men of color are often seen as “super sexual” beings in ways they would not have been if they were a white man choosing to date a woman of color (Frankenburg, 1993; Wilkins, 2004).

At times, these interracial relationships can racialize women as being something other than white, clearly placing their identities outside the bounds of whiteness. White women who participate in interracial sexual relationships are often labeled as “wannabes” (Wilkins, 2004:103). The “wannabes” willingness to participate in sexual behaviors from men outside of their racial group pushes them across the border from white to “wanting to be” black. Such behaviors are blatantly disrespectful to idealized notions of the purity of white femininity and to the idea that white women’s sexuality is the possession of white men (Bettie, 2000; Wilkins, 2004:104). This phenomenon of using sexuality as a marker of racial membership is not new (Loewen, 1988; Roediger, 2007). Interestingly enough, their sexual behavior also serves as a marker of their class status. “Wannabes are alternatively imagined as fallen middle-class white girls or as poor white girls,” (Wilkins, 2004:104) regardless of their actual access to economic resources. This process highlights the power of hegemonic whiteness to strip women from both

their racial and class membership based on their sexual practices. White girls who do not participate in interracial relationships are also affected by these tropes, as they use the wannabes behavior to define their own identities and performances as more authentically white (Wilkins, 2004:111).

Despite these consequences, white women are still more likely to have more egalitarian white racial identities than white men. Young, working class women who frequently interact in interracial networks are the most likely individuals to exhibit white identities that are racially progressive (Bonilla Silva, 2006). It is likely that women's own experiences of discrimination along with their higher likelihood to interact with people of color increases their capacity to understand the struggles of other oppressed groups, especially those who share similar class status. White men, on the other hand only have to deal with class discrimination and often reap benefits from supporting the racial status quo such as increased sense of control and access to material and symbolic resources (Bonilla-Silva, 2006).

WRI and class status

Class status is not one of the traditional variables that has been used in creating measures of white racial identity, although the impact of class status on white racial identity has been explored through smaller scale ethnographic studies (Hartigan, 1999; McDermott, 2006; Morris, 2005; Sweetland, 2002; Wray, 2006) and in scales that measure racialized ethnic others identities (Benet-Martinez, 2006). Systems of social stratification work together (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill, 1996; Bettie, 2000; Candalario, 2000; Frankenburg, 1993; Hill-Collins, 2004) and racial identification cannot be analyzed without taking class identification into account. On a structural level, whiteness is conflated with material and financial success (Bettie, 2000; McDermott, 2006;

Morris, 2005; Sweetland, 2002; Wilkins, 2004) and blackness is conflated with poor or working class status (Bettie, 2000; Feagin, 1991; Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1991; Wilkins, 2004)(Bettie, 2000; Feagin, 1991; Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1991, Wilkins, 2004). Whites that are not able to obtain upper class status are often stigmatized and shunned from normative whiteness, regardless of phenotype (Morris, 2005; Wray, 2006).

White's class identity often mitigates their experiences of privilege in local physical spaces (Hartigan, 1999; McDermott, 2006; Morris, 2005). Whites are often labeled as failures if they are not able to obtain enough economic success to buy their way out of black working class neighborhoods (McDermott, 2006). Although these whites sometimes exhibited high levels of backlash and anger toward people of color that lived in their neighborhood, they rarely performed the typical displays of entitlement and privilege that are associated with having white skin (McDermott, 2006). Since American society indoctrinates its citizens with narratives that equate whiteness with success, there are no broad cultural narratives that exist to explain whites who are poor, uneducated, or perform other non-white tropes. In light of this gap, narratives emerge that place harsh critiques and blame white individuals for their inability or unwillingness to live up to these idealized notions of what it means to be white (McDermott, 2006:43).

One of the most visible ideologies perpetuating stigmas about poor whites is the label of "white trash". "White trash names a kind of disturbing liminality: a monstrous, transgressive identity of mutually violating boundary terms, a dangerous threshold state of being neither one nor the other... White trash names a people whose very existence seems to threaten the symbolic and social order," (Wray, 2006:2). The label of white trash has been used throughout history as a way of punishing whites that transgress the moral, social, or political bounds of hegemonic whiteness. These transgressions typically included fraternizing with people of color and not

achieving the class status expected of whites (Wray, 2006:17-20). Such behaviors were often attributed to a clear lack of morals, biological inferiority, and/or mental illness. These whites were then stigmatized as dirty, insane, and inferior to other more “respectable” whites (Wray, 2006). Stigmatization of working class whites continues to this day, through discourse that labels non-normative whites as “wiggers”, “hillbillies” and “hicks” (Hartigan, 1999; Hartigan, 2003; Sartwell, 2005; Wray and Newitz, 1997).

However, this does not mean that working class whites have no access to white privilege. White working class men, although not having access to the privileges of the upper class, often are still able to utilize white privilege to their benefit. Roediger (2006) argues that constructions of whiteness are at the heart of the establishment of the working class. White workers used race to separate themselves from workers of color and to rally other white workers, including white ethnics. This gave them enough power to receive certain benefits as a group including higher wages and better jobs that were not accessible to other workers (Roediger, 2006; Roediger, 2007). Whites continue to cleave to a white racial identity and ideology, in spite of their shared class status with blacks, even if it means a loss of material privileges.

WRI and urbanicity

The type of community whites live in also influence their white racial identities. Urban whites exhibit very different white racial identities than rural whites (Croll, 2007). This is largely because of the stigma that is associated with residing in urban or non-white communities. Whites’ who reside outside of predominately white, suburban neighborhoods fail to perform whiteness in a way that is in line with hegemonic expectations on two counts. Their fraternization with racialized ethnic others blurs the boundary between white and racialized

ethnic other, and in doing so, depletes it from some of its power. In addition, whites' inability to reside in predominately white neighborhoods symbolizes their failure to achieve the class status expected of them as whites, which contests hegemonic associations between whiteness and material success. Often, these whites are more likely to feel the need to define their whiteness, which is often done by clinging to an ethnically situated ancestral thread, and claiming that ancestral culture as their own (Perry, 2002: 97). However, whites in these environments sometimes also adapt by immersing themselves in the culture of the "other". This is especially true if they live in urban communities that are dominated by racialized ethnic minorities (Hartigan, 1999; Morris, 2006).

Together, these variables approach WRI from a holistic perspective, measuring it through the proxies of self-concept, attitudes, interactions, and group membership. The methodology utilized in this research to provide an empirical examination of how these variables influence white racial identities is the topic of the next chapter.

METHODS

Introduction

This chapter details the rationale, design, data, and instrument associated with this research. This research is based on a questionnaire that was distributed to three hundred and eleven college students, responses from which will be analyzed using linear regression and exploratory factor analysis (EFA). The goal of this research was to create a measure of white racial identity and to categorize different types of white racial identities. I examined white racial identities through white attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Previous research on WRI has typically measured whether whites are aware of themselves as racial beings and how strongly they identify with other whites (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Bobo and Smith, 1998; Bobo, 1999; Helms, 1990; Helms, 2007). These measures quantify whites group membership but do not adequately measure the cultural practices and preferences that contribute to WRI. The purpose of this research is to combine the more traditional questions utilized on previous measures of WRI with modified questions from acculturation measures that have been used to measure the racial identities of blacks, Native Americans, Latinos and immigrants to create a more comprehensive measure of WRI. This combined measure includes questions about group membership and about the cultural and behavioral practices of whites. My research design utilizes quantitative methods in order to measure and categorize the broader patterns that contribute to white racial identity development and performance. This initial research serves as a pilot study on a small, particularized segment of whites and its findings may not be generalizable to whites who do not fit the age range, educational background, or university context of respondents in this study. Even so, this research is significant in that it provides new empirical research about the nature of WRI using a sample size that is larger than those utilized in previous qualitative studies (Bettie,

2000; Hartigan, 1999; Hughey, 2010; Morris, 2005; Morris, 2006; Perry, 2002; Sweetland, 2002). This is an important step in uncovering the contours of white racial identity in more diverse populations of whites, although additional research must be done on samples of whites that are truly generalizable. Future studies will utilize revised versions of the WRIS developed here and distribute them to a sampling of white respondents that are much more representative of the United States population as a whole.

This study addresses six research questions to examine these issues. These questions examine white attitudes, behaviors and preferences as proxy measures of WRI as racial identities are complex processes that cannot be measured directly.

RQ1: What American attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ2: What attitudes, behaviors and preferences regarding cross-racial interactions are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ3: What ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ4: What racial attitudes are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ5: What institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ6: How do these attitudes, values, behaviors, cultural practices and preferences differ by key socio-demographic factors, including age, education, religion, ethnic identification, bilingual ability, gender, class, urbanicity, neighborhood and network racial composition and family prejudice?

Research Rationale

In this research, a White Racial Identity Scale (WRIS) was created to answer these research questions and to create a measure of white racial identity. As discussed in more detail below, it was necessary to create a measure of WRI as it is a latent construct, and therefore it could not be measured through direct observation (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009; Kline, 2011). Instead, this research measured WRI indirectly, through an examination of attitudinal and behavioral indicators. Together these indicators serve as manifestations of respondent's underlying WRI. Although all racial identities are latent, white racial identities are especially difficult to measure as they are often seeped in racial unawareness (Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll, 2009). White supremacy and white privilege often allow whites to exist in unmarked cultural categories where their attitudes, behaviors, and practices are seen as being “normal” and having no ethnic or racial implications (Alba, Rumbaut and Marotz, 2005; Brander Rasmussen et al., 2001; Delgado and Stefancic, 1997; Frankenberg, 1997). The privileged status whites occupy in American society, regardless of other social position, cultivates systematic and hegemonic patterns for identities and practices that are distinct from racialized ethnic others and often serve as the standard that other cultures are judged against.

Yet, because of this normativity, there has been little research done delineating white cultural practices and how these practices relate to white racial identities. Therefore, the WRIS constructed here builds on previous research that details the attitudes, behaviors, and practices that are associated with blacks (Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989; Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996), Asians (Anderson et al., 1993; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Lim et al., 2002) Hispanics (Barona and Miller, 1994a; Batis et al., 2011; Benet-Martinez, 2006; Hoffmann, 1985; Mendoza,

1989; Michelson, 2003; Michelson, 2007; Olmedo and Padilla, 1978; Wenzel, 2006) and Native Americans (Hoffmann, 1985; Ponterotto, 2010). The kinds of attitudinal and behavioral questions that were asked in these surveys were examined and then modified for the WRIS based on theories about what white cultural practices might look like (McDermott and Samson, 2005; Perry, 2002; Perry, 2007).

In this research, the WRIS operationalizes white racial identity as a combination of white attitudes, behaviors and preferences. It also accounts for how white racial identities differ by key socio-demographic factors.

Participants

This survey was distributed to 311 mixed race college aged students during the Spring of 2013 (see appendix A for survey). 89 of these responses were from non-white students and were dropped for the purposes of this analysis, as there were not enough responses to create a control group. An additional respondent left their racial/ethnic identity blank as well as the ethnic identity of both of their parents. Therefore, their racial/ethnic identity could not be deduced and this case was also dropped from the dataset. The data was then analyzed by case to ensure that no respondents were missing more than 10% of responses through the use of the Missing Data tool in SPSS. Cases missing over 10% of data have been shown to be unreliable (Bennett, 2001; Dong and Peng, 2013). One white respondent's survey had more than 10% missing data and was dropped from the data. This respondent stopped filling out the survey halfway through and therefore their responses were not missing at random. Two more cases exhibited a high percentage of missing data. The first of these respondents had a survey with 10% missing data. However, two-thirds of the missing data was derived from missing demographic data and only

two responses to the dependent variables were left blank. The second of these surveys had less than 10% missing data and the data that was missing showed no pattern. Therefore, it was determined that both surveys had data that could contribute to the analysis and their responses were retained. The remaining valid 220 responses from white students were retained for the purposes of this analysis. Greater than 200 is usually considered large enough for exploratory factor analysis. Such a large N is necessary for exploratory factor analysis to ensure statistically significant results and adequate model fit (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009; Kline, 2011).

Responses were from an Introduction to Sociology class, and two Race and Ethnicity classes to ensure respondents had some basic familiarity with sociological concepts. Sociology classes were selected based on class size to garner the largest amount of data. Two instructors for Introduction to Sociology and two instructors for Race and Ethnicity were contacted, and three out of the four professors agreed to allow surveys to be distributed during their class. Restricting the age and educational levels of respondents in this sample was intentional primarily because college aged students are at a crucial stage in their identity development where they are grappling with who they are and who they would like to become (Arnett and Tanner, 2006; Arnett, 2011). However, due to these specificities, respondents may not be representative of whites throughout the United States. In particular, my sample is more highly educated than many Americans, which may also indicate a more affluent class background, and also shows little diversity in age.

Students were given the surveys at the beginning of class, with instructions to fill them out and to let me know if they had any questions. Two students asked questions. One international female student in the first class I surveyed asked how to fill in the state and city of origin questions on the survey. I instructed the class to fill out the country and city of origin if

they were raised outside of the United States. In the subsequent two classes, I included this instruction prior to distributing the survey to students. A female student in the second class I surveyed asked how she should answer the question about musical preferences, which ranged from mostly black, to racially mixed, to mostly white, as she primarily listened to Indian music. I instructed her to mark the racially mixed option and to write in Indian music in the open ended section of the survey.

Twenty-one socio-demographic indicators were included on the WRIS. Eleven of these questions were open ended, including respondent's racial/ethnic classification, age, educational background, city and state of residence, religion, mother and father's ethnicity, bilingual ability, other languages spoken and music genre of choice. These questions were left open ended to allow respondents flexibility in their answers. Most of these items, such as age, educational background, and racial/ethnic identification are often included on surveys intended to measure psychological or sociological constructs (De Vaus, 2013; Phinney, 1992). The additional questions regarding religion, music genre of choice, and language use were included as additional markers of the respondent's cultural background and have been used in previous acculturation surveys (Barona and Miller, 1994a; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Klonoff and Landrine, 2000). Of particular importance for this research is the fact that race/ethnicity was left open ended (Phinney, 1992). This allowed respondents to write in the racial/ethnic definition that they identified with the most and reveals an integral underlying philosophy of this research—the idea that racial and ethnic identification self identification are more telling than forcing respondents to answer based on a preordained existing categories. In particular, it allowed white respondents to list a racial and/or ethnic identity other than white, such as Caucasian, or particular combinations of European ethnicities, which may highlight differences in the way they

conceptualize their own racial and ethnic identity. All open- ended responses were then analyzed for patterns and inductively coded with similar responses grouped into the same categories (Boyatzis, 1998; De Vaus, 2013). The resulting codes and their frequencies can be seen later on in Table 2.

The remaining 10 questions had categorical responses, in which respondents were instructed to mark the option that most matched their socio-demographic experience. Many of these questions, including gender, class and well-being have been included on previous acculturation measures. Gender was measured through an item that had a three possible response options: male, female, or other (write in). Class status was measured through two questions that were intended to capture class as an ideological and income based construct (Lenski, 1966; Lenski, 1984; Levine, 2006). The first of these asked respondents to identify whether they were “poor”, “working class”, “middle class”, “upper middle class”, or “upper class”. The second of these asked respondents to approximate what their family income was growing up. The response categories were “less than \$19,999”, “\$20,000-\$39,000”, “\$40,000-\$59,000”, “\$60,000-\$79,000” and “\$80,000 or above”. The next question was created to measure respondent’s urbanicity, which has been shown to be a key factor in the type of racial identities whites construct and exhibit (Hartigan, 1999; Hartigan, 2003; McDermott, 2006; Morris, 2005; Morris, 2006; Sweetland, 2002; Wray and Newitz, 1997; Wray, 2006). Respondents were asked to circle whether they grew up in a “rural (country)”, “suburban”, “urban (city)” or “other (write in)” area. In addition, respondent’s were asked three general questions about their psychological well being, including “Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with anybody”, “There are times I think no one understands me” and “Generally, I feel pretty satisfied with my life”. These questions have been used as controls in other psychological constructs and acculturation

measures (Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989). Whites were also asked about the racial make-up of their school, neighborhood and family growing up as well as the racial makeup of their current neighborhood (Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995). Respondents could choose responses that were on a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from “all white” to “all black”. These questions have been used on previous measures as early cross- racial socialization experiences and the current racial composition of respondents social environment has been shown to be a key indicator of racial attitudes, especially for whites (Hartigan, 1999; Hartigan, 2003). Finally, respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed with the phrase “Some members of my immediate family are prejudiced (Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995)” on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. This question was also intended to measure early childhood socialization experiences regarding race, racial attitudes, and racism.

Eight of the socio-demographic indicators were dropped, including mother’s and father’s ethnicity, city of residence, preferred musical genre, language(s) they were fluent in and three questions that measured general psychological health. Each of these questions, and a discussion on why I did not use them is detailed below.

Table 1: List of Dropped Questions
What ethnicity is your mother?
What ethnicity is your father
What city did you grow up in?
The type of music I listen to most is:
If you are fluent in another language, which one(s)?
Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with anybody.
There are times I think no one understands me.
Generally, I feel pretty satisfied with my life.

Questions about parental ethnicity were dropped because in most cases, they were representative

of the respondent's own self-listed racial or ethnic identity, which was retained. However, the particular terms used to describe their own racial ethnic identities in comparison with their parents ethnicity sometimes differed. In some of these retained cases, respondents who detailed their parents as having one or more ethnicities that are currently categorized as white listed their own racial ethnic identity as white or Caucasian and in other cases, respondents chose to retain these separate ethnic identities when describing their own racial ethnic identity. This is likely due to the different wording of each of the questions, in which the question about parental origins focuses exclusively on ethnicity and the question about self-identification asks the respondent to identify their racial or ethnic group. There were five cases that were the exception to this rule, where respondents listed membership in a racial or ethnic group that differed from those they listed of their parent. In three of these cases, respondents listed that one of their parents had some Native American ancestry. In another case, a respondent listed that one of their parents was "half Mexican and half white". In the final case, a respondent listed "American" as the ethnicity for both of their parents, but labeled him or herself as white. In these cases, respondents own listings of their racial and ethnic identities were retained as they provide more accurate information about how the respondent perceives him or herself and about the primary way they identify in social interactions. These responses are also indicative of phenotypes and ethnicities that are likely to fit social categorizations of white (Almaguer, 1994; Anagnostou, 2009). Open-ended questions measuring city of residence, preferred musical genre and languages fluent in were dropped due to too much variation in responses. Therefore, responses were grouped into too many categories and a pattern linking these responses to the dependent variables being measured was unlikely. Likert scale items measuring psychological health were dropped due to the limited variation in these answers. Therefore, both sets of responses exhibited small cell sizes and did

not meet the assumptions for normal distribution that are required to perform linear regression (Seber and Lee, 2003).

The retained 13 socio-demographic indicators that will be used in this analysis and their frequencies can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Demographic Information (n=220)		
What is your racial/ethnic group?	White	63.1%
	Caucasian	31.8%
	White Ethnic	5.1%
Age	18	15.0%
	19	33.6%
	20	22.7%
	21	16.8%
	22	6.8%
	23+	5.0%
Education	Freshman	39.5%
	Sophomore	25.9%
	Junior	22.3%
	4+ years of college	12.3%
Residency	Michigan resident	88.6%
	Non-Michigan resident	11.4%
Religion	Christian	38.3%
	Catholic	37.3%
	Agnostic or Secular	17.7%
	Jewish	6.7%
Bilingual	Yes	91.3%
	No	8.7%
Gender	Male	41.3%
	Female	58.7%
	Trans/Other	0%
Class	Poor	0%
	Working class	8.2%
	Middle class	46.1%
	Upper middle class	43.4%
	Upper class	2.3%
Family Income	Less than \$19,999	1.4%
	\$20,000-\$39,000	8.1%
	\$40,000-\$59,000	23.4%
	\$60,000-\$79,000	21.1%
	\$80,000 and above	45.9%
Urbanicity	Rural/country	22.4%
	Suburban	69.2%
	Urban/City	8.4%
Racial Composition of School, Neighborhood and Family While Growing Up	All White	9.5%
	Mostly White	57.7%
	Racially Mixed	31.4%
	Mostly Black	1.4%
	All Black	0%
Racial Composition of Current	All White	10.6%

Table 2 (cont'd)		
Neighborhood	Mostly White	46.1%
	Racially Mixed	41.5%
	Mostly Black	1.4%
	All Black	.5%
Some Members of my Immediate Family are Prejudiced	Strongly Disagree	11.8%
	Disagree	30.5%
	Neither	9.1%
	Agree	39.5%
	Strongly Agree	9.1%

Note: Based on valid %, self reported

Almost two-thirds of the sample identified their racial/ethnic group as white. Another third identified as Caucasian. The remaining 5% the identified as one or more European ethnicities ranging from Finnish to Italian/German/Irish. More than 95% of the sample was of traditional college age. Respondents were slightly more likely to be first year students. An overwhelming majority (almost 90%) of students were Michigan residents. Almost 40% of respondents identified as Christian or Catholic, respectively. Although Catholics are members of the Christian faith, for the purposes of this research, they were treated as two distinct categories. This was largely due to the fact that respondents self identified as one, and not the other, which indicates that these affiliations may produce dissimilar kinds of identities. Another fifth of the sample identified as Agnostic or Secular. Most students were not fluent in any language other than English. Respondents were slightly more likely to be female, with no respondents identifying with non-traditional gender categories. Almost 90% of students identified as either middle class or upper middle class. Respondent's family income mirrored this identification, with almost 50% of students reporting that their families had yearly incomes of \$80,000 or more. Over two-thirds of respondents grew up in suburban communities, with another fifth growing up in rural areas. An overwhelming majority of respondents grew up in and currently live in areas that they identified as mostly white or racially mixed. About a tenth grew up and currently live in all white areas. Hardly any grew up or live in mostly black or all black areas. Responses about

family prejudice were almost split down the middle, with almost half disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that their family was prejudiced and the other half agreeing or strongly agreeing with this statement.

Instrument

The White Racial Identity Scale (WRIS) created in this research was created to address key gaps in earlier research by combining more traditional measures of WRI with questions that examined the kinds of cultural practices exhibited by whites in the survey, which include attitudes, behaviors and preferences. White attitudes, behaviors, and preferences were operationalized through the use of 37 questions that were intended to measure their American, Cross Racial, Ethnic, Racial and Institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences. These questions, along with citations for some of the surveys that have utilized a similar, or in some cases, the same question, are included in Table 3. A more detailed discussion of the intellectual trajectory of each of the questions follows.

Table 3: Survey Items Used to Measure Each Hypothesis	
Item Included on WRIS	Citation for Item
RQ1: What American attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?	
*I am proud to be an American.	(Birman and Tyler, 1994; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Birman, Trickett and Vinokurov, 2002)
*Most of the people I admire are white Americans.	(Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995; Mendoza, 1989; Tsai, Ying and Lee, 2000)
*It is important for me to celebrate American holidays and festivals.	(Campisi, 1947a; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Cortes et al., 2003)
English should be the official language of the United States.	(Barona and Miller, 1994a; Barry, 2001; Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005a; Birman and Tyler, 1994; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Cortes et al., 2003; Lim et al., 2002; Olmedo and Padilla, 1978)
How important is it for people to speak “proper” English?	(Barona and Miller, 1994a; Barry, 2001; Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005a; Birman and Tyler, 1994; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Cortes et al., 2003; Lim et al., 2002; Olmedo and Padilla, 1978)
My political views are strongly conservative.	(Bobo and Kluegel, 1997; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Kluegel and Smith, 1986; Sears, Sidanius and Bobo, 2000; Ward and Kennedy, 1994; Ward and Rana-Deuba, 1999)

Table 3 (cont'd)	
RQ2: What attitudes, behaviors and preferences regarding cross-racial interactions are proxy measures for WRI?	
*Whites understand me better than people who are not white.	(Barry, 2001)
*I prefer going to social gatherings and parties where most of the people are white.	(Barona and Miller, 1994b; Barry, 2001; Campisi, 1947a)
*I prefer to go out on a date with someone who is white.	(Barry, 2001)
*My friends are white.	(Barry, 2001; Benet-Martinez, 2006; Broman, Mavaddat and Hsu, 2000)
*How often are your romantic partners the same race as you?	(Benet-Martinez, 2006)
*I feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't mix.	(Phinney, 1992)
*I rarely spend time with people from other ethnic groups.	(Phinney, 1992)
Growing up, my school, neighborhood, and family were mostly white.	(Broman, Mavaddat and Hsu, 2000; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995)
*I currently live in a mostly white neighborhood.	(Broman, Mavaddat and Hsu, 2000; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995)
*Some members of my immediate family are prejudiced.	(Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989)
RQ3: What ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?	
*I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	(Phinney, 1992)
*I think about how my life will be affected by my group membership.	(Phinney, 1992)
*I am happy I am a member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to.	(Phinney, 1992)
*It is important for me to celebrate the ethnic holidays and festivals of my ancestors.	(Campisi, 1947a; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Cortes et al., 2003)
*I have spent time finding out more about my own ethnic group.	(Phinney, 1992)
I have different ways of speaking, depending on who I am around.	(Bettie, 2000; Cross, 1991; Milroy and Muysken, 1995; Sweetland, 2002; Tsai, Ying and Lee, 2000)
*I participate in the cultural practices of my ethnic group.	(Phinney, 1992)
*I usually add salt to my food to make it taste better.	(Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)
Growing up, my family always served casseroles as a main dinner dish.	(Batis et al., 2011; Birman and Tyler, 1994; Cortes et al., 2003; Perry, 2002)
My family and friends always have potlucks.	(Batis et al., 2011; Birman and Tyler, 1994; Cortes et al., 2003; Perry, 2002)
RQ4: What racial attitudes are proxy measures for WRI?	
Race doesn't really matter. We're all just humans.	(Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Doberneck, Miller and Schweitzer, 2012)
*Racial discrimination limits black employment.	(Institute for Public Policy and Social Research, 2009)
*Less in-born ability accounts for blacks lack of success.	(Institute for Public Policy and Social Research, 2009)
*Racial discrimination accounts for blacks lack of success.	(Institute for Public Policy and Social Research, 2009)
*Lack of motivation accounts for blacks lack of success.	(Institute for Public Policy and Social Research, 2009)
RQ5: What institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?	
*Most of the music I listen to is by artists who are white.	(Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)
*I never like black music more than white music.	(Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)
*I watch TV shows and movies with mostly black characters.	(Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)

Table 3 (cont'd)	
*I have seen people “get the spirit” or speak in tongues.	(Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)
Doctors are trustworthy.	(Hoffmann, 1985; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)
I trust the United States government.	(Michelson, 2003; Michelson, 2007; Wenzel, 2006)

*Questions exact replicate from one or more of the cited surveys, with the exception of racial/ethnic group listed. For example, “I prefer to go out on a date with someone who is Asian” was changed to “I prefer to go out on a date with someone who is white” for the purposes of this research. The other questions are not exact replicates, but measure similar categories to the ones hypothesized to be important in the cited surveys. For example, no acculturation surveys have included the item “My family and friends have potlucks”. It is a unique question based on the theoretical understandings developed in this dissertation about the attitudes, behaviors, and preferences associated with white racial identity. However, the cited surveys next to this item included questions that were intended to determine the food preferences of the population included in their study.

**Some of the items listed here have been shortened or reworded for the sake of brevity and clarity. See Appendix A for a listing of the actual survey questions.

All of these items were rated on a 5-point scale, with 1 indicating disagreement, infrequency or limited importance and 5 indicating agreement, frequency or importance. In this research, the Likert scale items are treated as continuous as there are at least 5 response categories, which is allowable as long as the sample is relatively large and the data is normally distributed (Cohen and Cohen, 2003). This ensures that there is some data available in all cells. Together, these questions were intended to measure the 5 subscales hypothesized to measure the latent construct of WRI, including American, Cross-Racial, Ethnic, Intimate, and Institutional.

Twenty-seven of these items were directly retained from previous surveys on the racial ethnic identities of people of color although the questions were modified for white American respondents, when appropriate. For example, a number of acculturation measures ask respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the phrase “Most of my friends are (country of origin)”. In this case, this statement was modified to “Most of my friends are white”. Most acculturation surveys utilize similar constructs and items, and discussing them all is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, the review below is not comprehensive, nor does it include every survey that has ever included each item on the WRIS. For a more comprehensive listing of acculturation surveys, including the items they include and their psychometric properties see

Taras, 2008.

Previous Acculturation Measures and Psychometric Properties

A brief summary of the acculturation measures that were utilized in this research, including their psychometric properties, when available, is in alphabetical order below. Discussion of psychometric properties pertain to research conducted by the authors of the scale, not to the research conducted here as part of this dissertation.

The Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanic Youth (SASH-Y) (Barona and Miller, 1994a) built on the Short Acculturation Scale (Marin et al., 1987) and the acculturation scale developed by Martinez and Norman (1984). The SASH-Y was distributed to 141 Hispanic youth to examine the factors that contribute to Hispanic Identity. In particular, researchers were interested in the kinds of language use and cultural practices respondents exhibited and whether these behaviors were different when respondents were in ethnic family contexts versus when they were in white American contexts. Questions were included to measure these items on a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from (1) only Spanish/all Hispanic to (5) only English/all white. Exploratory factor analysis revealed three factors: extra-familial language use, familial language use, and ethnic social relations. Alpha values were calculated for the entire sample to ensure survey reliability, but were not calculated for each of the factors. Cronbach's reliability tests showed an alpha of .94 and together, these three factors accounted for 72.5% of the variance in the sample. Findings indicate that cultural behaviors, including language use and media preferences depend on whether respondents were in ethnic family contexts or white American contexts. Acculturated behaviors were more likely in American contexts.

The East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM) (Barry, 2001) surveyed 150 East Asian immigrants to measure their assimilation into American society through the use of questions that were measured on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. Four possible trajectories were hypothesized: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. Assimilation was measured through the use of 8 items that examined East Asian's tendency to participate in American cultural practices. Separation was measured through 7 items that examined respondent's immersion in Asian culture. Integration was measured through the use of 5 items that examined whether East Asians participated in American and Asian cultures equally. Finally, marginalization was measured through the use of 9 items that examined whether respondents did not feel comfortable in participating in either set of cultural practices. Assimilation had an alpha value of .77, separation had an alpha value of .76, integration had an alpha value of .74 and marginalization had an alpha value of .85. Findings indicate that assimilation and/or integration lead East Asians to be more content in America and to stay in the country longer.

The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS) (Benet-Martinez, 2003) was developed to measure how respondent's identities develop in bicultural contexts. The BIIS has been distributed to a number of populations, including 133 first-generation Chinese-Americans (Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005b). During this study, respondents were asked about five different components of their identity including language (factor loadings from .81-.85), discrimination (loadings from .61-.87), relationships (factor loadings from .69-.81), isolation (loadings from .36-.86), and work (loadings from .54-.75). The scale was also refined to include additional questions about language use, media preferences, cultural identity, and relationships,

some of which are included on the WRIS (Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005b; Benet-Martinez, 2006) .

The Language, Identity, and Acculturation Scale (Birman and Tyler, 1994; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Birman, Trickett and Vinokurov, 2002) was distributed to 144 Russian adolescents and 60 Russian parents to assess their identification with American versus Russian culture through the use of language, identity, and behavior. They assess these cultures separately by including separate questions about each component for American culture and Russian culture. Each of these questions was measured on a 4-point Likert scale with 4 indicating increased frequency and/or familiarity. Behavior was measured through the use of 9 items that measured cross racial behaviors, food, and media through the use of questions such as through the use of questions such as "How much time do you socialize with Russian/American friends", "How much do you eat Russian/American foods?", "How much do you watch Russian/American movies?" The alpha value for American was .77 and .85 for Russian in the student sample. These questions grew out of previous research (Birman and Tyler, 1994; Szapocznik et al., 1978) that measured the bicultural acculturation in the United States. Language was measured through the use of items that asked Russian respondents about their preferences about speaking English vs. Russian and about their ability to understand English vs. Russian. Alpha values were .95 for questions about Russian attitudes, behaviors, and preferences and .90 for questions about English attitudes, behaviors, and preferences in the student sample. Many of these questions built on the previously developed Multidimensional Acculturation Scale for Latinos (Zea et al., 2003). Finally, identity was measured through 7 items that measure inclusion in American culture versus the respondent's culture of origin, feelings of belonging, and pride in American culture versus their culture of origin. Alpha values were .92 for American identity and .93 for questions

about Russian identity. These questions also emerged from the Multidimensional Acculturation Scale for Latinos (Zea et al., 2003) as well as the American Identity Questionnaire (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997). Findings indicate that the more time these Russians spent in the United States the more likely they were to take on American language, behavior, and identity.

Campisi (1947b) developed the first known acculturation measure using two subscales. The first of these was intended to measure immigrant's incorporation of American cultural elements into their attitudes, behaviors and preferences. The second was created to measure how much respondents retained their native culture after arriving in the United States. There is no available discussion of the psychometric properties for this survey, but the questions utilized on Campisi's survey can be accessed here (Taras, 2008). Despite the lack of psychometric properties, Campisi's survey, and the questions therein, continue to be an important part of the intellectual trajectory of the questions later included in more contemporary acculturation surveys (Weinstock, 1964).

The Puerto Rican Biculturality Scale (Cortes et al., 2003) was distributed to 1200 respondents to examine Puerto Rican versus American cultural practices including food, values, holidays, socialization and media preferences. Twenty questions were used to measure these constructs on a 4-point Likert scale. Analysis showed a two-factor model that showed a distinct dichotomy between American cultural practices and Puerto Rican ones. Together, these constructs explained 29.6% of the variance in Cortes' sample.

The Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS) (Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004) was distributed to 342 respondents to measure the multiple aspects of Asian acculturation. The scale included 15 items that were measured on 7-point Likert scales. Analysis revealed four factors: cultural knowledge, which included 6 questions about respondents

socialization, language, which included 4 items that measured language use and preferences and cultural knowledge that measured the frequency with which respondents practiced the traditions of their country and 2 items that measured food practices and preferences. Alpha values for each scale ranged from .81-.89, with alpha values of .83 in the retest sample that was conducted two weeks later.

The Rosebud Personal Opinion Survey (Green and Haymes, 1973; Howe, 1940; Jessor et al., 1968) has been distributed to a number of groups to measure Native American identity and Acculturation. Hoffmann (1985) distributed the scale to 69 respondents to measure their acculturation into full white versus Indian culture. The survey included 32 questions that were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from full white to full Indian. Five dimensions of acculturation were hypothesized: educational and occupational status, language preference and usage, social behavior, social membership and social activities, value orientation and cultural attitudes, and blood quantum. Alpha values were not calculated for any of the scales, although correlations were performed.

The Michigan State of the State Survey (Institute for Public Policy and Social Research, 2009) is an quarterly survey conducted by the State of Michigan to measure residents social, political and economic attitudes and behaviors. The Fall 2009 questionnaire was distributed to 991 Michigan residents and included a section that included 6 questions intended to measure respondent's racial attitudes. These items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale with 5 indicating agreement. Alpha values for these six items indicated an internal reliability of .497.

The Khmer Acculturation Scale (Lim et al., 2002) was created to measure Khmer identity and cultural practices. The scale consisted of questions that measured Khmer's cognitive,

behavioral, emotional, and sensory aspects of identity including language, gender roles, and political awareness of events. The cumulative alpha value for this scale was tested and retested and resulted in scores ranging from .82-.92. The individual subscales had alpha values that ranged from .78-.88.

The African American Acculturation Scale (Landrine and Klonoff, 1994) was distributed to several groups of respondents to measure African American behaviors, attitudes and preferences. The scale consisted of 74 7-point Likert scale items that were intended to measure the following concepts: family structure and practices (12 items, alpha .7077), preferences for things African American (11 items, alpha .9092), preparation and consumption of traditional foods (10 items, alpha .7870), interracial attitudes and cultural mistrust (7 items, alpha .787), African American health beliefs and practices (12 items, alpha .7814), Traditional African American religious beliefs and practices (6 items, alpha .7555), traditional African American childhood socialization (11 items, alpha .8118), superstitions (5 items, alpha .7235). The survey was revised and distributed to additional respondents (Klonoff and Landrine, 2000). Internal reliability estimates were re-calculated for each of the subscales, including Institutional trust, which had an alpha value of .87. Items from this sub-scale were utilized in the WRIS.

Mendoza distributed an empirical scale to measure Mexican American cultural life styles to 185 Mexican American adolescents and adults (Mendoza, 1989). This measure consisted of 29 items that measured 5 subscales: intra-family language usage (7 items, alpha .87), extra-family language usage (6 items, alpha .91), social affiliations & activities (5 items, alpha .89), cultural familiarity & activities (5 items, alpha .84), & cultural identification and pride (6 items, alpha .89).

The Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) was created to measure cultural practices and identities across ethnic group. Respondents also completed the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory and key socio-demographic questions. Four hundred and seventeen high school students & 136 college students attending ethnically diverse schools were surveyed. Four components were hypothesized as key indicators of ethnic identity: positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging, ethnic identity achievement, ethnic behaviors and practices, and other group orientation. Positive ethnic attitudes and a sense of belonging were measured through 5 items that had a .75 alpha for the high school sample and a .86 alpha for the college sample. Ethnic identity achievement was measured through the use of 7 items that had alpha reliabilities of .69 and .80 for high school and college samples, respectively. Ethnic behaviors and practices were composed of two items. Alpha reliability estimates were not available for this subscale, since alphas cannot be calculated with certainty on scales that comprise less than three items. Other group orientation consisted of 6 items that had alphas of .71 and .74 for the high school and college samples, respectively. Internal consistency was also determined for the entire scale using Cronbach's alpha. Alpha values were .81 for the high school sample and .90 for the college sample. Factor analysis was used to determine the underlying factor structure of the scale. Two factors resulted, the first of which included all the items in the ethnic identity subscale and the second of which included all the items in the other group orientation subscale. Ethnic identity accounted for 30.8% of the variance in multi-racial identity and other group orientation accounted for an additional 11.4%.

The General Ethnicity Questionnaire (Tsai, Ying and Lee, 2000) was distributed to 353 respondents to examine respondents feelings of "being Chinese" versus "being American. Questions were included that measured these constructs on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from

strongly disagree to strongly agree. Six factors emerged including, Chinese language use and proficiency, affiliation with Chinese people, participation in Chinese activities, pride in Chinese culture, exposure to Chinese culture and preference for Chinese food. Alpha values for both scales were high ($\alpha = .92$ for the Chinese Questionnaire and $\alpha = .92$ for the American Questionnaire). Alpha reliability estimates were not calculated for each individual subscale. This research is significant because it allows for the possibility of mono-cultural acculturation, in which respondent's acculturation into one culture does not necessarily exclude their participation in other cultures. Findings indicate being Chinese and being American are not related except in immigrants. In this population, being Chinese and being American are at odds. For the other respondents in their survey, it was possible to be both, or neither.

The Acculturation Index (Ward and Kennedy, 1994) measures New Zealanders cultural practices, relationships, identity, including political ideology when living and working abroad. In particular, this scale examines the relationship between national and ethnic identification and level of acculturation during cross-cultural transitions. This scale built on previous work that hypothesized four acculturation strategies, integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization (Berry, Annis and Psychology, 1988; Berry, 1990). Ninety-eight respondents were surveyed, including 60 employees and 38 partners of employees through the use of 21 items that measured respondent's attitudes, behaviors, and preferences regarding the food, language, world-view, and social customs of the country they were transplanted to. Respondents were asked how similar these things were to typical New Zealanders' on a 7-point scale that ranged from "not at all" to "extremely". Data analysis indicated two possible outcomes. The first of which was a co-national identity, in which respondent's immersed themselves in both the culture of New Zealand and their country of placement. The second outcome was that

respondents retained their New Zealander identity. Analysis of internal consistency indicated alpha values of .93 for co-national identification and .96 for host national identification.

In addition to the questions garnered from these previous measures, I created an additional 7 questions for inclusion in the WRIS. The constructs these items are intended to measure, including language use, food practices, and feelings of institutional trust are often utilized as measures of racial and ethnic identity, but it was necessary to create new questions that were hypothesized to reflect white cultural practices in the United States. The seven questions that were created include (1) “English should be the official language of the United States”, (2) “How important is it that people speak “proper” English”, (3) “I have different ways of speaking, depending on who I am around”, (4) “My family often served casseroles as a main dish for dinner while I was growing up.”, (5) “My family and friends often have potlucks.”, (6) “I trust the government of the United States” and (7) “Doctors are trustworthy”. More information about the intellectual trajectory of each subset of questions is discussed below.

Measuring American Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences

Four kinds of questions were used to measure American attitudes, behaviors and preferences. The first was language use. Language use has been a key measure of ethnic identity and respondent’s acculturation into American society (Olmedo and Padilla, 1978). In these surveys, increased familiarity and usage of the English language indicated higher levels of immersion into American society, and therefore stronger American identities (Barry, 2001; Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005b; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Cortes et al., 2003; Lim et al., 2002). Respondent’s who reported continued comfort and frequency with their native tongue were seen as being less acculturated, and therefore having weaker American identities. Some of

these studies suggested bicultural acculturation (Birman and Trickett, 2001; Zea et al., 2003) where respondents are comfortable in more than one cultural context (Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005a; Berry, 1997; Schwartz and Zamboanga, 2008; Schwartz and Unger, 2010). Bicultural acculturation also suggests usage and familiarity with one or more languages. In these cases, individuals often switch between one language and another based on the particular cultural context they find themselves in (Tsai, Ying and Lee, 2000). The process of switching between two or more forms of vernacular, depending on the social context, has been labeled as code switching (Milroy and Muysken, 1995)

In this survey, language use was measured through the use of three key questions: “English should be the official language of the United States”, “How important is it for people to speak “proper” English?”, and “I have different ways of speaking, depending on who I am around” . These questions have not been used in previous surveys, and therefore there is no existing information on their psychometric properties, however, as noted above a number of acculturation measures have included other items that measure language use. These instruments were shown to be valid and reliable through high alpha levels. The first two questions measure the extent to which whites buy in to mainstream American culture, which often proposes that dexterity with the English language should be a requirement for citizenship (Baron, 1992; Perea, 1992; Tatalovich, 1995). These ideologies are indicative of very ethnocentric white racial identities. This question measures whether whites see English and European heritage as being key to an American identity, or whether they perceive a more pluralistic definition of American society. The final language question asked whites “How important is it for people to speak “proper” English?”. All of these questions build on previous studies that suggest native language use (Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005b) and non-normative English language use may be

indicative of weaker American identities. Therefore, whites that are fluent in languages other than English may be less likely to have strong American identities. Part of these views arise through the development of an American identity that is imbued with an us (American) against them (racialized ethnic other) mentality.

The third question measures whether whites possess language privilege, wherein the language and syntax they were socialized to use is seen as normative and therefore does not have to shift based on context. This question measures the concept of code switching discussed above, which indicates that there is one set of vernacular used for play, and another in professional and educational situations (Cross, 1991). Since whites have historically been the dominant group in American society, most whites have the privilege of not having to code switch to the extent of racialized ethnic others. However, some whites that are immersed in communities of color consistently use language that is deemed as “non-white” in an effort to showcase their distance from traditional white cultural norms (Bettie, 2000; Sweetland, 2002). Together, this research suggests that white’s attitudes about and performances of American English signify the way they perceive their own racial and ethnic identities and how they want others to perceive their own racial and ethnic identities.

In addition whites American attitudes, behaviors, and preferences were measured through their political ideologies. Whites were asked how much they agreed with the statement “My political views are strongly conservative”. This question emerged from Ward and Kennedy’s Acculturation index that measured political ideology on a scale of 1-7 as an indication of how acculturated New Zealanders’ were in their host society (Ward and Kennedy, 1994; Ward and Rana-Deuba, 1999). Higher scores indicated increased acculturation and the existence of a co-national identity. Lower scores indicated an identity that was still heavily tied to the host society.

Sociological research on the nature of race in the United States has suggested that more conservative ideologies are indicative of stronger white racial identities and more negative white racial attitudes (Bobo and Kluegel, 1997; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Kluegel and Smith, 1986; Sears, Sidanius and Bobo, 2000). Other acculturation measures have also equated acculturation and national identity with political knowledge and behavior (Lim et al., 2002). In these surveys, respondents who exhibited awareness of the national politics of the host country were seen as being more acculturated than those who were unaware, or more invested in the politics of their country of origin. In this study, it is hypothesized that white respondents who have more conservative political ideologies will have more hegemonic white racial identities.

American pride and affect was used to measure identity through the use of two questions: “I am proud to be an American” and “Most of the people I admire are white Americans”. The first of these questions has been used on previous acculturation measures (Birman and Tyler, 1994; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Birman, Trickett and Vinokurov, 2002) to measure Russian and Latino identities. The second question also emerged from previous studies (Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995; Mendoza, 1989; Tsai, Ying and Lee, 2000) that examined Black, Latino and Chinese acculturation into American society. Higher responses in either of these categories indicated increased positive affect for American norms and customs. Consequently, higher scores represent stronger identification with the host culture and weaker identification with the culture of origin. Sociological studies have argued that American often serves as a synonym for a white identity that allows Americans to perpetuate color-blind racism and color-blind ideologies (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Bonilla-Silva, 2014). In this study, it is hypothesized that increased American affect indicates the presence of a white racial identity that is aligned more strongly with hegemonic ideals about what it means to be white.

Finally, celebration of American holidays were measured through the use of one question: “It is important for me to celebrate American holidays and festivals”. Participation in holiday practices has been used as an item to measure cultural identity on a number of acculturation surveys (Campisi, 1947b; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Cortes et al., 2003; Lim et al., 2002). In these surveys, participation in holidays of the host country showed stronger identification with the host culture and participation in holidays of native origin showed a continued identification with the country of origin. This suggests that whites who participate in the ethnic holidays and festivals of their ancestors may have more hegemonic white racial identities. However, it is unclear whether this hypothesis will hold true for whites that also are a part of the dominant, normative culture within American society. Some of theories about WRI suggest that white hegemony is associated with the celebration of ethnic holidays to idealize some kind of ethnic ancestral past and to set claim to an ethnic identity that makes their racial identity and the privileges that come with it invisible (Perry, 2002). However, other research suggests that those with stronger white racial identities may neglect ethnic identities and activities in favor of generic white American racial identities (Devos and Banaji, 2005). Therefore, it is unclear whether those who exhibit more hegemonic white racial identities will be more or less likely to celebrate American holidays. The relationship between these variables will be examined later using statistical analysis.

Measuring Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences Concerning Cross Racial Interaction

Cross-cultural attitudes, behaviors, and preferences have regularly served as a measure of ethnic and racial identity (Barona and Miller, 1994a; Barry, 2001; Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005b; Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989; Campisi, 1947b; Phinney, 1992). Increased cross-racial or cross ethnic contact has signified acculturation into the host culture and a moving away

from the native culture (Barry, 2001). In addition, research on race has suggested that white racial identities are often reified through social networks, specifically intimate ones, that are largely or completely white (Farley et al., 1978; Farley et al., 1993; Krysan and Bader, 2007; Krysan, Farley and Couper, 2008; Oyserman and Yoon, 2009). Racial isolation often leads to cultural misunderstandings and reification negative racial attitudes and lead to unquestioned views of white superiority (whether explicit or implicit) (Pettigrew, 1998; Sigelman and Welch, 1993). In this research, whites cross-racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences were measured through the use of seven questions that have been used before on previous surveys. The questions were slightly modified to reflect white cross-racial attitudes and behaviors, but the remainder of the question was left intact.

White respondents were asked about their cross racial behaviors through questions that asked about the racial makeup of their friend groups (Barry, 2001; Benet-Martinez, 2003; Benet-Martinez, 2006; Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989) and romantic partners (Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, 2005b; Benet-Martinez, 2006). Respondents were also asked how often they spend time with ethnic groups other than their own (Phinney, 1992).

Attitudes about cross racial interactions were measured through questions that asked about whether whites felt that other whites understand them better than people who are not white (Barry 2001), whether they prefer to go to social gatherings where most of the people are white (Barona and Miller 1994; Barry 2001; Campisi 1947), whether they would prefer to go out with someone who was white than someone of another race (Barry 2001) and whether they feel that it is better if different ethnic groups don't try to mix together (Phinney 1992). These studies hypothesize that less cross-racial contact leads to increased negative racial attitudes and more hegemonic white racial identities.

In this research, it is hypothesized that whites that have more frequent cross-racial contact will have a more flexible and weaker WRI. This is especially true for cross-racial contact that occurs in intimate settings with close friends and romantic partners. Many whites now interact with people of color superficially, in public settings, yet their WRI remains entrenched because they continue to keep people of color at a distance in their private lives (Farley et al., 1978; Farley et al., 1993; Krysan and Bader, 2007; Krysan, Farley and Couper, 2008; Oyserman and Yoon, 2009).

Measuring Ethnic Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences

Ethnic attitudes, behaviors, and preferences have served as the most consistent measure of ethnic and racial identity in the acculturation literature (Birman, 2001; Birman and Tyler, 1994; Campisi, 1947; Cortes et al, 2003; Chung, Kim, and Abreu, 2004; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996; Phinney, 1992; Szapocznik 1978). These questions have measured ethnic identity through a number of facets including food preferences, holiday preferences and cultural norms. For the purposes of my research, I measured ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences through respondents ethnic group affect, participation in holidays and consumption and preparation of ethnic food. Ethnic group affect was measured through the use of five questions that have been used on previous acculturation measures: (1) “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group (Phinney, 1992)”; (2) “I think about how my life will be affected by my group membership (Phinney, 1992)”; (3) “I am happy I am a member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to (Phinney, 1992)”; “I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs (Phinney, 1992)”; and (5) “I participate in the cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs. (Phinney, 1992)”. Higher scores on these questions indicate increased investment in the historical or contemporary

practices of respondent's ethnic group. In addition, they indicate stronger feelings of group membership. Phinney (1992) also used them as a measure of stronger racial or ethnic identities.

Ethnic behaviors were also measured through the use the question "How important is it for you to celebrate the ethnic festivals or holidays of your ancestors? (Campisi, 1947; Cortes et. al, 2003; Chung, Kim, and Abreu, 2004)". In these surveys, researchers found that respondents who were more acculturated were more likely to celebrate American holidays, and respondents who were less acculturated were more likely to cleave to ancestral ethnic traditions and holidays. As mentioned previously, the literature on the relationship between WRI and holiday celebrations is unclear. Those with more hegemonic WRI's may be more likely to participate in American holidays, ethnic holidays, or some combination of the two. Therefore, the direction of the relationship between these variables and white racial identity is not hypothesized and will be further examined through the use of statistical analysis later in the paper.

Finally, ethnic attitudes, behaviors and practices were measured through the use of three questions that asked white respondents about their food consumption and preferences. These questions were included as food preferences have traditionally served as a measure of ethnic identity (Birman, 2001; Birman and Tyler, 1994; Gim Chung et al, 2004; Szapocznik et al, 1978). The first of these was directly retained from the African American Acculturation Scale (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). Respondents were to indicate how strongly they agreed with the statement "I usually add salt to my food to make it taste better (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996)". Landrine and Klonoff found that African Americans were statistically more likely to agree with this statement than whites, and therefore maintained that this item was an indicator of African American racial identity. In this research, the opposite is presumed with lower scores indicating stronger white racial identities. Most other acculturation surveys have asked respondents whether

they eat foods particular to their culture of origin. Since no such surveys have been created for whites, two questions were created for the purposes of this research to measure white American eating preferences. These two statements, “My family served casseroles as a main dish for dinner while I was growing up” and “My family and friends have potlucks” were hypothesized to be two food preferences rooted in white American culture based on the minimal research that has been done to suggest what white cultural food preferences may be (Batis et al., 2011; Perry, 2002). It is hypothesized that whites that eat casseroles and participate in potlucks more frequently will have more hegemonic white racial identities.

Measuring Racial Attitudes

Attitudes towards ethnic or racial out groups are a less traditional measure of racial or ethnic identity, although questions measuring this concept have been used in some acculturation measures (Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 2000). In this study, racial attitudes were measured through the use of five questions: (1) “Race doesn’t really matter. We’re all just humans”; (2) “Racial discrimination limits black employment”; (3) “Less in-born ability accounts for blacks lack of success”; (4) “Racial discrimination accounts for blacks lack of success”; and (5) “Lack of motivation accounts for blacks lack of success”. The first of these questions was created by the researcher to measure whites buy in to the ideology of color blind racism that purports the liberal ideas of equality as a way of ignoring the structural inequalities that exist (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Bonilla-Silva, 2014). The question emerged from previous research conducted by the researcher where respondents were asked to list their racial identity and a small percentage of white respondents wrote in “human” (Doberneck, Miller and Schweitzer, 2012). The remainders of these questions were intended to measure whites attitudes towards African Americans. In particular, these questions were worded to uncover color-blind

racial attitudes that argue that individual, not structural forces are to blame for black's lack of success (Kluegel and Smith, 1986; Sears, Sidanius and Bobo, 2000). For the purposes of this research, it was hypothesized that increased negative racial attitudes and/or increased color-blind racial attitudes signify a more hegemonic white racial identity.

Measuring Institutional Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences

Institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences have served as indicators of racial and ethnic identity, although they have often been grouped in with other questions used to measure the construct of cultural or ethnic practices more generally (Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995). Respondents who indicated more trust or participation in American-based institutions were seen as being more acculturated and possessing less of an ethnic identity (Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995).

In this research, institutional attitudes, behaviors and practices were measured through the use of questions that asked whites about their music and media preferences, their religious practices and their trust in mainstream American institutions. First, white respondents were asked whether they had ever seen people “get the spirit” or speak in tongues (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). On the African American Acculturation Scale (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996) on which this item was originally included, higher scores on this question indicated a stronger African American identity. Consequently, for the purposes of this research, lower scores indicate the presence of a stronger white racial identity. Respondents were also asked questions about the racial makeup of the musical artists they listen to and television actors they watch the most (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). They were also asked whether they liked black music more than white music (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). In previous research, Blacks who were asked these

questions possessed stronger African American identities when listening to and watching black media forms. Therefore, in this research, it is hypothesized that increased participation in white musical forms is indicative of stronger white racial identities. Finally, respondents were also asked about their institutional trust, using two questions that asked how much they trusted doctors and the political system through questions developed in this research. Previous research has measured this construct through the use of numerous questions, including “When you are sick or have problems do you go to a medicine man? (yes or no) (Hoffmann, 1985)”: and “What is your attitude toward the medicine man vs. a White doctor? (Hoffmann, 1985)”, and “If doctors can’t cure you, you should try going to a root doctor or to your minister (Landrine and Klonoff 1996b)”. This research suggests that racial ethnic minorities that participate in non-traditional institutional practices are less likely to be acculturated into American society and more likely to identify strongly with their own racial ethnic group. However, additional research has shown that the effects of acculturation can be unexpected, at least for racial ethnic minorities. A recent study found that Mexican Americans who were more acculturated were also more likely to be cynical about U.S. institutions, especially political ones (Michelson, 2003; Michelson, 2007; Wenzel, 2006). In this research, it is hypothesized that increased institutional trust is indicative of a more hegemonic white racial identity.

Analytic strategy

The data garnered from the WRIS was subjected to a two-pronged analysis. First, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted on all of the items intended to measure whites attitudes, behaviors and preferences to determine which items were most closely related with WRI (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009). These factors were turned into composite scale variables by computing the means of the items that loaded within each of the factors. These created

composite scale variables became the dependent variables in subsequent analyses that utilized linear regression to examine the effects key socio-demographic variables such as gender and income have on the components of WRI. In this research, items hypothesized to be dependent variables were turned into scales in order to synthesize the large amount of data included on the WRIS and to detect the underlying patterns in the data. In addition, this strategy increases the reliability of the measurement (Gliem and Gliem, 2003), decreases measurement error, and allows for a more detailed and multi-dimensional understanding of each construct (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994).

Exploratory factor analysis

Exploratory factor analysis is a theory driven statistical technique that is useful for researchers who do not have preexisting measurement models to examine the construct they are studying. This allows researchers to create measures of constructs that have been understudied and do not have strong, comprehensive theories about which items should be part of the scale and how they are related. Researchers can impute large amounts of data into an EFA model to determine which items are not relevant to the phenomenon being measured. Items that are not related to the underlying construct can be removed, leading to a more concentrated and concise measurement model. The data that remains is analyzed to determine the underlying factor structure of the data, or in other words, how the remaining items are related to each other and whether they should be grouped together as they are actually measuring a similar factor (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009).

Factor analysis developed as a technique to measure the latent construct of intelligence, which researchers argued could not be measured directly through observed data (Binet and

Simon, 1916; Guilford, 1966; Guilford, 1967; Humphreys, Linn and University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Department of Psychology, 1989; Spearman, 1904; Wolman, 1985). More recently, researchers have utilized both EFA and CFA as a means of examining the factors that contribute to racial and ethnic identity (Cortes et al., 2003). Traditionally, researchers have conducted EFA when first attempting to construct a scale and after coming up with an initial model through EFA, distributed the same survey to a different group of respondents and conducted confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on that secondary data set.

EFA works by examining the relationships among individual items and determines whether these items are correlated and to what extent. The theoretical underpinning of this statistical technique is based on the common factor model, which suggests that the correlations between the items in the measurement model can be attributed to a common factor, often referred to as a latent variable. Although this latent variable is not measured directly through observed data, its presence explains why respondents answer items in similar ways. EFA provides researchers with an analysis of how many of these factors exist in their dataset and how many items are correlated, and to what extent with each of these factors. The data is imputed into a measurement model and either the researcher or statistical software tests a number of different ways the data could be organized to measure the latent construct through the process of data rotation. Items that are highly correlated with each other typically load on one factor, showing that these items are all measuring slightly different aspects of the same construct.

In EFA, these correlations are referred to as factor loadings, which provide the same information as regression coefficients or slopes in other forms of statistical analysis. These loadings provide us with information about two types of variance, (1) common variance, which is variance that can be accounted for by latent, underlying variables and affects all items in the

model and (2) unique variance, which is not caused by the underlying construct and therefore must be explained by factors unknown to the researcher such as additional items, the way the question was worded or random error (Harrington, 2009). Common variance is determined by squaring the factor loadings to come up with a variance percentage. For example, factor loadings of .7 show that approximately 50% of the variance in the item is caused by the hypothesized latent variable. Unique variance can be determined by subtracting the common variance from 100%. In this research, SPSS and varimax rotation were utilized to determine the model that had the strongest correlations within each factor and explained the most variance of the underlying latent construct. Researchers can then review the generated measurement models and make determinations about whether or not they wish to remove items that have low factor loadings and therefore cannot explain a significant amount of variation in the latent variable, or that load on multiple factors, which signifies that the items may not possess divergent validity.

It should be noted that although EFA allows for an analysis of the relationships between observed variables, it does not provide a statistical means for examining the direction of the relationship between these variables and the latent construct being studied. Here, researchers using EFA are required to rely on theory to connect the statistical patterns garnered through EFA to existing theories.

Limitations of EFA

There are three primary limitations to EFA, which are related to method effects, measurement invariance and its exploratory nature. First, EFA cannot test for method effects. Therefore, there is no way to analyze the way the constructed measurement model and the concurrent data analysis are affected by the measure that was used. Ideally, respondents would

provide information about the construct being studied through a number of different methods to reduce these method effects. Respondents who provide information through only one method may experience feelings of social desirability that can lead to response bias effects (Podsakoff et al., 2003; Podsakoff, MacKenzie and Podsakoff, 2012). These feelings may have some influence on how the items in the model correlate with each other and the underlying factor(s) (Harrington, 2009). A second limitation of EFA is that it cannot test for measurement invariance, which examines how the results of the EFA may differ if the survey were distributed to different populations, even if it is only distributed to one group. For the purposes of EFA, measurement invariance can only be checked by distributing the survey to a number of different populations, to see if the resulting measurement model and factor structure are the same (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009). The final limitation of EFA is that as the title implies, it is an exploratory technique. Therefore, the results must be interpreted with caution and may also be very context specific. To increase the reliability of the survey, the results garnered through EFA must be confirmed through CFA and structural equation modeling (SEM).

Because of these limitations, CFA and SEM were considered as alternative statistical techniques for this analysis. However, both techniques require that the researcher rely on existing measurement models to determine the items that should be used to measure the latent construct of interest and to hypothesize how these items are related to each other. This is because both CFA and SEM require that all parameters in the measurement model be identified before conducting the data analysis, which means that all the relationships between the items included in the survey, the latent variable, item co-variances and errors, be specified in advance.

In this research, no pre-existing measurement models for WRI exist. Although there is some theoretical knowledge about how the factors included in this research relate to each other,

many of the items included on the WRIS are understudied, especially in relationship to each other. The theory about these items and their relationship to each other and WRI is often contradictory and context-specific. Due to the dearth of data in this area, it was necessary to utilize EFA to construct a preliminary model that could be subjected to rigorous statistical analysis to determine the construct validity of the WRIS.

Unfortunately, conducting CFA on data that has already been subjected to EFA can only provide a weak test of model fit. In these cases, CFA will often replicate the results of the previous EFA. Some researchers circumvent this by splitting their data in two and conducting EFA on half of the data and CFA on the other half. The large sample size required by EFA and CFA prohibited both procedures being performed in this research.

In addition, as will be discussed later, after subjecting the WRIS to EFA, the resulting scale had some factors that were composed of only two items, falling short of the statistical standard of three for items subjected to CFA (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013). Since the WRIS is the first survey to measure white American's racial and ethnic identity, many questions were included in an effort to ensure at least three items loaded on each factor, but the items loaded in ways that were unexpected, leaving some factors with only two items. Due to these limitations, in this research, the goal was to create a preliminary measurement model that possesses strong construct validity that can be redistributed to different populations and subjected to CFA and SEM at a later date (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009).

In this research, EFA was used to create a baseline of the attitudes, behaviors and preferences that comprise white racial identity for all of the participants in the sample and to

provide answers to RQ1-RQ5. All of the items imputed into the measurement model were checked for normality, patterns in missing data and validity (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009).

Normality of variables subjected to EFA

EFA assumes that each item that is entered into the measurement model is normally distributed. This assumption also requires that data be categorical, not binary, since binary data is often skewed. All of the items imputed into the measurement model were checked for normality through an assessment of kurtosis. Kurtosis scales above 1 indicate that the item responses may be skewed and have limited variation (Mardia, 1970). All items showed kurtosis scores within the normal range and therefore exhibited patterns for normal distribution except: “My friends are: (mostly white to mostly black)”, “How often are your romantic partners the same race as you?”, “My race doesn’t really matter, we’re all just humans” and “Doctors are trustworthy”. Because these items had kurtosis scores above 1, it may indicate that these items have low commonality with other variables or may not load on other factors because of their limited variation. All items except “My race doesn’t really matter” did load in the concurrent exploratory factor analysis and were therefore retained in the final models.

Missing data for variables subjected to EFA

These items were also examined for patterns in missing data that could impact the results of the data analysis. Missing data for items subjected to EFA was analyzed by item using the Missing Value analysis tool in SPSS. Each item was first checked to see if it had more than 10% missing data. Data with this large of a percentage missing can be unreliable and are usually missing because of an underlying pattern that the researcher must uncover (Bennett, 2001; Dong and Peng, 2013; Rubin, 1976). Data missing less than 5% can be attributed to being missing at

random and does not have an effect on the data analysis or results (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013).

None of the items subjected to EFA for the purposes of this analysis had more than 5% missing data. The frequencies and percentages of missing data for each item included in the EFA can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4: Missing Data for Items Subjected to EFA		
Item:	Frequency Missing:	% Missing:
What are your political views?	3	1.4%
I feel that whites understand me better than people who are not white.	1	.5%
I prefer going to social gatherings and parties where most of the people are white.	1	.5%
I would prefer to go out on a date with someone who was white than someone of another race.	1	.5%
My friends are:	0	0%
How often are your romantic partners the same race as you?	6	2.7%
I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.	0	0%
I spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	0	0%
I am proud to be an American.	1	.5%
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	0	0%
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	.5%
I am happy that I am a member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to.	0	0%
Most of the people I admire are white Americans.	1	.5%
My race doesn't really matter. We're all just humans.	0	0%
Racial Discrimination Limits Black Employment	1	.5%
Less In-born Ability Accounts for Blacks Lack of Success	6	2.7%
Racial Discrimination Accounts for Blacks Lack of Success	1	.5%
Lack of Motivation Accounts for Blacks Lack of Success	2	.9%
How important is it for you to celebrate the ethnic festivals or holidays of your ancestors?	0	0%
How important is it for you to celebrate American holidays and festivals (eg. 4 th of July)?	0	0%
I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	0	0%
I participate in the cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.	0	0%
English should be the official language of the United States.	0	0%
How important is it for people to speak "proper" English?	1	.5%
I have different ways of speaking, depending on who I am around.	0	0%
I usually add salt to my food to make it taste better.	1	.5%
My family served casseroles as a main dish for dinner while I was growing up.	1	.5%
My family and friends have potlucks.	3	1.4%
Most of the music I listen to is by artists who are:	1	.5%
I like black music more than white music.	5	2.3%
I regularly watch TV shows and/or movies where most of the characters are:	4	1.8%

Table 4 (cont'd)		
I have seen people “get the spirit” or speak in tongues.	8	3.6%
Doctors are trustworthy.	2	.9%
I trust the United States government.	0	0%

Because of the minimal amount of missing data, Likert scale items with missing data were imputed using medians. EFA also has options to delete cases with missing data listwise, but in EFA, multiple imputation is always recommended over deletion (Bello, 1995; Cokluk and Kayri, 2011; Harrington, 2009; Penn, 2007) to maintain the strongest sample size and reduce bias.

Validity of variables subjected to EFA

Factor matrices were utilized to determine convergent and divergent validity for all of the items entered into EFA. Convergent and discriminant validity provide useful information about construct validity (Koeske, 1994). Convergent validity examines relationships that have high correlations. Loadings over .4 are indicative of high convergent validity. High convergent validity shows that the items being included are measuring the same thing (Bagozzi, Yi and Phillips, 1991). Discriminant validity examines relationships between items that have low correlations. Loadings of .85 or below indicate discriminant validity (Brown, 2006).

Discriminant validity suggests that the items being included in the measurement model are distinct and are not measuring the same or overlapping phenomenon (Bagozzi, Yi and Phillips, 1991). Ideally, a scale should only include items that exhibit both convergent and discriminant validity, and therefore should be correlated with other factor loadings at the .4 to .85 range. All items included in the final EFA models showed both kinds of validity. Additionally, the items grouped together by factor in a way that confirms previous theoretical constructs and supports face validity. Theoretical or nomological validity was also supported, as the loadings that were

exhibited in the data aligned with underlying theories about white racial identities and the attitudes, behaviors, and preferences that are proxies for them (Bagozzi, Yi and Phillips, 1991; Koeske, 1994).

Recoding variables utilized in the EFA

None of the items measuring whites attitudes, behaviors and preferences that were imputed into SPSS for EFA were collapsed primarily because EFA requires that items be normally distributed, which demands that they also be “approximations to continuous variables (Gorsuch, 1983)”. Non-continuous variables exhibit smaller correlations and lead to inaccurate parameter estimates (Byrne, 2013; Kline, 2011; O’Connor, Colder and Hawk Jr, 2004). These difficulties are resolved if the item in question has at least five categories (Byrne, 2013; Kline, 2011; O’Connor, Colder and Hawk Jr, 2004).

After the data was checked to ensure it met the basic assumptions for EFA, it was subjected to principal axis factoring and varimax rotation in SPSS. The resulting matrices demonstrated existing factors. Loadings above .71 show excellent relationships between variables, above .63 is very good, .55 good, .45 is fair and .32 is poor (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013). In this analysis, loadings less than .4 were dropped. Items were also dropped if they loaded on multiple factors and exhibited less than a .2 difference in loading. Divergent validity could not be determined for these factors, as their loadings were close enough together that a determination could not be made about which factor they load on (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994).

Cronbach’s alphas were calculated for each of the resulting factors to ensure the internal consistency of each of the factors. Each of these the items that loaded on these factors were

combined into one scale variable by adding up all item responses and dividing by the number of items that were used to create the variable. In this research, the Cronbach's alphas critical cut off value was set to .6. Some research has suggested that Cronbach's alphas be at least .7 (DeVellis, 2012) to ensure internal consistency, however, others have argued that this cutoff is an "urban legend (Lance, Butts and Michels, 2006)" and that reliability estimates as low as .6 are still valid (Pasta and Suhr, 2004). In addition, the number of items that load on each factor affect the alpha value that is calculated. Factors with less than 3 items may exhibit lower alpha reliabilities (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011), suggesting that there may be even more flexibility in these cases.

Factor scores were also calculated, but the creation of composite scale variables allowed for easier interpretation and analysis and provided similar results as factor scores (DiStefano, Zhu and Mindrila, 2009; Furr and Bacharach, 2013). Since EFA is a largely theory driven methodology, the results below indicate the relationships between the items entered into the factor analysis, but cannot deduce whether these items have a positive or negative relationship to the underlying latent variable of white racial identity. However, these relationships can be hypothesized based on previous theories and will be in the discussion section.

Linear regression

The second step of this analysis involved linear regression. The composite score variables created through EFA were utilized as the dependent variable in eight separate linear regressions to determine the way these attitudes, behaviors and preferences differed by a number of key socio-demographic variables. This kind of analysis was possible because of the underlying hypothesis of EFA that all of the items grouped together in one factor are really measuring different dimensions of an overarching construct. Therefore, these items can be scaled together

and used to create a more comprehensive variable. The independent variables imputed into the linear regression were first checked for patterns in missing data and small cell size. Open-ended responses were also inductively coded to turn qualitative responses into quantitative data that could be subjected to statistical analysis.

Missing data for variables subjected to linear regression

Missing data for items subjected to linear regression was analyzed by item using the Missing Value analysis tool in SPSS. No item had more than 10% missing data, which suggests that the missing data will not impact the data results and analysis. In addition, only one case shows over 5% of missing data, which suggests that the data may not be missing at random. The missing data for each item, along with an explanation for any items whose missing data is theoretically significant or more than 5% is listed in table 5.

Table 5: Missing Data for Socio-Demographic Items		
Item:	Frequency:	%:
What is your racial/ethnic group?	3	1.4%
Age	1	.5
Education	1	.5
Michigan Residency	0	0
Religion	11	5%
Bilingual	0	0
Gender	3	1.4%
Class	2	.9%
Family Income	12	5.5%
Urbanicity	5	2.3%
Racial Composition of School, Neighborhood and Family While Growing Up	0	0
Racial Composition of Current Neighborhood	3	1.4%
Some Members of my Immediate Family are Prejudiced	0	0

Three respondents left their racial/ethnic identification blank. Because racial/ethnic identity was the key determining demographic variable in the WRIS, it was impossible to

perform any further analysis without first determining whether respondents had a racial/ethnic identity that could be categorized as white. Instead of deleting these cases and the information that could be garnered from them, additional research was done to determine their racial/ethnic identification and to retain their answers for the purposes of analysis. In particular, the researcher made this determination from their listing of the racial and ethnic categorization of their parents. The first of these respondents listed that their mother was “Hawaiian-Japanese” and that their father was “Hungarian-Slovakian”. In the second case, the respondent listed that their mother and father were “Caucasian”. In the final case, the respondent listed their mother as “German” and their father as “Polish”. In all three cases, enough information was available to determine that these respondents would fit into traditional classifications of white or Caucasian in the United States.

Religious background had missing data of 5%. Because this data is not over 5%, it can be considered to be missing at random (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013), although the high percentage of missing data is theoretically significant since it is likely respondents were more hesitant to answer this item as they considered their religious preferences to be private information (Wyatt, Katz and Kim, 2000). Family income had 5.5% of missing data, just slightly over the critical value for data that is missing at random. It is likely that the pattern for this missing data can be explained by the fact that respondents consider family income private data. It is unlikely that those from certain income groups were more likely to exclude this information than respondents from other income groups. Instead, this perception of personal information was likely to be experienced across income brackets. Therefore, both of these items were retained for the purposes of final analysis. In the regression analyses that follow, missing data was imputed using means to retain the highest sample size and because of the small amount of missing data. Mean

imputation has been criticized, as it can inflate statistical significance and decrease standard errors (Allison, 2000; Allison, 2002). Therefore, the same regression models were also run with listwise deletion as a comparison and regressions with mean imputation showed similar, and in some cases, even more conservative results. For purposes of clarity, only the regressions with mean imputation are included in the next chapter.

Recodes of linear regression variables

Many of the socio-demographic independent variables subjected to linear regression required recodes to be entered into subsequent linear regression models. Linear regression requires that there be no extreme outliers in any items, that these data are distributed normally, and that these data are presented numerically or categorically (Seber and Lee, 2003). Therefore, open ended questions were recoded into categorical or binary variables, and items with small cells were collapsed to limit the effect of outliers and to ensure normal distribution. There are some limitations of recoding. Most of these limitations relate to the fact that recoding reduces some of the variation that exists in the data. Recoding can also change the mean of an item and affect the significance level of statistical tests (Babbie et al., 2013; Buchner and Findley, 1991). However, for the purposes of this analysis, recoding was seen as being necessary for the reasons mentioned above. The recoding process for each of these variables is discussed in detail below.

Respondents were asked to write in their racial/ethnic group leading to a wide range of responses. These responses were inductively coded, first into particular racial and/or ethnic groups and finally into a dummy variable where white=0 and Caucasian or white ethnic=1, as theoretically white was perceived as being the comparison group and had a larger N. Age was collapsed so that the categories are 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 and above due to the small cell size of

the outlier categories beyond age 21. Education was originally a categorical variable that did not have equal amounts of responses in each category. Therefore, education exhibited some skewness and was not normally distributed. For these reasons education was recoded as a dummy variable where 0=freshman and 1=sophomore or beyond. This re-categorization was also supported by theory, as it has been hypothesized that freshman are in a key stage of identity development in which they may exhibit attitudes, behaviors, and preferences that are different from their older peers, who are more acculturated into their college environment (Denzin, 1966).

Residency was dummy coded into Michigan or non-Michigan resident as there were not enough non-Michigan respondents to create additional categories. In this case, Michigan residency was coded as 0. Religion was also open-ended and codes were created inductively by looking for patterns in the data and grouping the data together based on similarity of religious preference. Each of these major religious categories, including Catholic, Agnostic or Secular and Jewish were then coded into dummy variables. Christian religious preferences (which included one respondent who identified as Greek Orthodox Christian) were retained as the comparison category. These responses were also recoded into a second dummy variable that compared the responses of Christian and non-Christians (which included Agnostic or Secular). This second categorization was not retained in the final analysis, as the first set of coding categories revealed a more nuanced relationship between religion and WRI. Bilingual was dummy coded with 0=no. Respondents were instructed to identify their gender by circling “male” or “female”, or to write in a different gender category other than the two that were listed under “other”. No one wrote in a third response. Gender was dummy coded with male=0. Respondents were asked to circle one of five categories to describe their class status, ranging from poor to upper class. No one circled poor and very few people circled upper class. Therefore, class was dummy coded into

poor/working class and upper middle/upper class with middle class as the omitted category.

Respondents were asked to identify the type of city they grew up in, particularly whether it was rural, suburban or urban. Urbanicity was then dummy coded into rural and urban variables with suburban as the omitted category.

Respondents were also asked about the racial composition of their school, neighborhood and family growing up and about the racial composition of their current neighborhood. Only one respondent indicated that they currently lived in an all black neighborhood and a few indicated they currently lived in a mostly black neighborhood. Most respondents listed that they lived in racially mixed, mostly white, or all white neighborhoods. Two dummy variables were created from these responses. The first of these includes respondents who live in a racially mixed, mostly black, or all black neighborhood. The second includes those who live in an all white neighborhood. Respondents who live in a mostly white neighborhood comprised the comparison group. No respondents indicated that they grew up in an all black school, neighborhood or family and only a few indicated they grew up in a mostly black school, neighborhood or family. Two dummy variables were created from these responses. The first included respondents who grew up in mostly black or racially mixed networks. The second included respondents who grew up in all white networks. Respondents who grew up in mostly white networks served as the comparison group. Finally, family prejudice was measured through a 5-category variable that asked respondents whether they strongly disagreed or strongly agreed that at least one member of their immediate family was prejudiced. These responses were normally distributed with responses in each category, so this variable was left in its original form.

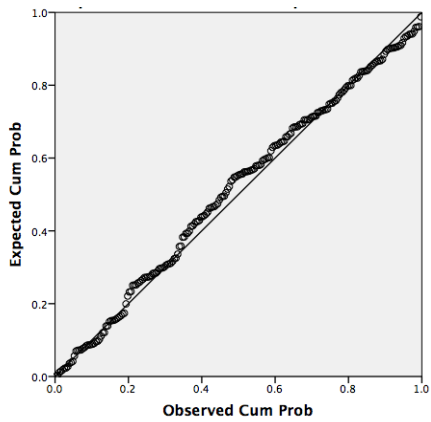
Regression assumptions

After the data to be imputed into linear regressions was cleaned, it was checked to ensure that it met the assumptions for linear regression, including linearity, statistical independence of errors, homoscedasticity and normality (Montgomery, Peck and Vining, 2012; Seber and Lee, 2003; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013; Weisberg, 2005). In addition, the data was checked to ensure there were no extreme outliers or collinearity (Belsley, Kuh and Welsch, 2005; Montgomery, Peck and Vining, 2012; Seber and Lee, 2003; Seber and Lee, 2012; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013; Weisberg, 2005). An explanation of each of these assumptions and how the researcher ensured that the items met these assumptions is discussed in detail below.

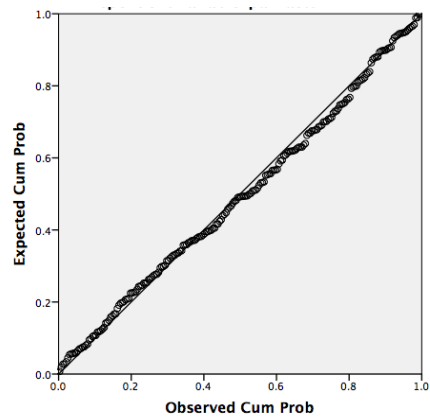
The first assumption of linear regression is that there is a linear relationship between the independent variables imputed into the regression and the dependent variable. This ensures that there is a consistent relationship between the two sets of variables. Linear graphs that exhibit relationships that look like a U or a curve suggests that the relationship between the independent and dependent variable is unpredictable. An analysis of the linearity of the variables included in the linear regression in this research was conducted through the use of p-plots that graphed the standardized residuals against the dependent variables, the results of which are below.

Figure 1: Normal P-Plot of Regression Standardized Residual for Dependent Variables

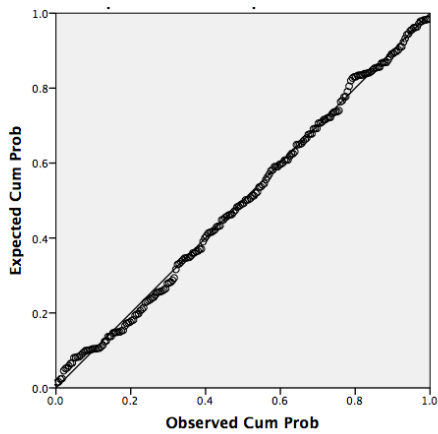
American Composite Scale Variable:



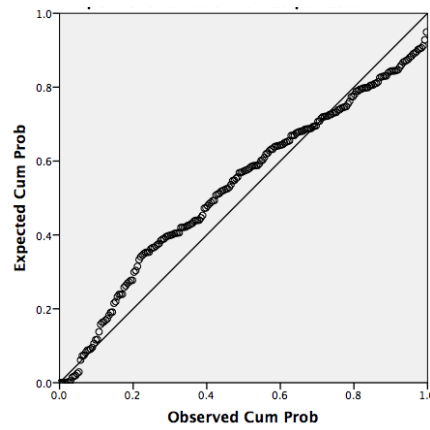
Cross Racial Composite Scale Variable:



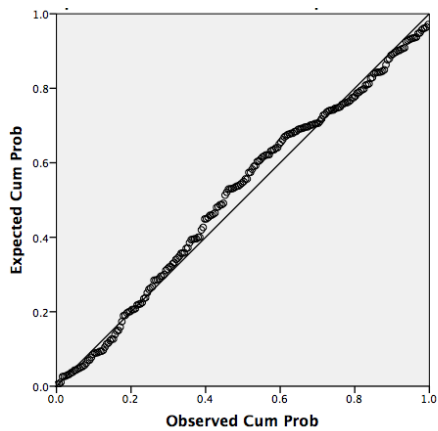
Ethnic Composite Scale Variable:



Intimate Composite Scale Variable:



Racial Attitudes Composite Scale Variable:



Institutional Composite Scale Variable:

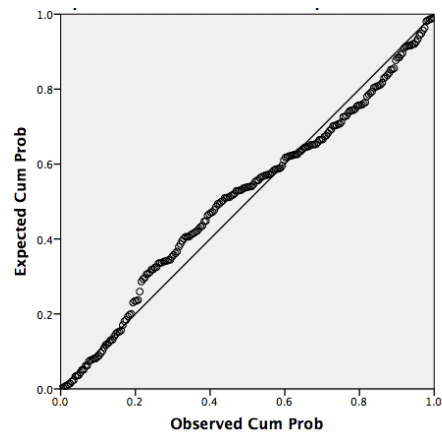
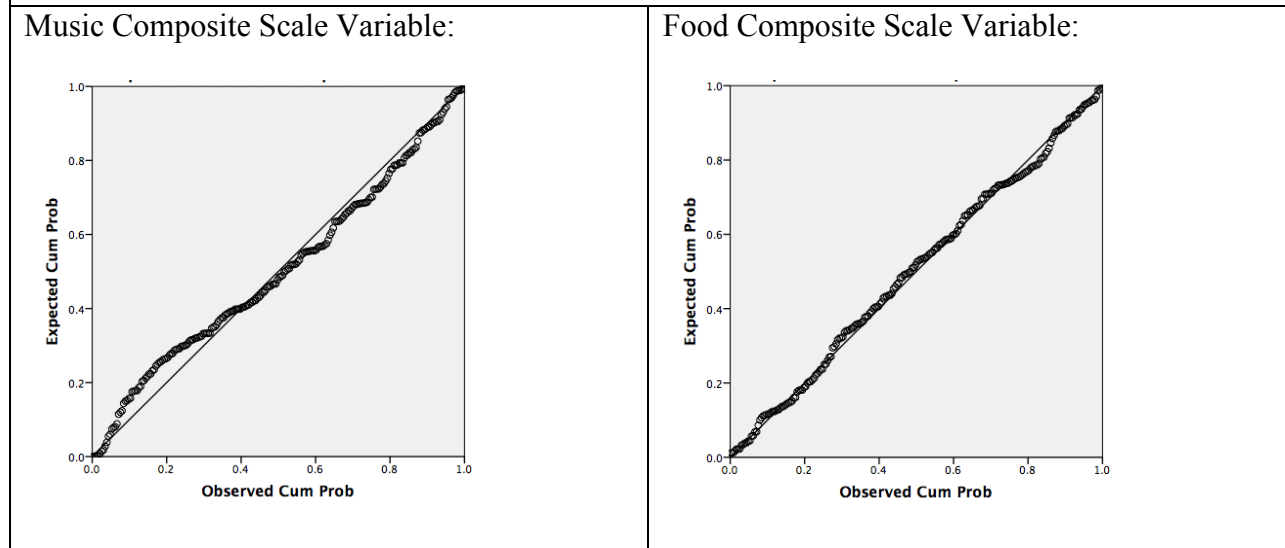


Figure 1 (cont'd)



All independent variables met the assumption for linearity with the dependent variables in this analysis.

The second assumption of linear regression is that the items imputed into linear regression have errors that are not statistically correlated. Items without statistical independence of errors are likely to exhibit high correlations as the result of an unaccounted for item that was not included in the original measurement model. If this assumption is violated, changes in the dependent variable could be the result of this unknown variable, instead of to items in the model. The Durbin Watson test checks for this assumption. Durbin Watson statistics over one show statistical independence of errors (Fomby and Guilkey, 1978).

Table 6: Durbin Watson Statistics for Dependent Variables	
Item	Durbin-Watson
American	2.072
Cross Racial	1.951
Ethnic	2.107
Intimate	1.985
Racial Attitudes	1.860
Institutional	1.838
Music	2.024
Food	2.102

All of the Durbin Watson statistics for the variables entered into regressions for the purposes of this research exhibit Durbin Watson statistics higher than 1, and therefore it can be argued that their errors are statistically independent.

Homoscedasticity is the third assumption researchers must meet to perform linear regression. Homoscedasticity tests ensure that there is homogeneity in the variance of errors for items included in the regression. If this assumption is not met, and the errors for the items are shown to exhibit heteroscedasticity it is likely that the confidence intervals that are calculated for the regression will be inaccurate. In addition, if there is a high amount of heteroscedasticity the results received from the data analysis are likely to overestimate model fit and Pearson's coefficients. For this research, scatterplots were constructed to examine the relationship between the standardized residuals for items included in the model by their predicted values, which allows for a determination of homoscedasticity (Galbraith, 1988; Miller, 1998). Models that exhibit close to perfect symmetry from the left to the right and top to the bottom suggest that the model may not meet the assumptions.

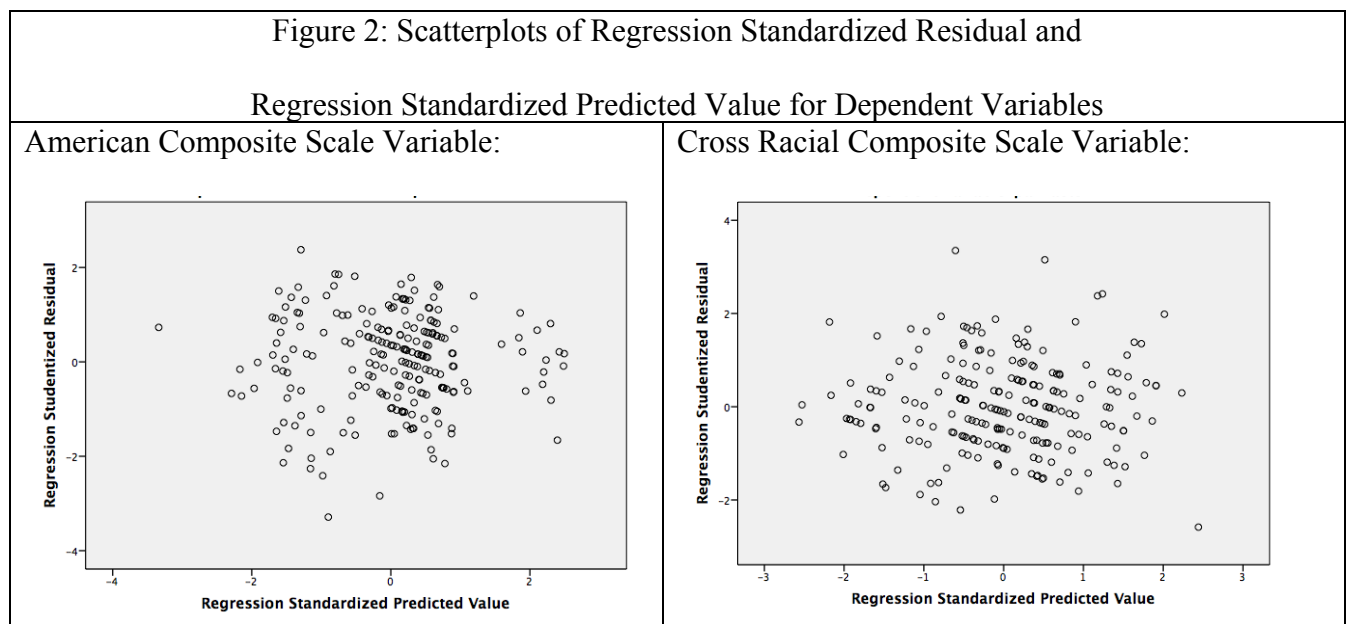
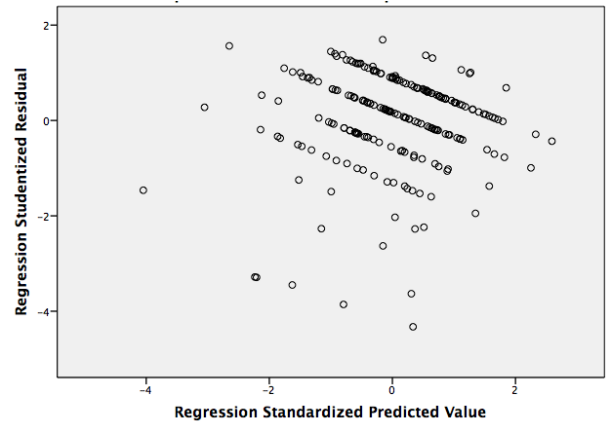


Figure 2 (cont'd)

Ethnic Composite Scale Variable:



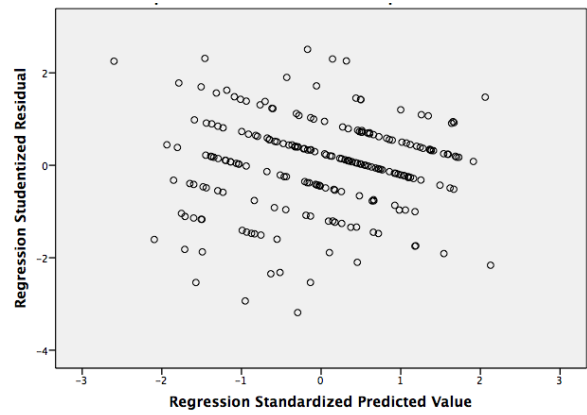
Intimate Composite Scale Variable:



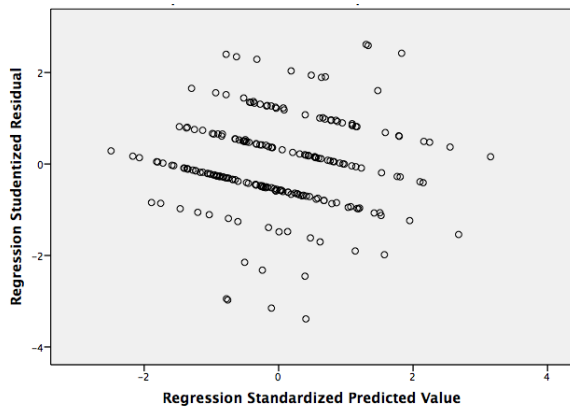
Racial Attitudes Composite Scale Variable:



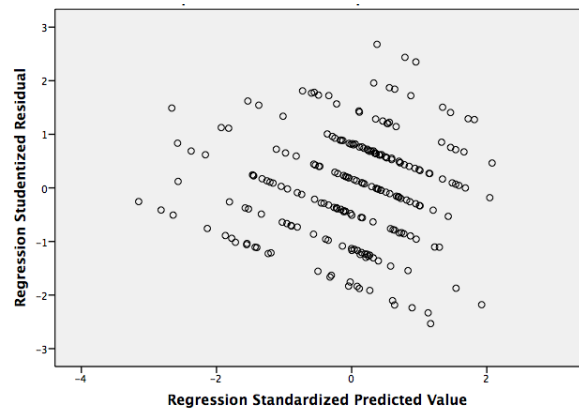
Institutional Composite Scale Variable:



Music Composite Scale Variable:



Food Composite Scale Variable:

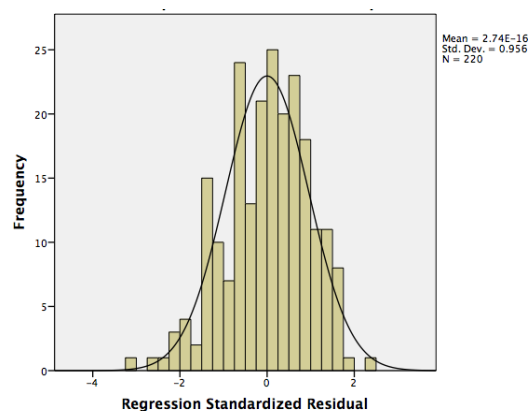


All of the items entered into regression equations exhibited homoscedasticity and therefore met the assumption for unequal variance in errors.

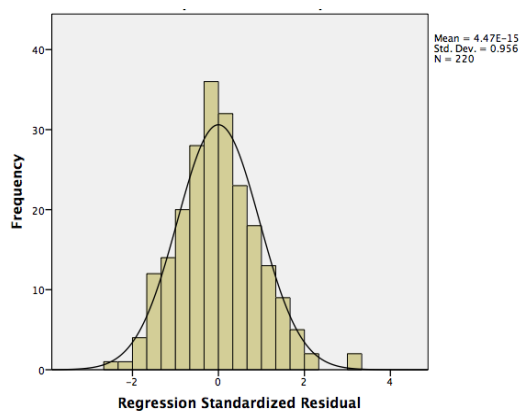
The final assumption of linear regression is that the responses in the dependent variable should be normally distributed. If these variables are non-normal, it can affect the significance levels shown in the results and the confidence intervals of the data. Histograms were used to check for normal distribution of data. The data should exhibit a relatively symmetrical curve shape, and the height of the curve should be at around the 0 mark.

Figure 3: Histograms for Dependent Variables

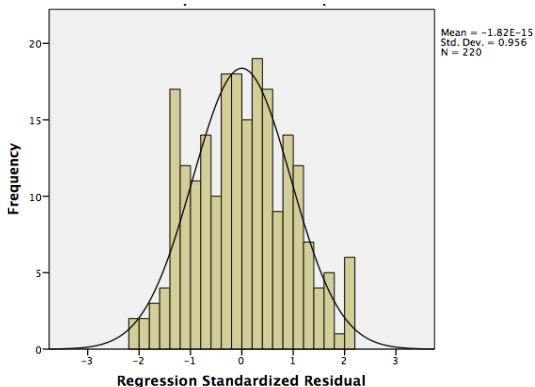
American Composite Scale Variable:



Cross Racial Composite Scale Variable:



Ethnic Composite Scale Variable:



Intimate Composite Scale Variable:

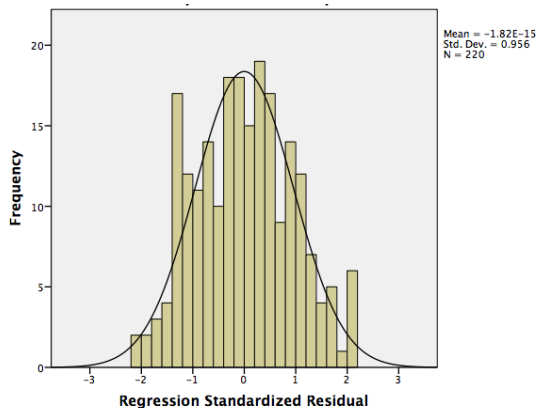
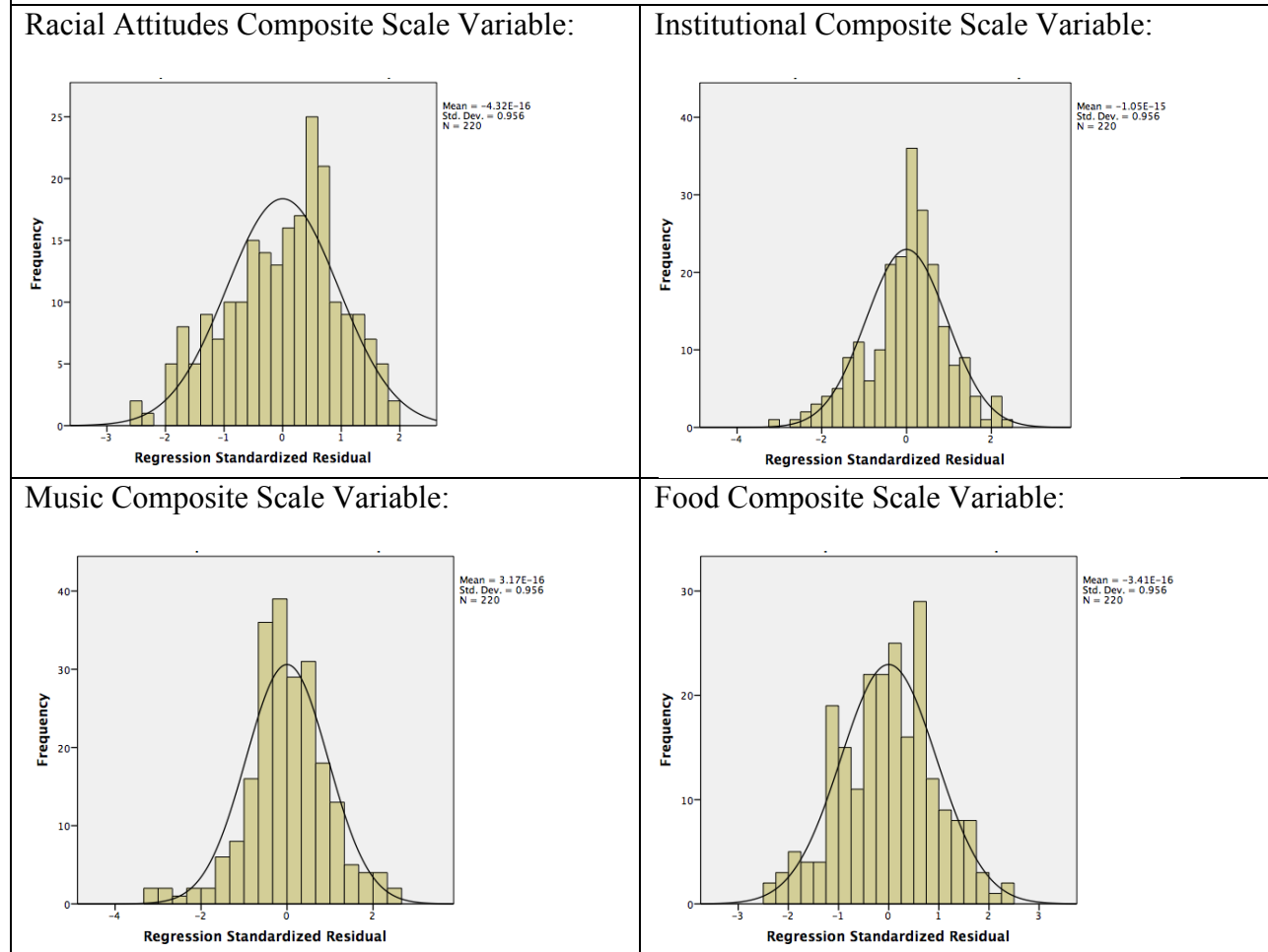


Figure 3 (cont'd)



Although not perfect, these dependent variables are normally distributed and therefore meet the linear regression assumption of normality.

Although not formally regression assumptions, researchers are often encouraged to check their data for outliers and collinearity to ensure data accuracy. Cooks values were used to determine if there were any significant outliers for any of the dependent variables that could exert undue influence on the distribution of the item. Cooks values over 1 indicate the presence of outliers that may skew the data and produce inaccurate results (Cook, 1977). A table detailing the minimum, maximum, mean and standard deviations for the Cooks values for each of the dependent variables is below.

Table 7: Cooks Values for Dependent Variables (n=220)				
Item	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
American Composite Scale Variable	.000	.078	.005	.009
Cross Racial Composite Scale Variable	.000	.057	.005	.009
Ethnic Composite Scale Variable	.000	.038	.005	.007
Intimate Composite Scale Variable	.000	.135	.086	.035
Racial Attitudes Composite Scale Variable	.000	.056	.005	.007
Institutional Composite Scale Variable	.000	.071	.005	.010
Music Composite Scale Variable	.000	.050	.005	.008
Food Composite Scale Variable	.000	.078	.086	.035

Each of the dependent variables met the critical values for cooks statistic and therefore, it can be deduced that there are no outliers in any of the dependent variables that exhibit an undue influence on the variable.

Independent variables that are highly collinear with the dependent variable(s) can cause problems in the estimation of regression coefficients. In regression models, highly collinear items are likely to have a statistically significant relationship. However, because these items are collinear, this relationship can often be attributed to the fact that the items are measuring the same thing, not to the fact that one depends on another. Collinearity statistics for all of the independent variables are included below. Tolerance levels below .2 and/or Variation Inflation Factors (VIFs) above 3 indicate a high amount of collinearity (Grewal, Cote and Baumgartner, 2004; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013).

Table 8: Collinearity Statistics for Independent Variables		
Item	Tolerance	VIF
Open Ended Racial/Ethnic Identification (0=white)	.869	1.150
Gender (0=Male)	.774	1.291
Age	.469	2.131
Education (0=Freshman)	.465	2.152
Michigan Resident (0=yes)	.955	1.047
Income	.480	2.085
Poor/Working Class (0=middle class)	.611	1.636
Upper Middle/Upper Class (0=middle class)	.610	1.639
Rural/Country (0=suburban)	.718	1.393

Table 8 (cont'd)		
Urban/City (0=suburban)	.870	1.149
Racially Mixed to Mostly Black Network (0=mostly white network)	.608	1.644
All White Network (0=mostly white network)	.810	1.234
Racially Mixed to All Black Neighborhood (0=mostly white neighborhood)	.746	1.340
All White Neighborhood (0=mostly white neighborhood)	.850	1.176
Catholic (0=Christian)	.715	1.398
Agnostic or Secular (0=Christian)	.775	1.291
Jewish (0=Christian)	.701	1.426
Family Prejudice	.845	1.183
Bilingual (0=no)	.870	1.149

None of the Tolerance levels are below .2 and none of the VIFs are above 3, therefore, it can be deduced that the independent variables are not collinear. In addition, correlation tables were examined to ensure none of the independent variables had highly collinear relationships with any of the other independent variables.

Conclusion

After cleaning the data and checking to make sure the data collected through the WRIS met statistical assumptions, the data was subjected to EFA and linear regression to determine the relationship between white attitudes, behaviors and preferences and their WRI. The outcomes of this analysis are the topic of the next chapter.

FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter details the research findings that emerged after subjecting the WRIS to a two-pronged process. First, the WRIS was analyzed using EFA to determine a baseline for WRI, including white attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Eight factors emerged that highlighted the significance of American, Cross Racial, Ethnic, Intimate, Racial, Institutional, Music and Food attitudes, behavior and preferences for WRI. These factors were turned into scales and utilized as the dependent variables in subsequent sets of linear regression. The findings of both sets of analysis are discussed in detail below.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

In the first round of data analysis the 37 dependent variables included in the WRIS that were intended to measure whites American, Cross Racial, Ethnic, Racial and Institutional attitudes, behaviors and preferences were subjected to EFA using principal axis factoring to determine the underlying factor structure of WRI. In interpreting the factors, any item with a loading of at least .4 was retained as it was considered to be significant, which exceeds the suggested cut off for .3 (Brown, 2006; Harrington, 2009). Therefore, at least 16% (4^2) of the variance in each of the items in the scale can be attributed to variance in the underlying common factor (Gorsuch, 1983; Harrington, 2009). There has been some debate about exactly which cutoff to use, however most accounts argue that the factor loading cut off a researcher chooses should depend on their sample size and whether the items cross load on multiple factors (Gorsuch, 1983). .4 has been deemed as an acceptable cut off for sample sizes larger than 150 (Stevens, 2009). Items that cross load on multiple factors may explain less variance in each particular item, and therefore, researchers may want to consider ensuring higher than normal

factor loadings for these items (Matsunaga, 2010). None of the items that were retained in this sample had cross loadings that were significant for a number of factors. EFA resulted in 8 factors that are shown and discussed below.

Table 9: Factor Loadings for White Racial Identity								
Factor	Ameri- can	Cross Racial	Ethnic	Intimate	Racial Attitude	Institu- tional	Music	Food
I am proud to be an American	0.633	0.017	0.139	-0.089	0.045	0.257	-0.121	0.013
It is important for me to celebrate American holidays and festivals	0.559	-0.048	0.249	-0.058	-0.001	0.117	0.042	0.147
It is extremely important for people to speak proper English.	0.538	0.015	0.086	0.253	-0.157	-0.042	-0.031	-0.018
English should be the official language of the United States.	0.536	0.084	0.081	0.045	-0.253	0.107	-0.103	-0.116
My political views are strongly conservative	0.532	0.159	-0.023	-0.069	-0.111	-0.03	-0.023	0.033
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	0.478	0.188	0.302	0.184	-0.059	0.172	-0.022	0.018
I prefer going to parties where most of the people are white.	-0.039	0.731	0.053	0.232	-0.114	0.049	0.051	-0.108
Whites understand me better than people who are not white.	0.072	0.698	-0.021	0.16	0.038	0.039	0.054	0.179
Most of the people I admire are white Americans.	0.157	0.477	0.012	-0.127	-0.087	0.033	0.121	-0.023
I rarely spend time with people from other ethnic groups.	-0.006	0.441	-0.121	0.149	-0.052	0.088	0.17	-0.034
I feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't mix.	0.163	0.421	0.175	-0.168	-0.161	-0.06	-0.058	0.046

Table 9 (cont'd)								
I participate in the cultural practices of my ethnic group.	0.071	0.071	0.789	-0.034	-0.167	0.092	-0.052	-0.025
I have spent time finding out more about my own ethnic group.	0.106	-0.047	0.701	0.007	-0.024	0.004	0.02	0.024
It is important for me to celebrate ethnic festivals of my ancestors.	0.3	0.001	0.609	-0.107	0.002	-0.02	0.029	-0.008
My friends are white.	-0.033	0.108	-0.128	0.828	0.049	0.018	0.086	-0.113
How often are your romantic partners the same race as you?	0.085	0.079	0.011	0.652	0.002	-0.034	0.087	0.017
Racial discrimination limits black employment.	-0.113	-0.179	-0.079	0.038	0.832	-0.075	0.034	0.04
Racial discrimination accounts for blacks lack of success.	-0.218	-0.087	-0.088	0.003	0.672	-0.071	-0.045	-0.068
Doctors are trustworthy.	0.092	0.02	0.024	0.022	-0.112	0.72	0.125	-0.097
I trust the United States government.	0.177	0.101	0.044	-0.04	-0.026	0.709	-0.052	0.039
I never like black music more than white music.	-0.029	0.122	0.091	0.019	0.008	0.093	0.76	0.023
Most of the music I listen to is by artists who are white.	-0.135	0.149	-0.088	0.162	-0.006	-0.033	0.606	0.019
Growing up, my family served casseroles as a main dinner dish.	0.061	-0.013	-0.037	0.039	-0.007	-0.067	-0.06	0.738
My family and friends have potlucks.	-0.012	0.038	0.034	-0.092	-0.01	0.012	0.078	0.566

This model consists of 24 items that loaded on 8 factors and explained 48.75% of the variance in the latent construct of WRI. Each factor emerged through EFA, which showed how all of the

items entered into the model group together. If items group together on one item and do not cross load on other items, the assumptions of EFA suggest that it is because the variance or loadings of those items are attributable to an underlying factor or common variable. Each factor was then labeled based on the researchers understanding of the underlying process or concept that connected all of the items within each factor. For the first model, Factor 1 was designated American, Factor 2 as Cross Racial, Factor 3 as Ethnic, Factor 4 as Intimate Interactions, Factor 5 as Racial Attitudes, Factor 6 as Institutional Trust, Factor 7 as Music Preferences and Factor 8 as Food Preferences. American measured whites American attitudes, behavior and preferences through six items including their political views, American pride, participation in American cultural activities, opinions about English language, and feelings of belonging. Cross-Racial measured whites attitudes and behaviors regarding cross-racial interactions through five items including the frequency and comfort with which they interacted with non-whites and whether most of the people they admired were white. Ethnic measured whites ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences through three items that included their participation in and research on the traditions of their own ethnic group. Intimate Interactions measured whites relationship behaviors through the use of two items that included how often whites had friends and romantic partners that are white as opposed to non-white. Racial attitudes consisted of two items that measured whether whites think discrimination plays a role in black employment and lack of success. Institutional trust measured whites institutional attitudes through two items that included whether whites trust doctors and the government. Music preferences measured whites musical attitudes, behaviors and preferences through two items that included whether they prefer black music and how often they listen to black music. Food preferences measured whites behaviors towards food and consisted of two items that included how often whites ate casseroles and

participated in potlucks. Almost all of the items that were dropped had slightly low factor loadings but were removed primarily because they cross-loaded on more than one factor, indicating that some components of these factors overlap and need further refinement.

Alpha reliabilities were also calculated for each of these scales. Alpha reliabilities are measures of internal consistency or correlation among items within a scale. They provide researchers with information about how much of the variance in an item is due to the underlying construct being measured by the scale and how much of the variance is due to measurement error, or unique item variance. Common variance can be calculated by squaring the alpha reliability value. The measurement error of each scale can be calculated by subtracting this number from 1. Although this may seem similar to the results garnered by factor analysis, it is different because factor analysis can also provide information about which items load best on which factors (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011). A table that summarizes the alpha reliabilities, common variance and measurement error of each scale is included below.

Table 10: Alpha Values for Each White Racial Identity Sub-Scale								
Factor	Ameri- can	Cross Racial	Ethnic	Intimate	Racial Attitude	Institut- ional	Music	Food
Alpha	.744	.691	.754	.668	.769	.682	.625	.58
Common Variance	55%	48%	57%	45%	59%	47%	39%	34%
Measurement Error	45%	52%	43%	55%	41%	53%	61%	66%

*Numbers rounded to nearest tenth

Although some of these alpha reliabilities did not meet the suggested statistical strength of .7 (DeVellis, 2012), they were retained due to the fact that the low alpha reliabilities were likely the result of the limited number of items that loaded on each factor. Cronbach's alphas are underestimated for factors with three or less items (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994; Tavakol and Dennick, 2011). This is largely because traditionally alpha values rely on the locally independent

assumption that all correlations between items are the result of a common factor. Therefore, if the common factor or cause were removed, in theory, the items would no longer have any relationship. However, with only two items, it is not possible to determine if this assumption is violated. Therefore, alpha reliability estimates are decreased to counteract for this possibility (Eisinga, Grotenhuis and Pelzer, 2013). In addition, it was desirable to retain these sub-scales or factors since the WRIS created here is still in an exploratory stage. Further research will utilize and refine the WRIS and therefore, items were left in that seemed like they may have relevance to the larger construct of White Racial Identity in future studies. To ensure the highest possible alpha reliability for each scale, alphas were also calculated, if one or more of the items were deleted.

Table 11: Alpha Value if Item Deleted for American Scale				
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
I am proud to be an American	16.50	12.917	.538	.695
It is important for me to celebrate American holidays and festivals	17.32	12.609	.469	.711
It is extremely important for people to speak proper English.	17.27	12.654	.473	.710
English should be the official language of the United States.	17.07	11.905	.508	.700
My political views are strongly conservative	17.85	12.581	.439	.720
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	17.27	13.410	.480	.710

Table 12: Alpha Value if Item Deleted for Cross- Racial Scale				
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
I prefer going to parties where most of the people are white.	9.71	5.146	.575	.581

Table 12 (cont'd)				
Whites understand me better than people who are not white.	9.62	5.050	.548	.592
Most of the people I admire are white Americans.	9.49	5.895	.395	.663
I rarely spend time with people from other ethnic groups.	9.54	6.021	.379	.669
I feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't mix.	10.75	6.538	.337	.682

Table 13: Alpha Value if Item Deleted for Ethnic Scale				
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
I participate in the cultural practices of my ethnic group.	5.41	3.037	.642	.599
I have spent time finding out more about my own ethnic group.	5.69	3.513	.571	.684
It is important for me to celebrate ethnic festivals of my ancestors.	5.22	3.662	.539	.718

The first three scales show that the current configuration of items results in the highest alpha value. Alpha values if the item is deleted could not be calculated for the latter five scales, since these scales were comprised of only two items.

Composite scale variables were then created for each of these factors by adding all of the item scores together and dividing them by the number of items. Utilizing a scale or multi-item construct as a dependent variable in regression instead of a single item increases reliability (Gliem and Gliem, 2003), decreases measurement error, and allows researchers to measure the finely parsed attributes that make up a scale that cannot be accounted for by one item alone (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994). In addition, since the data included in this research was

exploratory, this strategy allowed for a number of items to be included on the survey that could later be analyzed for underlying patterns.

Linear Regression

For the second round of data analysis, these new variables were then subjected to regression using the key socio-demographic variables discussed earlier. Since there are a number of independent variables included in the WRIS, five rounds of models were utilized to test the relationships between different sets of independent variables on each of the eight dependent variables. The first of these tables examines the predictive quality basic demographics have on white attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Some of these variables, including age, education, and state of residency did not have significant predictive values in any of the models, and were dropped. This is likely due to the limited variation in the responses of each of these variables. The second round of models includes the independent variables, including open-ended racial/ethnic identification, class, and gender, which were shown to be significant in at least one of the models in round 1. In addition, urbanicity and religion were added in as additional predictors. Urbanicity was not significant in any of the models and so a third round of models was constructed which included open-ended racial/ethnic identification, class, gender, and religion, which were identified as statistically significant predictors from either round 1 or round 2. In addition, independent variables that measured whites neighborhood and network behaviors and the level of prejudice in their family growing up were added on. For the fourth set of models, all of the independent variables, including those that were insignificant in previous models were calculated. Each of these regressions is shown in the table below.

Table 14: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences by Basic Demographics								
:	Ameri- can CSV	Cross Racial CSV	Ethnic CSV	Intimate CSV	Racial Attitudes CSV	Institut- ional CSV	Music CSV	Food CSV
Constant	3.32***	2.57***	2.65***	3.83***	3.74***	2.80***	2.98***	2.59***
Open Ended Racial or Ethnic Identification (0=white)	.072 (.100)	.028 (.083)	.132 (.125)	.001 (.109)	-.091 (.122)	.222* (.109)	.130 (.084)	.185 (.118)
Age	5.74E-5 (.054)	-.026 (.045)	.024 (.068)	-.071 (.059)	-.061 (.066)	-.014 (.059)	.064 (.046)	.063 (.064)
Education (0=freshman)	-.094 (.136)	.024 (.113)	-.153 (.170)	.015 (.149)	.230 (.166)	-.191 (.148)	-.001 (.114)	-.086 (.161)
Residency (0=MI)	-.109 (.150)	-.002 (.124)	-.028 (.187)	-.137 (.164)	.028 (.183)	.132 (.163)	-.012 (.126)	-.530** (.177)
Female (0=male)	-.013 (.101)	-.204* (.084)	.075 (.127)	-.128 (.111)	.070 (.124)	-.002 (.110)	.015 (.085)	.099 (.119)
Poor/Working Class (0=middle class)	-.125 (.204)	-.030 (.169)	-.086 (.256)	.090 (.224)	-.251 (.250)	.317 (.223)	.097 (.172)	-.133 (.241)
Upper Middle/Upper Class (0=middle class)	.058 (.113)	-.071 (.094)	.248 (.141)	-.258* (.124)	-.161 (.138)	-.017 (.123)	-.128 (.095)	-.065 (.134)
Income	.052 (.060)	.031 (.050)	-.033 (.075)	.146* (.066)	-.036 (.074)	.185** (.066)	.049 (.051)	-.123 (.071)
R-squared	.027	.032	.028	.046	.029	.075	.043	.089
Adjusted r- squared	-.010	-.005	-.009	.010	-.008	.040	.007	.054
N	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220

Notes: Coefficients rounded to nearest tenth. 5.74E-5 denotes scientific notation, the actual number is .0000547.

*p≤.05 **p≤.01 ***p≤.001. CSV=Composite Scale Variable.

Table 14 examines how basic demographics, including race, class, gender, age, education and state of residency impact white racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. Five of the eight dependent variables showed significant predictors. The impact these predictors had on each of the eight dependent variables is discussed in more detail below.

The American model has an r-squared value of .027 and an adjusted R-squared of -.010, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere from 0% to 2.7% of the variance in the factor American. The factor American is a combined variable,

with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in American attitudes, behaviors and preferences. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on American in this model.

The Cross-Racial model has an r-squared value of .032 and an adjusted R-squared of -.005, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere from 0% to 3.2% of the variance in the factor Cross Racial. The factor cross racial is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in attitudes, behaviors and preferences that prohibit cross racial interactions. Gender showed a negative relationship to this factor, indicating that females are more likely to participate in and support cross-racial interactions.

The Ethnic model has an r-squared value of .028 and an adjusted r-squared of -.009, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere from 0% to 2.8% of the variance in the factor Ethnic. The factor Ethnic is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in the ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences of their ancestral group. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on Ethnic in this model.

The Intimate model has an r-squared value of .046 and an adjusted r-squared of .010, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain 1% to 4.6% of the variance in the factor Intimate. The factor Intimate is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to have white friends and romantic partners of the same race. Respondents who identified as upper middle or upper class were more likely to have cross-racial intimate interactions than those who identified as working class. However, as

reported family income increased, respondents were less likely to have intimate cross-racial interactions.

The Racial Attitudes model has a r-squared value of .029 and an adjusted r-squared of -.008, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere from 0% to 2.9% of the variance in the factor Racial Attitudes. The factor Racial Attitudes is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to recognize the structural causes of racism, instead of blaming it on people of color. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on Racial Attitudes in this model.

The Institutional model has an r-squared value of .075 and an adjusted r-squared of .040, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 4-7.5% of the variance in the factor Institutional. The factor Institutional is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to trust American institutions, including the government and doctors. Those who identified as Caucasian or white ethnic were more likely to report higher levels of institutional trust than those who identified exclusively as white. Institutional trust increased with the respondents reported income.

The Music model has an r-squared value of .043 and an adjusted r-squared of .007, indicating that the socio-demographic variables in this model explain approximately .7-4.3% of the variance in the factor Music. The factor Music is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to listen to and prefer white music to music from other racial ethnic groups. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on Music in this model.

The Food model has an r-squared value of .089 and an adjusted r-squared of .054, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 5.4-8.9% of the variance in the factor Food. The factor Food is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to participate in food practices that were hypothesized to be a part of white culture, including eating casseroles and attending potlucks. Michigan residents were less likely to participate in these food practices than non-Michigan residents.

	Ameri- can CSV	Cross Racial CSV	Ethnic CSV	Intimate CSV	Racial Attitude CSV	Institut- utional CSV	Music CSV	Food CSV
Constant	3.50***	2.61***	2.68***	3.65***	3.52***	2.80***	3.09***	2.74***
Open Ended Racial or Ethnic Identification (0=white)	.010 (.096)	-.010 (.081)	.081 (.122)	-.024 (.107)	-.063 (.123)	.144 (.107)	.125 (.084)	.191 (.118)
Female (0=male)	-.026 (.096)	-.188* (.080)	.032 (.121)	-.070 (.106)	.123 (.122)	-.040 (.106)	.013 (.083)	.121 (.117)
Poor/Working Class (0=middle class)	-.091 (.195)	.000 (.163)	-.039 (.247)	.236 (.217)	-.265 (.249)	.354 (.217)	.037 (.170)	-.182 (.238)
Upper Middle/Upper Class (0=middle class)	.049 (.109)	-.055 (.092)	.139 (.138)	-.192 (.122)	-.116 (.140)	-.038 (.121)	-.168 (.095)	.006 (.134)
Income	.023 (.058)	.011 (.049)	-.041 (.074)	.137* (.065)	-.011 (.075)	.153* (.065)	.043 (.051)	-.113 (.071)
Urban/City (0=suburban)	-.160 (.173)	-.182 (.145)	.254 (.220)	-.371 (.193)	.231 (.222)	.107 (.193)	-.074 (.151)	.042 (.212)
Rural/ Country (0=suburban)	-.114 (.119)	.022 (.100)	-.005 (.150)	.243 (.132)	.136 (.152)	-.124 (.132)	.176 (.103)	.012 (.145)
Catholic (0=Christian)	.048 (.108)	.073 (.091)	.152 (.137)	-.051 (.121)	-.063 (.138)	.264* (.120)	.217* (.094)	-.180 (.132)
Agnostic or Secular (0=Christian)	-.552*** (.135)	-.315** (.113)	-.366** (.171)	-.361* (.150)	.205 (.173)	-.352* (.150)	.047 (.118)	-.219 (.165)
Jewish (0=Christian)	-.277 (.201)	-.260 (.169)	.679** (.255)	-.164 (.224)	-.094 (.257)	-.042 (.224)	-.032 (.175)	-.967*** (.246)
R-squared	.119	.102	.100	.107	.039	.130	.068	.117
Adjusted R- squared	.077	.059	.057	.064	-.007	.088	.023	.074

Table 15 (cont'd)								
N	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220

Notes: Coefficients rounded to nearest tenth. *p≤.05 **p≤.01 ***p≤.001. CSV=Composite Scale Variable.

Table 15 examines how race, class, gender, urbanicity and religion impact white racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. Age, education and state of residency were excluded as predictors in this set of models, as they were not significant in most of the models in Table 14. All of the regressions examined in this set of models produced significant results, except for the one relating to Racial Attitudes. It is discussed, along with the other models, in detail below.

The American model has an r-squared value of .119 and an adjusted r-squared of .077, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 7.7-11.9% of the variance in the factor American. The factor American is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in American attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular had lower scores on this scale than Christians.

The Cross-Racial model has an r-squared value of .102 and an adjusted r-squared value of .059, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 5.9-10.2% of the variance in the factor Cross Racial. The factor cross racial is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in attitudes, behaviors and preferences that prohibit cross racial interactions. Those who reported being Agnostic or Secular or who identify as female, are more likely to support and participate in cross racial interactions.

The Ethnic model has an r-squared value of .100 and an adjusted r-squared value of .057 indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 5.7

to 10% of the variance in the factor Ethnic. The factor Ethnic is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in the ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences of their ancestral group. Respondents who identified as agnostic or secular reported that they were less likely than Christians to participate in ethnic practices. Respondents who identified as Jewish were more likely to participate in ethnic practices than Christians.

The Intimate model has an r-squared value of .107 and an adjusted r-squared of .064, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 6.4-10.7% of the variance in the factor Intimate. The factor Intimate is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to have white friends and romantic partners of the same race. Respondents who identified as agnostic or secular were more likely to have cross-racial intimate interactions than those who identified as Christian. Respondents with higher reported family incomes were more likely to have racially homogenous intimate interactions.

The Racial Attitudes model has an r-squared value of .039 and an adjusted r-squared of -.007, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere from 0% to 3.9% of the variance in the factor Racial Attitudes. The factor Racial Attitudes is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to recognize the structural causes of racism, instead of blaming it on people of color. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on Racial Attitudes in this model.

The Institutional model has an r-squared value of .130 and an adjusted r-squared of .088, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately

8.8-13% of the variance in the factor Institutional. The factor Institutional is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to trust American institutions, including the government and doctors. Respondents who identified as Catholic were more likely to trust American institutions than Christians. Institutional trust also increased along with income. Institutional trust decreased for those who identified as Agnostic or Secular in comparison with Christians.

The Music model has an r-squared value of .068 and an adjusted r-squared value of .023, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 2.3 to 6.8% of the variance in the factor Music. The factor Music is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to listen to and prefer white music to music from other racial ethnic groups. Catholic was the only socio-demo indicator that influenced this factor, with respondents from this group reporting that they were significantly more likely to appreciate and listen to white music than Christians.

The Food model has an r-squared value of .117 and an adjusted r-squared value of .074, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 7.4 to 11.7% of the variance in the factor Food. The factor Food is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to participate in food practices that were hypothesized to be a part of white culture, including eating casseroles and attending potlucks. Jewish respondents were less likely to participate in these food practices than Christians.

Table 16: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences by Race, Class, Gender, Religion, Neighborhood, Network and Family Prejudice								
	Ameri.- can CSV	Cross Racial CSV	Ethnic CSV	Intimate CSV	Racial Attitude CSV	Institut- ional. CSV	Music CSV	Food CSV
Constant	3.57***	2.41***	2.20***	4.46***	3.74***	3.07***	2.98***	2.21***
Open Ended Racial or Ethnic	.027 (.093)	-.034 (.076)	.078 (.121)	-.032 (.105)	-.070 (.124)	.154 (.107)	.102 (.084)	.173 (.117)

Table 16 (cont'd)								
Identification (0=white)								
Female (0=male)	-.051 (.095)	-.239** (.077)	-.034 (.123)	-.047 (.106)	.136 (.126)	.033 (.108)	.001 (.085)	.079 (.118)
Poor/Working Class (0=middle class)	-.067 (.188)	-.031 (.154)	-.040 (.245)	.216 (.212)	-.259 (.251)	.398 (.216)	-.017 (.169)	-.215 (.236)
Upper Middle/Upper Class (0=middle class)	.088 (.106)	-.036 (.087)	.140 (.138)	-.208 (.119)	-.119 (.141)	-.031 (.121)	-.189* (.095)	-.005 (.132)
Income	-.006 (.058)	.003 (.048)	-.007 (.076)	.075 (.065)	-.028 (.078)	.137* (.067)	.059 (.052)	-.068 (.073)
Catholic (0=Christian)	.039 (.103)	.022 (.085)	.143 (.134)	-.080 (.116)	-.085 (.138)	.301* (.118)	.181 (.093)	-.193 (.129)
Agnostic or Secular (0=Christian)	-.534*** (.129)	-.294** (.106)	-.376* (.168)	-.336* (.145)	.206 (.172)	-.314* (.148)	.001 (.116)	-.244 (.162)
Jewish (0=Christian)	-.281 (.209)	-.028 (.171)	.667* (.271)	.064 (.234)	-.055 (.278)	-.039 (.239)	-.035 (.188)	-.969*** (.261)
Current Neighborhood All White (0=Mostly white)	.585*** (.153)	.228 (.126)	.032 (.199)	-.253 (.172)	-.104 (.204)	-.088 (.176)	-.170 (.138)	-.100 (.192)
Current Neighborhood Racially Mixed to All Black (0=Mostly white)	.033 (.099)	-.104 (.081)	.202 (.129)	-.282* (.112)	-.001 (.132)	-.069 (.114)	-.049 (.089)	.075 (.124)
Previous Networks All White (0=Mostly white)	-.430** (.158)	.026 (.130)	-.126 (.206)	-.043 (.178)	.138 (.211)	.143 (.182)	.290* (.142)	.186 (.198)
Previous Networks Racially Mixed to Mostly Black (0=Mostly White)	-.025 (.109)	-.169 (.089)	.002 (.141)	-.357** (.122)	-.116 (.145)	.017 (.125)	.025 (.098)	.082 (.136)
Family Prejudice	-.018 (.038)	.107*** (.031)	.121* (.049)	-.112** (.042)	-.026 (.050)	-.098* (.043)	.049 (.034)	.126** (.047)
R-squared	.189	.210	.129	.165	.039	.149	.086	.151
Adjusted R- squared	.138	.161	.074	.113	-.022	.095	.029	.097
N	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220

Notes: Coefficients rounded to nearest tenth. *p≤.05 **p≤.01 ***p≤.001. CSV=Composite Scale Variable.

Table 16 examines how race, class, gender, religion, neighborhood, network and family prejudice impact white racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. Urbanicity was excluded as a predictor in this set of models, in addition to the predictors that were excluded for Table 15, as they were not significant in any of the models in Tables 14 or 15. Religion was retained because it was shown to be highly significant in these same Tables. Neighborhood and network variables were added in together, since they are measuring a similar thing. Family prejudice was also added in as it was the last predictor variable. All of the regressions, except one indicate important socio-demographic predictors. The results for this set of regressions is discussed in more detail below.

The American model has an r-squared value of .189 and an adjusted r-squared value of .138, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 13.8-18.9% of the variance in the factor American. The factor American is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in American attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Respondents who were socialized in networks that were all white were less likely to embrace American attitudes, behaviors and preferences than those socialized in mostly white networks. Respondents who identified as agnostic or Secular had lower scores than Christians. Those living in neighborhoods that were all white at the time of the survey were more likely to identify with American attitudes, behaviors, and preferences than those living in mostly white neighborhoods.

The Cross-Racial model has an r-squared value of .210 and an adjusted r-squared value of .161, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 16.1-21% of the variance in the factor Cross Racial. The factor cross racial is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with

and participate in attitudes, behaviors and preferences that prohibit cross racial interactions. Those who reported being Agnostic or Secular were more likely to participate in cross racial interactions than Christians. Females were also more likely to pursue cross racial interactions than males. Respondents who reported higher levels of family prejudice were less likely to support cross-racial interactions than those who reported lower levels.

The Ethnic model has an r-squared value of .129 and an adjusted r-squared of .074, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 7.4-12.9% of the variance in the factor Ethnic. The factor Ethnic is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in the ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences of their ancestral group. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular reported that they were less likely to participate in ethnic practices than Christians. Respondents who identified as Jewish were more likely than Christians to participate in ethnic practices. Respondents who reported higher amounts of prejudice in their families were also more likely to participate in ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences than those who reported lower levels of family prejudice.

The Intimate model has an r-squared value of .165 and an adjusted r-squared value of .113, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 11.3-16.5% of the variance in the factor Intimate. The factor Intimate is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to have white friends and romantic partners of the same race. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular were more likely to have cross-racial intimate interactions than those who identified as Christian. In addition, the racial composition of their networks growing up and current neighborhood influenced respondents cross racial intimate interactions. Respondents who grew

up in racially mixed or mostly black networks or currently lived in racially mixed to all black neighborhoods were also more likely to have cross-racial intimate interactions. Respondents who strongly agreed that some of their immediate family members were prejudiced were also more likely to have cross racial intimate interactions than those who didn't report family prejudice.

The Racial Attitudes model has an r-squared value of .039 and an adjusted r-squared of -.022, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere from 0% to 3.9% of the variance in the factor Racial Attitudes. The factor Racial Attitudes is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to recognize the structural causes of racism, instead of blaming it on people of color. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on Racial Attitudes in this model.

The Institutional model has an r-squared value of .149 and an adjusted r-squared of .095, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 9.5 to 14.9% of the variance in the factor Institutional. The factor Institutional is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to trust American institutions, including the government and doctors. Respondents who identified as Catholic were more likely to trust American institutions than Christians. Institutional trust also increased along with income. Institutional trust decreased for those who identified as Agnostic or Secular compared to those who identified as Christians and for those who were more likely to agree that their immediate family members were prejudiced.

The Music model has an r-squared value of .086 and an adjusted r-squared value of .029, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 2.9-8.6% of the variance in the factor Music. The factor Music is a combined variable, with

higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to listen to and prefer white music to music from other racial ethnic groups. Respondents who were socialized in networks that were all white reported that they were significantly more likely to appreciate and listen to white music than those who were socialized in mostly white networks. Those who were upper middle class or upper class were less likely to listen exclusively to white music than those who identified as middle class.

The Food model has an r-squared value of .151 and an adjusted r-squared value of .097, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 9.7-15.1% of the variance in the factor Food. The factor Food is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to participate in food practices that were hypothesized to be a part of white culture, including eating casseroles and attending potlucks. Jewish respondents were less likely to participate in these food practices than Christians, whereas whites that reported family prejudice were more likely to participate.

Table 17: White Attitudes, Behaviors and Preferences with all Independent Variables								
	Ameri.- can CSV	Cross Racial CSV	Ethnic CSV	Intimate CSV	Racial Attitude CSV	Institut- utional. CSV	Music CSV	Food CSV
Constant	3.66***	2.49***	2.17***	4.58***	3.75***	3.13***	2.79***	2.24***
Open Ended Racial or Ethnic Identification (0=white)	.043 (.096)	-.045 (.079)	.046 (.125)	-.031 (.106)	-.065 (.128)	.120 (.110)	.095 (.086)	.163 (.119)
Female (0=male)	-.052 (.098)	-.247** (.081)	-.019 (.127)	-.048 (.108)	.106 (.130)	.042 (.111)	.028 (.088)	.094 (.120)
Poor/Working Class (0=middle class)	-.056 (.195)	-.058 (.160)	-.115 (.253)	.234 (.215)	-.213 (.259)	.281 (.222)	.040 (.175)	-.159 (.240)
Upper Middle/Upper Class (0=middle class)	.094 (.109)	-.049 (.090)	.121 (.142)	-.225 (.120)	-.124 (.145)	-.068 (.124)	-.151 (.098)	.036 (.134)
Income	-.017 (.059)	.000 (.049)	.004 (.077)	.073 (.065)	-.019 (.079)	.144* (.068)	.055 (.053)	-.084 (.073)
Catholic	.027	.015	.141	-.013	-.066	.282*	.211*	-.189

Table 17 (cont'd)								
(0=Christian)	(.107)	(.088)	(.139)	(.118)	(.142)	(.122)	(.096)	(.132)
Agnostic or Secular (0=Christian)	-.545*** (.133)	-.306** (.109)	-.372* (.172)	-.290* (.146)	.220 (.177)	-.325* (.151)	.018 (.119)	-.257 (.163)
Jewish (0=Christian)	-.310 (.215)	-.056 (.177)	.655* (.279)	.055 (.237)	.042 (.286)	-.090 (.244)	-.050 (.192)	- 1.01*** (.264)
Current Neighborhood All White (0=Mostly white)	.590*** (.155)	.230 (.128)	.047 (.201)	-.246 (.171)	-.136 (.206)	-.068 (.176)	-.156 (.139)	-.082 (.191)
Current Neighborhood Racially Mixed to All Black (0=Mostly white)	.026 (.101)	-.102 (.083)	.206 (.131)	-.324** (.112)	.004 (.135)	-.058 (.115)	-.069 (.091)	.043 (.125)
Previous Networks All White (0=Mostly white)	-.429** (.163)	.046 (.134)	-.079 (.212)	-.110 (.180)	.113 (.217)	.219 (.186)	.236 (.146)	.158 (.201)
Previous Networks Racially Mixed to Mostly Black (0=Mostly White)	.008 (.118)	-.164 (.098)	-.040 (.154)	-.233 (.131)	-.178 (.158)	-.008 (.135)	.067 (.106)	.083 (.146)
Family Prejudice	-.021 (.038)	.109*** (.032)	.130** (.050)	-.120** (.042)	-.029 (.051)	-.083 (.044)	.040 (.034)	.115* (.047)
Age	.018 (.051)	-.021 (.042)	.008 (.066)	-.083 (.056)	-.071 (.068)	-.004 (.058)	.056 (.046)	.072 (.063)
Education (0=freshman)	-.083 (.128)	.024 (.106)	-.107 (.167)	.122 (.142)	.235 (.171)	-.137 (.146)	.002 (.115)	-.137 (.158)
Residency (0=MI)	-.168 (.140)	-.009 (.116)	.025 (.182)	-.195 (.155)	.048 (.187)	.070 (.160)	-.017 (.126)	-.514** (.173)
Urban/City (0=suburban)	-.168 (.178)	-.089 (.146)	.245 (.231)	-.300 (.196)	.314 (.237)	.077 (.202)	-.099 (.159)	.037 (.219)
Rural/Country (0=suburban)	-.047 (.124)	-.061 (.102)	-.051 (.160)	.262 (.136)	.098 (.165)	-.135 (.141)	.118 (.111)	-.059 (.152)
Bilingual (0=no?)	-.142 (.166)	.096 (.137)	.256 (.215)	.165 (.183)	-.076 (.221)	.304 (.189)	.073 (.149)	-.055 (.204)
R-squared	.204	.216	.146	.209	.058	.175	.109	.192
Adjusted R-squared	.129	.142	.065	.133	-.032	.097	.024	.115
N	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220

Notes: Coefficients rounded to nearest tenth. *p≤.05 **p≤.01 ***p≤.001. CSV=Composite Scale Variable.

Table 17 examines how all of the hypothesized independent variables included in this research impact white racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. All of the models, except one indicate important socio-demographic predictors. Each of these eight models is discussed in more detail below.

The American model has an r-squared value of .204 and an adjusted r-squared value of .129, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 12.9-20.4% of the variance in the factor American. The factor American is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in American attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Respondents who were socialized in networks that were all white were less likely to embrace American attitudes, behaviors and preferences than those socialized in mostly white networks. Respondents who identified as agnostic or Secular had lower scores than Christians. Those living in neighborhoods that were all white at the time of the survey were more likely to identify with American attitudes, behaviors, and preferences.

The Cross-Racial model has an r-squared value of .216 and an adjusted r-squared value of .142, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 14.2-21.6% of the variance in the factor Cross Racial. The factor cross racial is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in attitudes, behaviors and preferences that prohibit cross racial interactions. Those who reported being Agnostic or Secular were more likely to participate in cross racial interactions than Christians. Females were also more likely to pursue cross racial interactions than males. People who reported higher levels of family prejudice were less likely to support and participate in cross-racial interactions.

The Ethnic model has an r-squared value of .146 and an adjusted r-squared of .065, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 6.5-14.6% of the variance in the factor Ethnic. The factor Ethnic is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in the ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences of their ancestral group. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular reported that they were less likely to participate in ethnic practices than Christians. Respondents who identified as Jewish were more likely than Christians to participate in ethnic practices. Respondents who reported higher amounts of prejudice in their families were also more likely to participate in ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences.

The Intimate model has an r-squared value of .209 and an adjusted r-squared value of .133, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 13.3-20.9% of the variance in the factor Intimate. The factor Intimate is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to have white friends and romantic partners of the same race. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular were more likely to have cross-racial intimate interactions than those who identified as Christian. In addition, the racial composition of their networks growing up and current neighborhood influenced respondents cross racial intimate interactions. Respondents who reported that they currently lived in racially mixed to all black neighborhoods were also more likely to have cross racial intimate interactions. Respondents who strongly agreed that some of their immediate family members were prejudiced were also more likely to have cross racial intimate interactions.

The Racial Attitudes model has an r-squared value of .058 and an adjusted r-squared of -.032, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere

from 0% to 5.8% of the variance in the factor Racial Attitudes. The factor Racial Attitudes is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to recognize the structural causes of racism, instead of blaming it on people of color. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on Racial Attitudes in this model.

The Institutional model has an r-squared value of .175 and an adjusted r-squared of .097, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 9.7 to 17.5% of the variance in the factor Institutional. The factor Institutional is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to trust American institutions, including the government and doctors. Respondents who identified as Catholic were more likely to trust American institutions than Christians. Institutional trust also increased along with income. Institutional trust decreased for those who identified as Agnostic or Secular compared to those who identified as Christians.

The Music model has an r-squared value of .109 and an adjusted r-squared value of .024, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 2.4-10.9% of the variance in the factor Music. The factor Music is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to listen to and prefer white music to music from other racial ethnic groups. Respondents who were identified as Catholic were more likely to appreciate and listen to white music than Christians.

The Food model has an r-squared value of .192 and an adjusted r-squared value of .115, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 11.5-19.2% of the variance in the factor Food. The factor Food is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to participate in food practices that were

hypothesized to be a part of white culture, including eating casseroles and attending potlucks.

Jewish respondents were less likely to participate in these food practices than Christians, as were Michigan residents whereas whites that reported family prejudice were more likely to participate.

A final model was run consisting of the variables that were significant any of the previous sets of regressions. The results of this table are below.

	Ameri- can CSV	Cross Racial CSV	Ethnic CSV	Intimate CSV	Racial Attitude CSV	Institut- utional CSV	Music CSV	Food CSV
Constant	3.58***	2.40***	2.17***	4.65***	3.627***	3.28***	3.06***	2.33***
Female (0=male)	-.062 (.093)	-.239** (.076)	-.043 (.121)	-.024 (.105)	.138 (.124)	.061 (.107)	.034 (.084)	.085 (.114)
Income	.016 (.047)	.000 (.039)	.027 (.061)	-.005 (.053)	-.018 (.063)	.074 (.055)	.015 (.043)	-.062 (.058)
Catholic (0=Christian)	.058 (.101)	.013 (.083)	.166 (.131)	-.091 (.114)	-.125 (.135)	.327** (.117)	.157 (.092)	-.173 (.124)
Agnostic or Secular (0=Christian)	- .543*** (.128)	-.291** (.105)	-.390* (.167)	- .315*** (.144)	.198 (.171)	-.308* (.148)	-.012 (.116)	-.282 (.157)
Jewish (0=Christian)	-.252 (.204)	-.043 (.167)	.722** (.266)	-.022 (.231)	-.099 (.273)	-.047 (.237)	-.103 (.186)	-.979*** (.251)
Current Neighborhood All White (0=Mostly white)	.575*** (.152)	.233 (.124)	.013 (.198)	-.225 (.172)	-.084 (.203)	-.090 (.176)	-.143 (.138)	-.094 (.187)
Current Neighborhood Racially Mixed to All Black (0=Mostly white)	.021 (.099)	-.103 (.081)	.201 (.129)	-.299** (.112)	.014 (.133)	-.076 (.115)	-.040 (.090)	.049 (.122)
Previous Networks All White (0=Mostly white)	-.432** (.157)	.022 (.129)	-.116 (.205)	-.056 (.178)	.134 (.211)	.159 (.182)	.303* (.143)	.172 (.194)
Previous Networks Racially Mixed to Mostly Black (0=Mostly White)	-.018 (.108)	-.171 (.088)	.005 (.141)	-.348** (.122)	-.134 (.144)	.028 (.125)	.012 (.098)	.085 (.133)
Family Prejudice	-.021 (.038)	.106*** (.031)	.123* (.049)	-.115** (.043)	-.030 (.050)	-.090* (.044)	.048 (.034)	.116* (.046)
Residency (0=MI)	-.164 (.138)	-.013 (.113)	.018 (.180)	-.202 (.156)	.023 (.185)	.072 (.160)	-.022 (.126)	-.523** (.170)

Table 18 (cont'd)								
R-squared	.191	.209	.123	.154	.030	.129	.063	.174
Adjusted R-squared	.148	.167	.076	.109	-.021	.083	.014	.131
N	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220

Notes: Coefficients rounded to nearest tenth. * $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$. CSV=Composite Scale Variable.

Table 18 examines how all of the hypothesized independent variables that were significant in previous models impact white racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. All of the models, except one indicate important socio-demographic predictors. Each of these eight models is discussed in more detail below.

The American model has an r-squared value of .191 and an adjusted r-squared value of .148, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 14.8-19.1% of the variance in the factor American. The factor American is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in American attitudes, behaviors and preferences. Respondents who were socialized in networks that were all white were less likely to embrace American attitudes, behaviors and preferences than those socialized in mostly white networks. Respondents who identified as agnostic or Secular had lower scores than Christians. Those living in neighborhoods that were all white at the time of the survey were more likely to identify with American attitudes, behaviors, and preferences.

The Cross-Racial model has an r-squared value of .209 and an adjusted r-squared value of .167, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 16.7-20.9% of the variance in the factor Cross Racial. The factor cross racial is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in attitudes, behaviors and preferences that prohibit cross racial interactions. Those who reported being Agnostic or Secular were more likely to participate in cross racial

interactions than Christians. Females were also more likely to pursue cross racial interactions than males. Respondents who reported higher levels of family prejudice were less likely to support and participate in cross-racial interactions.

The Ethnic model has an r-squared value of .123 and an adjusted r-squared of .076, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 7.6-12.3% of the variance in the factor Ethnic. The factor Ethnic is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to agree with and participate in the ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences of their ancestral group. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular reported that they were less likely to participate in ethnic practices than Christians. Respondents who identified as Jewish were more likely than Christians to participate in ethnic practices. Respondents who had higher amounts of prejudice in their families were also more likely to participate in ethnic attitudes, behaviors and preferences.

The Intimate model has an r-squared value of .154 and an adjusted r-squared value of .109, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 10.9-15.4% of the variance in the factor Intimate. The factor Intimate is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to have white friends and romantic partners of the same race. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular were more likely to have cross-racial intimate interactions than those who identified as Christian. In addition, the racial composition of their networks growing up and current neighborhood influenced respondents cross racial intimate interactions. Respondents who grew up in racially mixed or mostly black networks or currently lived in racially mixed to all black neighborhoods were also more likely to have cross racial intimate interactions. Respondents who

strongly agreed that some of their immediate family members were prejudiced were also more likely to have cross racial intimate interactions.

The Racial Attitudes model has an r-squared value of .030 and an adjusted r-squared of -.021, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain anywhere from 0% to 3% of the variance in the factor Racial Attitudes. The factor Racial Attitudes is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to recognize the structural causes of racism, instead of blaming it on people of color. None of the included socio-demographic predictors had a statistically significant impact on Racial Attitudes in this model.

The Institutional model has an r-squared value of .129 and an adjusted r-squared of .083, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 8.3 to 12.9% of the variance in the factor Institutional. The factor Institutional is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to trust American institutions, including the government and doctors. Respondents who identified as Catholic were more likely to trust American institutions than Christians. Institutional trust decreased for those who identified as Agnostic or Secular compared to those who identified as Christians and for respondents who agreed members of their family were prejudiced.

The Music model has an r-squared value of .063 and an adjusted r-squared value of .014, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 1.4-6.3% of the variance in the factor Music. The factor Music is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to listen to and prefer white music to music from other racial ethnic groups. Respondents who were socialized in all white networks

were more likely to appreciate and listen to white music than those socialized in mostly white networks.

The Food model has an r-squared value of .174 and an adjusted r-squared value of .131, indicating that the socio-demographic variables included in this model explain approximately 13.1-17.4% of the variance in the factor Food. The factor Food is a combined variable, with higher scores indicating that respondents are more likely to participate in food practices that were hypothesized to be a part of white culture, including eating casseroles and attending potlucks. Jewish respondents were less likely to participate in these food practices than Christians, as were Michigan residents whereas whites that reported family prejudice were more likely to participate.

Together, these models indicate that socio-demographic factors are important predictors of the kinds of WRI whites exhibit. The significance of these findings will be discussed in more depth, along with concluding thoughts, in the next chapter.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This research conducted in this dissertation provides an analysis of the psychometric properties of the White Racial Identity Scale and examines how the factors that contribute to White Racial Identity change based on key socio-demographic indicators. Six research questions were utilized to explore these relationships including:

RQ1: What American attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ2: What attitudes, behaviors, and preferences regarding cross-racial interactions are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ3: What ethnic attitudes, behaviors, and preferences are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ4: What racial attitudes are proxy measures for WRI?

RQ5: What institutional attitudes, behaviors, and preferences are proxies for WRI?

RQ6: How do these attitudes, behaviors, and preferences differ by key socio-demographic factors, including age, education, religion, ethnic identification, bilingual ability, gender, class, urbanicity, neighborhood and network racial composition and family prejudice?

The first five questions were analyzed using EFA, which revealed a WRIS that consisted of 8 factors. These initial 8 initial factors support the theoretical literature on racial identity development, acculturation and whiteness (Behrens and Rowe, 1997; Cokley, 2007; Croll, 2007; Knowles and Peng, 2005; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996; McDermott and Samson, 2005; Perry, 2002; Perry, 2007; Ponterotto and Park-Taylor, 2007; Quintana, 2007; Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson, 1994; Trimble, 2007) and suggest that American, Cross Racial, Ethnic, Intimate

Racial, Institutional, Music and Food attitudes, behaviors and preferences are proxy measures for WRI. However, white respondents attitudes, behaviors and preferences did not load onto WRI exactly as expected. The implications of these findings are discussed below. In addition, extensive regression analysis was conducted in response to RQ6. Open ended racial/ethnic identification, gender, class, religion, neighborhood and network experiences, and family prejudice were shown to be important predictors of the kinds of WRI respondents exhibited in one or more of the regression models that examined the impact socio-demographic predictors have on WRI. The implications of those findings are discussed by type of socio-demographic indicator after the discussion of the results of the EFA.

American Attitudes, Behaviors And Preferences as Proxy Measures For WRI

It was hypothesized that “I am proud to be American”, “Most of the people I admire are white Americans”, “It is important for me to celebrate American holidays and festivals”, “English should be the official language of the United States”, “It is very important for people to speak proper English” and “My political views are strongly conservative” would all load on the factor that measured American attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. All of these factors loaded on American as expected, except for “Most of the people I admire are white Americans”, which loaded on Cross Racial. The significance of this is discussed under RQ2. These findings confirm the original hypothesis that language use, American affect, American rituals, and political beliefs are key facets of WRI. In addition, “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group”, an item originally hypothesized to load on the factor Ethnic loaded on American. This reinforces the literature that argues that American identities and ethnic identities are largely intertwined for whites (Alba, 1990; Perry, 2002).

Cross-Racial Attitudes, Behaviors And Preferences as Proxy Measures For WRI

It was hypothesized that “Whites understand me better than people who are not white”, “I prefer going to social gatherings and parties where most of the people are white”, “I prefer to go out on a date with someone who is white”, “My friends are white”, “My romantic partners are always the same race as me”, “I feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn’t mix”, “I rarely spend time with people from other ethnic groups”, “Growing up, my school, neighborhood, and family were mostly white”, “I currently live in a mostly white neighborhood”, and “Some members of my immediate family are prejudiced” would all load on the factor that measured Cross Racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. Three of these items, including the items that measured affect for white parties, whites understanding, and time spent with other ethnicities loaded on cross-racial as expected. This suggests that attitudes, behaviors, and preferences regarding cross-racial interactions are an important component of WRI. In addition, “Most of the people I admire are white Americans”, an item hypothesized to load on American loaded here. This suggests that respondents feelings of admiration for one racial group over another had less to do with their American identity and instead was an important predictor of their cross-racial affect and consequently, their cross racial behaviors. This finding also supports research that points to the interconnected nature of national and racial identities for white Americans (McDermott and Samson, 2005; Perry, 2002; Perry, 2007).

The remaining items that were hypothesized to load on Cross Racial either did not load on any factors in the model, or loaded on factors that were not initially hypothesized to be part of the WRIS. “I prefer to go out on a date with someone who is white”, an item measuring whites proposed attitudes about inter-racial dating did not load on any of the factors and was dropped from the model. However, “My romantic partners are always the same race as me”, an item

measuring whites actual behaviors regarding cross-racial romantic relationships and “My friends are white” loaded together on a separate factor that was not previously hypothesized. The fact that these items loaded in this manner is important for three primary reasons. First, the fact that the item that asked whites about their dating preferences and the item that asked whites about their actual dating behavior did not load similarly indicates some disconnect in respondents answers about cross racial dating. This supports literature that suggests that whites present racially egalitarian attitudes while maintaining behaviors that perpetuate intra-racial interactions (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Sears, Sidanius and Bobo, 2000). In addition, this finding may be the result of racially segregated networks, that influence respondents to pursue dating relationships within their neighborhoods and networks, which are primarily white (Bonilla-Silva, Goar and Embrick, 2006; Charles, 2003; Farley et al., 1978; Farley et al., 1993; Krysan, Farley and Couper, 2008; Massey and Denton, 1993; Swaroop and Krysan, 2011), although in theory, they may be open to dating cross-racially. Finally, the fact that intimate interactions loaded on a separate factor than other types of less intimate cross racial interactions supports previous literature that suggests a dichotomy between cross racial interactions in public and private spaces. Whites are more and more likely to come into contact with people of color in professional and higher education settings, however, this integration has not reached neighborhoods, romantic partners, and close friend groups. This supports literature that argues that people prefer racial homophily in their intimate interactions (Hallinan, 1978; McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987).

The final three items, including measures of family prejudice and racial composition of neighborhoods and networks did not load on any factors within the model. However, after additional consideration, it was thought that these items might be key pieces of whites socialization (Broman, Jackson and Neighbors, 1989; Helms, 2007; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996;

Quintana, 2007; Rosenberg and Turner, 1981), and therefore were moved to socio-demographic indicators. These three items were then used in the later regression analysis and were shown to be significant predictors of the kind of WRI respondents exhibited. The implications of this are discussed under RQ6.

Ethnic Attitudes, Behaviors And Preferences as Proxy Measures For WRI

It was hypothesized that “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group”, “I think about how my life will be affected by my group membership”, “I am happy I am a member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to”, “It is important for me to celebrate the ethnic holidays and festivals of my ancestors”, “I have spent time finding out more about my own ethnic group”, “I have different ways of speaking, depending on who I am around”, “I participate in the cultural practices of my ethnic group”, “I usually add salt to my food to make it taste better”, “Growing up, my family always served casseroles as a main dinner dish”, and “My family and friends always have potlucks” would all load on the factor that measured Ethnic attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. The items measuring ethnic holidays and festivals, time spent researching own ethnic group, and participation in the cultural practices of an ethnic group loaded on Ethnic as expected. This finding supports the importance participation in ethnic rituals and activities have on WRI. Many of the items hypothesized to load on ethnic did not load, including the ones that measured strong feelings of belonging to an ethnic group, group membership, and positive affect for ethnic identification. All of these items examined whites attitudes about their group membership, with the underlying assumption that whites possess some level of ethnic group/racial group awareness. The fact that these items did not load support literature that argues that whiteness is normative and that whites take their racial and ethnic group membership for granted (Brander Rasmussen et al., 2001; Frankenberg, 1997; Perry, 2002). Consequently, they

are not aware of any feelings of belonging to a racial group; feelings that are often cultivated through shared experiences of oppression (Hooks, 1981; Lorde, 1997; Young, 1988). The item that measured whites sense of belonging to their ethnic group that was originally hypothesized to load here ended up loading on the factor American instead. This signifies that feelings of ethnic belonging are intricately tied with feelings of positive American affect and participation in American rituals, at least for white respondents. This supports previous literature that uses ethnic identity and feelings of affiliation as a key indicator of American acculturation (Campisi, 1948; Campisi, 1947b; Chung, Kim and Abreu, 2004; Cortes et al., 2003; Phinney, 1992). The item that measured code switching did not load on any factors within the model. Although this item has been hypothesized to be important for racialized ethnic others (Cross, 1991; Milroy and Muysken, 1995), it may not be a significant predictor of WRI because of the normativity given to “white” ways of speaking (Sweetland, 2002). Finally, none of the three food items that were originally hypothesized as indicators of WRI loaded on this factor. However, that does not indicate that food preferences are not an important indicator of WRI. The item measuring salt consumption did not load on any factors and therefore is unlikely to be a strong indicator of WRI. This item has historically been used as a key predictor of African American racial identity (Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1995; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996), but did not to prove to be as important in measuring WRI. The remaining two items that measured food preferences, including casserole consumption and frequency of potlucks did prove to be important indicators of WRI. This supports the hypothesis that food preferences are key indicators of WRI although more research needs to be done on the specific food preferences associated that are associated with WRI.

Racial Attitudes As Proxy Measures For WRI

It was hypothesized that “Race doesn’t really matter. We’re all just humans”, “Racial discrimination limits black employment”, “Less in-born ability accounts for blacks lack of success”, “Racial discrimination accounts for blacks lack of success”, and “Lack of motivation accounts for blacks lack of success” would all load on the factor that measured Racial attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. Two out of the five expected indicators loaded including “Racial discrimination limits black employment” and “Racial discrimination accounts for blacks lack of success”. Both of these items indicate an awareness of structural discrimination that most whites do not possess (Bobo, 1983; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Kluegel and Smith, 1986; Sears, Sidanius and Bobo, 2000; Tarman and Sears, 2005). Two of the remaining items “Less in-born ability accounts for blacks lack of success” and “Lack of motivation accounts for blacks lack of success” indicate more blatant racist attitudes and did not load on any factors. This is likely due to color blind ideologies that perpetuate politically correct attitudes, especially in college students, and a non-acceptance of blatant racial attitudes in American society (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Finally, the item “Race doesn’t really matter. We’re all just humans” did not load on any factor in the model. This item was intended to measure color-blind ideologies. This question may not have been shown to be significant in the particular sample included in this study, as respondents were students in Sociology classes, including a Race and Ethnicity class. Consequently, it is likely that students were socialized to agree with the statement that “race matters” at least within the classroom setting, regardless of their own private beliefs.

Institutional Attitudes, Behaviors And Preferences As Proxy Measures For WRI

It was hypothesized that “Most of the music I listen to is by artists who are white”, “I like black music more than white music”, “I watch TV shows and movies with mostly black characters”, “I have seen people “get the spirit” or speak in tongues”, “Doctors are trustworthy” and “I trust the United States government would all load on the factor that measured Institutional attitudes, behaviors, and preferences. Only four of these items loaded, but on separate factors. Whites reported feelings of trust toward doctors and the American government loaded on a factor that was labeled Institutional Trust. It is likely these items are significant indicators of WRI because they measure whites acceptance of key institutions within American society, institutions that are often created and maintain to perpetuate white privilege and white supremacy (Kimmel and Ferber, 2003; McIntosh, 1989; Rothenberg, 2008; Wise, 2008). The two items measuring the racial composition of whites musical preferences also loaded on their own factor, which suggests that music may be a more important media form in determining WRI than television. This finding supports literature that argues that whites are able to appropriate facets of racialized ethnic others culture, without actually integrating it into their identity (Hess, 2005; Johnson, 2003; Sartwell, 2005). Finally, it was hypothesized that questions about religious rituals would load here. These items also did not load on any of the factors within the WRIS. It is likely that these items were not significant because the items that were included on WRIS did not accurately capture whites religious preferences. As will be examined under RQ6, particular religious affiliations are a more important facet of WRI than the rituals associated with these religious beliefs.

How WRI Differs by Key Socio-Demographic Indicators

The next section includes an examination of how the factors that contribute to WRI differ by key socio-demographic factors. As hypothesized earlier, a hegemonic identity standard, or WRI does exist for whites, however the exact ways they internalize these dominant expectations and the performance whites construct in relation to these expectations is mitigated by their other social positions.

Open-ended racial/ethnic identification

Open-ended racial or ethnic identification was measured through an open-ended item that allowed respondents to write in the racial or ethnic category most in line with their own identification (Phinney 1992). It was thought that this information would provide the researcher with information about how respondents viewed themselves in relation to the larger racial structure or racial formation they were engaged in (Omi and Winant, 1994). Previous literature has suggested that racial identities vary for whites who categorize themselves as ethnic (Alba, 1990; Riesman and Gans, 1979; Waters, 1990), white (Croll, 2007; McDermott and Samson, 2005), American (Perry 2002; Perry, 2007), or human (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). White ethnic identification is often an indicator of a racial identity that is looking for distinction, and a connection to some long forgotten ancestral past (Perry, 2002). Identifying as white on the other hand is a representation of subscribing to a more generalized racial identity, one under which ethnic identity has often all but disappeared. On the other hand, identifying as “American” or “human” often represents possessing an identity that normalizes whiteness and equates it as the standard that all other racialized ethnic others should be measured against (McDermott and Samson, 2005).

Therefore, it was hypothesized that respondents who identified as “white” or “American” would have stronger pro-American attitudes, higher levels of institutional trust, and fewer ethnic ties and cross-racial interactions than those who self-identified as “Caucasian” or white ethnic. In most of the models, differences in racial or ethnic identification were not significant. This item was only significant in the first model, which included basic demographic predictors, for the factor Institutional. Respondents who identified as Caucasian or Ethnic as opposed to white were more likely to have trust in doctors and the political system of the United States. This is an opposite result of what was hypothesized. This may be a result of white racial backlash (Hewitt, 2005; Taylor, 1995), wherein conservative, pro-American whites grasp at ethnic or “non-white” identifiers as a way to signify their feelings that they are becoming the minority in contemporary American society. Three additional models were run with this item and open-ended racial/ethnic identification did not remain significant in any of them. This item was not included in the final model, since it was not statistically significant throughout. These results suggest that there may not be distinctions in WRI that can be predicted by different kinds of racial or ethnic identification. However, due to the large body of literature proposing the opposite (Alba, 1990; Croll, 2007; McDermott and Samson, 2005; Perry, 2002; Riesman and Gans, 1979; Waters, 1990), it is more likely that insignificant results were due to the limited variation in regional, educational, and age differences of the whites included in this research, which limited the predictive quality of this item.

Gender

Gender was measured through the use of an item that asked respondents to circle one of three possible response options: male, female, other: write in. No respondents selected other, so gender was coded into a binary dummy variable. Previous research has showed that females

exhibit different WRI than males (Bettie, 2000; Ferber, 1998; Frank, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993; Wilkins, 2004). Much of this research has argued that females are much more likely to participate in cross-racial interactions due to the fact that they themselves are oppressed and therefore can relate to other marginalized groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). This hypothesis was proven to be true. Females consistently were more likely to have cross-racial interactions than men in all of the models. This indicates that gender is an important predictor for WRI, with females being much more likely to have positive regard for cross-racial interactions and to participate in cross-racial interactions themselves. Gender was not an important predictor of any other factors that contribute to WRI. This suggests that although it is more likely that white women will be open to cross-racial interactions that they do not necessarily have less hegemonic WRI in other areas such as institutional trust, or American attitudes.

Class

This predictor was measured through the use of two items. The first item was intended to measure class status by comparing poor/working class, middle class, and upper middle/upper class white respondents. The second item measured class through respondents estimated family income. Previous research has indicated the importance of both for measuring class holistically (Levine, 2006). It was hypothesized that both facets of class would be important predictors of WRI. Most of the research on WRI suggests that working class whites are more likely to use the hegemonic white performances available to them, such as negative racial attitudes and fewer cross-racial interactions than those who are middle class or above (Hartigan, 1999; Hartigan, 2003; McDermott, 2006; Roediger, 2007; Wray and Newitz, 1997). The item that measured class status was a significant predictor of WRI in the first model, which only included basic demographic information and the third model, which included race, class, gender, religion,

neighborhood, network and family prejudice. In the first series of models, those who were upper middle or upper class were more likely to have cross-racial intimate interactions than those who identified as middle class. This supports literature that suggests that affluent whites are in less competition by non-white racial or ethnic groups and therefore, may be more open to socializing with them. It is likely that the people of color who have made it to their level of social standing have internalized many aspects of white culture and therefore blend in without feeling threatened (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1983; Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Quillian, 1995; Taylor, 1998). In the third set of models, respondents who identified as upper middle or middle class were more likely to report listening to non-white music than middle class respondents. This supports literature that has argued that whites sometimes utilize non-white or ethnic music as a sign of their cosmopolitan nature (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000).

Income was a more frequent significant predictor of WRI than class status. Those with higher incomes were more likely to report predominately white intimate interactions in the first, second, and fourth set of models. This suggests that, at least in this sample, affluent whites were more likely to prefer white friends and romantic partners. Although this seems to contradict the findings on the relationship between class status and cross racial contact, it may be the case that income is a more accurate predictor of class status, as Americans have been socialized to identify as middle or upper middle class, regardless of income. Income was also a significant predictor of institutional trust, with more affluent whites reporting higher levels of institutional trust in the first, second, third and fourth set of models. This supports literature that suggests that institutional trust increases along with wealth and life satisfaction (Cook and Gronke, 2005). Income did not remain significant in the final model, which included all previously significant variables.

Religion

Religion was an open-ended question intended to measure religious affiliation. Inductive coding revealed four categories: Jewish, Catholic, Agnostic, and Christian. Previous literature has argued that WRI is infused with a Christian religious tinge, guided by the Protestant ethics of individualism and meritocracy (Feagin, 2006; Goldschmidt and McAlister, 2004; Weber, 2001). Therefore, it was hypothesized that Christians would exhibit different American affect, cross-racial attitudes and behaviors, ethnic behaviors, institutional trust, and racial attitudes than those who are not Christian. Ultimately, religious affiliation was the most important predictor of WRI and was significant in all of the models. Catholics exhibited more institutional trust than Christians in the second, third, fourth and fifth sets of models. The second and fourth models also showed that Catholics were more likely to listen to all white music than Christians. Respondents who identified as Agnostic or Secular exhibited the most distinct forms of WRI. Agnostics/secular respondents were less likely to identify with American attitudes and practices, to participate in ethnic rituals and practices, and to have more increased institutional trust than Christians in the second through fifth sets of models. Agnostic or Secular respondents were more likely to engage in cross racial interactions than Christians, whether they were intimate or not and to report being more likely to pursue both intimate and non-intimate cross racial interactions in the second through fifth sets of models. This was an unexpected finding that has yet to be explored in the literature. It seems that whites who oppose traditional religion may also be rebellious in other areas that are more typical bastions of white culture, including negative racial attitudes, low cross racial interactions, and high levels of institutional trust. In other words, their religious non-conformity has extended to other areas of mainstream life (Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011; Hout and Fischer, 2002). Jewish respondents were more likely to participate in ethnic

practices and less likely to participate in white food practices than Christians in the second through fifth round of models. This supports previous literature that suggests ethnic traditions and rituals are a more embedded part of Jewish culture than they are for many Americans and also reaffirms the diversity of Jewish food practices in comparison with white Christian ones (Fishman, 2000).

Neighborhood and network

Respondents were asked questions that asked about the racial composition of their networks growing up, and of their current neighborhoods. Previous research has indicated the importance of racial neighborhood and network composition for racial identities (Oyserman and Yoon, 2009) and WRI more specifically (Hartigan, 1999; McDermott and Samson, 2005; Wray and Newitz, 1997). Respondents who lived in an all white neighborhood at the time of the survey were more likely to support American attitudes and behaviors in all the models the item was included in (rounds 3-5) than those who lived in mostly white neighborhoods. Respondents who lived in racially mixed to all black neighborhoods were more likely to participate in intimate cross-racial interactions than those in mostly white neighborhoods in all of the models. This makes sense as cross-racial intimate interactions only become possible in environments that provide people access to others with different racial or ethnic backgrounds. These multi-ethnic environments often become “cosmopolitan canopies” that facilitate cross-race interactions (Anderson, 2011).

The racial makeup of respondents networks, including schools, neighborhoods, and families, growing up had a slightly different affect on their WRI. The differential impact racial composition had on whites growing up as opposed to the racial makeup of their current

neighborhoods is supported by literature that argues for the primacy of racial socialization on identity in early childhood (Clark and Clark, 1939; Cross, 1991; Van Ausdale and Feagin, 2001). Whites who were socialized in networks that were all white were less likely to be supportive of American attitudes, behaviors and preferences than those socialized in mostly white networks in all of the models. This may be because of contemporary conservative ideologies and rhetoric that argues American society is becoming increasingly liberal (Skocpol and Williamson, 2012). In addition, whites raised in all white networks were more likely to listen to and identify with all white music than those raised in mostly white networks in rounds 3 and 5. This reinforces the argument that racial composition of networks guides the cultural products whites have access to. Children raised in all white neighborhoods may not be socialized to identify with music by non-white artists, or may not be aware that some of the music they hear is black, or influenced by African American cultural styles. Respondents who grew up in networks that were racially mixed to mostly black reported that they were more likely to engage in intimate cross racial interactions in rounds 3 and 5, which supports previous arguments about the connection between racial composition and the prevalence of cross-racial interactions. Together, these findings of this research confirm the importance of racial composition of neighborhoods and networks for WRI.

Family prejudice

Family prejudice was measured through the use of a 5-point likert scale item that asked respondents how much they agreed with the statement that immediate members of their family were prejudiced. This question captures the messages respondents received in early childhood regarding race. This specific indicator has been used as a measure of racial identity in the past (Landrine and Klonoff, 1995; Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). In this research, respondents who reported higher levels of family prejudice were less likely to pursue and participate in intimate

and non-intimate cross racial interactions. These respondents were also less likely to report strong feelings of trust towards American institutions in rounds 3 and 5. Furthermore, respondents who reported higher levels of family prejudice were more likely to participate in ethnic rituals and events and to participate in white American food such as casseroles and food practices like potlucks. What is interesting here is that these respondents were able to identify their family prejudice- however, this ability to name the prejudice that existed within their family did not negate their own participation in attitudes, behaviors and preferences more likely to be associated with prejudiced whites. This process highlights the importance of early childhood socialization, especially the socialization that occurs through significant others (Clark and Clark, 1939; Cross, 1991; Rosenberg and Turner, 1981; Van Ausdale and Feagin, 2001).

Key Themes for Consideration

Together, these findings suggest themes that are significant to larger bodies of literature within Social Psychology, Sociology, Whiteness Studies, and Racial and Ethnic Studies, including: WRI and White Hegemony, Beyond Group Membership, and WRI as More than Awareness and/or Identification. Each of these themes is discussed in more detail below.

WRI and white hegemony

EFA indicated the presence of 8 factors that are key predictors of WRI including American, Cross-Racial, Ethnic, Intimate, Racial Attitudes, Institutional, Music, and Food. These factors provide us with important information about the structural and cultural components that construct a baseline of attitudinal, behavioral, and preferential expectations that guide what it means to be white on a societal level. Consequently, it can be argued that these 8 categories are key components in the cultivation and maintenance of hegemonic whiteness, an construct that

sets forth patterned cultural mechanisms, interactive expectations, and institutional limitations that determine which kind of white racial identities are valued and how white racial identities are situated in relation to each other (Chen, 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Gramsci and Buttigieg, 1992; Hughey, 2010; Orlowski, 2011). Although EFA cannot provide information that quantifies the directionality of these factors in relation to white hegemony, the findings included here make a clear case that these categories are essential to WRI. This is significant in that it confirms theoretical and empirical research that argues that expectations about what it means to be white are guided by structural, patterned relationships (Croll, 2007; Morris, 2006; Perry, 2002; Perry, 2007).

In addition, the linear regression conducted in this research suggests that these patterned relationships extend beyond the construct of WRI. For example, the finding that female respondents were much more likely to participate in cross racial interactions than males, or that Agnostic respondents were less likely to possess trust in American institutions indicate that there are macro level sociological forces that influence attitudes, behaviors, and preferences in fairly predictable ways within the larger construct of WRI. These findings are not surprising given previous research that has argued for the ways WRI are mitigated by social demographic predictors such as class (Brander Rasmussen et al., 2001; McDermott and Samson, 2005; Wray and Newitz, 1997; Wray, 2006), gender (Frankenberg, 1993) and racial composition of neighborhoods and networks (Hartigan, 1999; Morris, 2005; Morris, 2006).

These findings also directly contradict color blind and post-racial ideologies that normalize white identities and suggest that we are beyond the need for racial and ethnic categorization (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Most whites subscribe to these views, except those who identify as anti-racist activists or nationalists (Hughey, 2010). Color blind ideologies come at a

significant cost for racial and ethnic minorities, as the denial of racism perpetuates very real inequalities and decreases whites support for key affirmative action policies that might negate some of the long term impacts of the persistent and continued discrimination racialized ethnic others experience through things such as housing discrimination, police brutality, and immigration policies (Bobo, 1983; Sears, Sidanius and Bobo, 2000; Tarman and Sears, 2005). This study provides convincing data that race and ethnicity are important forces in structuring identities and interactions by showing that whites attitudes, behaviors, and preferences group together in patterned, predictable ways. One of the most influential results of this finding may be to convince well-intentioned whites that “color does matter” (Bush, 2004).

Beyond group membership

This research also extends arguments that white racial identities are not determined solely by group membership, but are also influenced by interactional and cultural components. This confirms previous literature on other racial ethnic minorities that points to the importance that culture has on identity (Anderson et al., 1993; Barona and Miller, 1994b; Barry, 2001; Batis et al., 2011; Birman and Trickett, 2001; Candelario, 2000). Although the whites surveyed in this research all identified as white and therefore had white racial identities that were impacted by the 8 factors listed above, the particular way they experienced and performed the attitudes, behaviors, and preferences measured by each of the factors varied by respondent and their socio-demographic background. What this suggests is that each of the respondents surveyed in this research possessed white racial identities that were constructed in large part through their attitudes, behaviors, and preferences in the aforementioned categories. However, the particular configurations of attitudes, behaviors, and preferences imply a sense of agency, wherein respondents incorporated some of the expectations of hegemonic whiteness and resisted others

based on their access to power and their own interactional and individual level experiences. This supports social psychological literature that suggests that significant others, identity standards, and role performance all mitigate identity development and performance (Burke and Reitzes, 1981; Burke, 2004; Burke, 2006; Cast, 2003; Cast, 2004; Goffman, 1959; Goffman, 1967; Goffman, 1986; Stets and Burke, 2000).

In addition, these findings provide additional understanding the differing levels of access whites have to white privilege. As previous literature has suggested, although all whites have some level of skin color privilege, this privilege is mitigated by other factors such as class, and gender (Brander Rasmussen et al., 2001; Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery-Luik, 2004; Feagin and O'Brien, 2003; Ferber et al., 2008; Fine, 2004; Kendall, 2006; Kimmel and Ferber, 2003; Rothenberg, 2002; Wray and Newitz, 1997; Wray, 2006). This is confirmed in this research, as we see those who are on the margins of whiteness, including women, and those who have limited access to white resources, including all white neighborhoods exhibit different kinds of WRI, and likely have differing degrees of privilege than those who are not in these categories.

WRI as more than awareness or identification

This WRIS developed here also makes important contributions to the understanding of WRI as a concept that cannot be solely equated with whites explicit acknowledgement that they are aware of being white or possessing a WRI (Helms and Carter, 1990; Knowles and Peng, 2005). In this research, respondents exhibited affiliation with components of WRI whether or not they acknowledged that they were aware of their WRI, or that it was a significant predictor of their broader sense of self. This suggests that whites participate in cultural practices associated with WRI whether or not they think their racial and ethnic identities are a guiding factor in their

lives. It is likely that whites awareness of themselves as white has no predictive value largely due to ideologies that socialize whites to believe that whiteness is invisible and normative (Brander Rasmussen et al., 2001; Frankenberg, 1997), and to avoid seeing the way race structures their everyday lives and in many cases, allows the levels of privilege and access denied to others who do not pass as white (McIntosh, 1989; Wise, 2008).

In addition, the findings in this research counter arguments that WRI are developmental, moving from weaker to stronger WRI as awareness of racial dynamics increase (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990). Instead, WRI are composed of complex and unique configurations of attitudes, behaviors, and preferences that differ by respondent. Respondents were likely to exhibit a high number of attitudes, behaviors, and preferences that were predictive of WRI in some categories and a low number in others.

Limitations and Future Research

This research serves as a pilot study that provides important theoretical considerations about the nature of white racial identity in the United States. Because of the exploratory nature of this research, the primary limitations are related to the sample quality and size. Since only one group was surveyed, I was not able to check for measurement invariance, which would allow for hypotheses about how this research might generalize to other groups of whites. In addition, since this research was exploratory, it has yet to be tested on other more representative samples of whites that may have more diverse educational, age, and regional responses. Therefore, the results included here should be interpreted contextually. However, most of the findings in this research are supported by previous theories about acculturation and whiteness, which indicates that many of the findings here may be generalizable to more diverse groups of whites.

Finally, the findings included here would have been strengthened by a comparison between the factors that influence WRI in whites versus if and to what extent these factors emerged as being important predictors of the racial identities of people of color. This analysis was limited in this research due to the small sample size.

Future research will continue to refine the WRIS by distributing it to nationally representative samples of whites, including non-students, those who are in a broader age range, and those from different regions of the United States and to people of color who will serve as a comparison group. The large sample size will also allow for additional statistical procedures that were not allowable in this research, including confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling. These techniques will provide more information about the specific direction of the relationship that the items included in this research have on WRI and on how they are related to each other.

In addition, in future research, I would like to place more emphasis on the contextual and performative nature of identities, as proposed by scholars of Social Psychology (Burke and Reitzes, 1981; Burke, 2004; Burke, 2006; Cast, 2003; Cast, 2004; Goffman, 1959; Goffman, 1967; Goffman, 1986; Stets and Burke, 2000) and Racial and Ethnic Studies (Bettie, 2000; Candelario, 2000; Foley, 1997; Glenn, 2004; Wilkins, 2004). As these bodies of literature suggest, white racial identities are likely to undergo temporal and spatial shifts. This research measured respondents WRI at one particular moment in time, and therefore may not account for how the respondents included in this study negotiate and shift their racial identities and racial identity performances over time and in different contexts.

Conclusion

This research provides ample evidence that WRI is not cultureless (Perry, 2002). Instead, as a whole, white racial identities are guided by hegemonic expectations about the kinds of attitudes, behaviors, and preferences that are acceptable. In particular, American, Cross-Racial, Ethnic, Intimate, Racial, Institutional, Music, and Food attitudes, behaviors, and preferences were shown to be key measures of WRI. These processes highlight the way racial formations and social structures guide and homogenize racial identities within the United States. However, although these processes create the boundaries of the kinds of white racial identities that are possible, white racial identities are not static. Instead, white racial identities are created and maintained by fluid processes that are influenced by individual choices, interactions, and structural components (Lee and Bean, 2004). The nuanced nature of these identities was confirmed by this research, as females, more affluent whites, those with higher levels of family prejudice, agnostics, or those who were socialized in or currently live in non-white neighborhoods exhibited very different kinds of WRI than those who did not possess these traits. These findings are significant for individuals attempting to understand their own identities, as well as practitioners desiring to understand racial identities. In addition, these findings reinforce the importance of social psychology as a lens to examine social processes and identity formation, wherein individual, interactional, and structural processes must all be examined together as forces that shape our social world.

APPENDIX

Table A.1: White Racial Identity Scale Instrument

INSTRUCTIONS: Please write in a response to the following questions.					
What is your racial/ethnic group?					
How old are you?					
How many years of schooling have you completed? (eg. 12=high school grad, 13=freshman)					
What state are you from?					
What city did you grow up in?					
What is your religious background?					
What ethnicity is your mother?					
What ethnicity is your father?					
Are you fluent in any language(s) other than English?					
If you are fluent in another language, which one(s)?					
The type of music I listen to the most is:					
INSTRUCTIONS: Please circle the response that is most true for you to each following questions.					
What is your gender?	Male	Female	Other (write in):		
What was your class status growing up?	Poor	Working Class	Middle Class	Upper Middle Class	Upper Class
Approximately what was your family's income while you were growing up?	Less than \$19,999	\$20,000-\$39,000	\$40,000-\$59,000	\$60,000-\$79,000	\$80,000 or above
Did you grow up in a rural, suburban or urban area?	Rural (country)	Suburban	Urban (city)	Other (write in):	
What are your political views?	Strongly Conservative	Somewhat Conservative	Neutral	Somewhat Liberal	Strongly Liberal
Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with anybody.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
There are times I think no one understands me.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Generally, I feel pretty satisfied with my life.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel that whites understand me better than people who are not white.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I prefer going to social gatherings and parties where most of the people are white.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would prefer to go out on a date with someone who was white than someone of another race.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
My friends are:	All White	Mostly White	Racially Mixed	Mostly Black	All Black
How often are your romantic partners the same race as you?	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
Growing up, my school, neighborhood, and family was:	All White	Mostly White	Racially Mixed	Mostly Black	All Black
I currently live in a neighborhood that is:	All White	Mostly White	Racially Mixed	Mostly Black	All Black
Some members of my immediate family are prejudiced.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree

Table A.1 (cont'd)					
I am proud to be an American.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am happy that I am a member of the racial/ethnic group I belong to.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Most of the people I admire are white Americans.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
My race doesn't really matter. We're all just humans.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Racial Discrimination Limits Black Employment	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Less In-born Ability Accounts for Blacks Lack of Success	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Racial Discrimination Accounts for Blacks Lack of Success	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Lack of Motivation Accounts for Blacks Lack of Success	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
How important is it for you to celebrate the ethnic festivals or holidays of your ancestors?	Not Important at All	Slightly important	Neutral	Very Important	Extremely Important
How important is it for you to celebrate American holidays and festivals (eg. 4 th of July)?	Not Important at All	Slightly important	Neutral	Very Important	Extremely Important
I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
I participate in the cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
English should be the official language of the United States.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
How important is it for people to speak "proper" English?	Not Important at All	Slightly important	Neutral	Very Important	Extremely Important
I have different ways of speaking, depending on who I am around.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
I usually add salt to my food to make it taste better.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
My family served casseroles as a main dish for dinner while I was growing up.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
My family and friends have potlucks.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
Most of the music I listen to is by artists who are:	All White	Mostly White	Racially Mixed	Mostly Black	All Black
I like black music more than white music.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always

Table A.1 (cont'd)					
I regularly watch TV shows and/or movies where most of the characters are:	All White	Mostly White	Racially Mixed	Mostly Black	All Black
I have seen people “get the spirit” or speak in tongues.	Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
Doctors are trustworthy.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
I trust the United States government.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree

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